

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 29
LAST PIRATES
AND
EARLY DREAMERS

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VOLUME 29

LAST PIRATES

AND

EARLY DREAMERS,

1867-1880

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by

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Documents 1867A

Cruise of the *Caroline Mills*.

A1. News published in Honolulu and London

Sources: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, May 1, 1867; reprinted in the Nautical Magazine, August 1867.

The American schooner **Caroline Mills**, Captain Nickols, returned to report on the 22nd ult. [April 1867], having left here on a wrecking voyage to the westward about three months ago. She was provided with all the appurtenances for recovering wrecked property, and her Captain and crew were thoroughly experienced in those enterprises, and equipped with the proper instruments for navigation. A complete modern diving apparatus was on board—commonly known as a “submarine armor,” with two men to operate it, one to don the “armor,” and the other to attend to the signals of his confederate while exploring the bottom of the ocean. The first island visited by the schooner, and the principal object of the expedition, was Wake or Halcyon Island, one of the Palmyra [sic] group, lying in latitude 19°11' N., and longitude 166°31' E. Here they obtained some flasks of quicksilver from the wreck of the bark **Libelle**, which left here last year, having as passengers, Madame Anne Bishop and others. On the voyage, Captain Nickols visited an island which is on some charts called Gaspar Rico [Taongi] and on others Cornwallis Island, in 14°43' north, and 169°03' east longitude, where he found portions of a wreck that had evidently laid there for years. It was that of a teak-built ship, with composition fastening. By Lloyd's Register we find that a ship called the **Canton**, left Bengal, and in 1832 was reported as missing, at Lloyds. From the fact of her having composition metal, which was only invented after 1840, it could not have been the **Canton** suggested by the *Gazette*, and besides, that vessel was not of the size by several hundred tons, as it is apparent was the ship, the remains of which were found by Capt. Nickols. Another circumstance which goes to prove that the wreck is a modern one, is that the masts, which are still to be seen, are what are called by seamen “made masts,” that is, built in pieces and bound by iron bands. The coat of arms from the stern Capt. Nickols has brought here and deposited in the Harbor Master's office. The fair inference is, that the ship in question was the Hudson Bay Company's ship **Canton**, chartered by the East India Company, perhaps, in 1832, or the wrecks now to be seen there may be those of two distinct vessels. On the shield, which is certainly a curiosity

and well worthy of inspection, are first, the royal arms of England—three lions, &c., surrounded by the crown. Under this are evidently the arms of the Hudson's Bay Company, a beaver and a bear. On the outer circle of the shield are a succession of elephants and castles. Then comes a cypher which Captain D. Smith, an experienced British ship-master, interprets to signify 1799, the date at which the ship was built. There are few probabilities that the fate of the crew of that ship will ever be ascertained. The only sign that men had ever been on the island, beside the remains of the wreck, were some pieces of woodenware. The unfortunate men who were thus cast on a barren island may have perished there of starvation, or, what is more likely, have gone away in the ship's boats and foundered at sea, or fallen a prey to the savage inhabitants of the neighboring islands.

A2. News published in New England

Source: Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, June 7, 1867.

An Old Wreck Discovered.

The schooner **Caroline Mills** has returned to San Francisco from an unsuccessful wrecking expedition to the barque **La Belle** [sic] lost on Wake Island in March 1866.

The **Caroline Mills** also visited Sibello [Taongi] Island, and discovered the ship **Canton** which left Sitka in 1816 [sic], and was never afterwards heard from. Portions of the wreck are in a perfect state of preservation. A piece of armor and a shield, with coat-of-arms of the East India Company and of England, fastened thereon, were found on the wreck and brought back.¹

¹ Ed. note: This was the wreck described by Captain Tobey of Lagoda, as having been recent in 1852 (see Doc. 1852L).

Document 1867B

The bark Courser of New Bedford, Captain Joseph Hamblin, Jr.

Sources: Logbook in the Providence Public Library; PMB 797; Log Inv. 1291.

Extract from the logbook

Journal of voyage of Bark Courser

...

Oct 17th [1865]

At 9 AM got underway and steered out the bay[,] wind light from West veering southerly.

...

Monday Jan 14th [1867]

Begins with fine weather[,] course WNW wind light ENE saw nothing. Middle and latter part fine weather[,] employed breaking out the main hold[,] at 11 AM luffed to off Baker's Island[,] a boat from the shore came alongside[,] At 11:30 AM the Capt left for shore in the boat that came off.

Lat 0°10 N Long 176°32 W [sic].

Tuesday Jan. 15th

Begins with fine weather[,] at 1 PM sent the starboard boat on shore[,] at 3 PM it returned with the Capt[,] steered SW by S. Middle and latter part fine weather course SW by W lay to from midnight to 6 AM.

Lat 00°50 S Long 177°15 W [sic]

Wednesday Jan 16th

Begins with squally weather course SW by S saw nothing. Middle and latter part fine weather[,] took the water tank on deck and put in a new head.

Lat 2°05 S Long 177°40 W [sic]

...

Tuesday Jan 22nd

Begins with fine weather wind NNW course SW by W[,] at night cloudy ahead with

much lightning[.] Middle and latter part squally[.] at 9 AM saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing WNW dist 12 miles.

Lat 2°47 S Long 167°40 E.

Friday Jan 25th

Begins with squally weather[.] at night fresh breezes from SSW course WNW saw nothing[.] Middle and latter part fine weather[.] at 5:30 AM saw Roach's [Tamana] Island.

Lat 2°52 S Long 175°55 E.

...

Friday Feb 1st

... at 4 PM lowered the larboard boat and picked up a large tree and cut it up for firewood...

Lat. 1°54 S Long 172°37 E.

...

Thursday Feb 7th

Begins with squally weather[.] employed variously[.] saw nothing[.] different courses[.] at night took in the main top gallant sail and came to the wind on starboard tack[.] middle part fine weather[.] latter part was off and on at Pleasant [Nauru] Island.

Friday Feb 8th

Was off and on at Pleasant Island[.] took off 4 cords of wood[.] middle part was lying off and on[.] latter part ran down to the leeward of the Island and got off 4 loat loads of wood.

Saturday Feb 9th

Was employed wooding[.] took 8-1/2 cords of wood[.] 10 hogs and some fowls and cocoanuts[.] Middle and latter part fine weather[.] at noon the Island bore NNE dist 24 miles.

Sunday Feb 10th

Begins with fine weather[.] was on different tacks[.] employed clearing up[.] saw Pleasant Island but no whale[.] Middle and latter part fine weather, saw 2 ships to windward[.] saw Pleasant Island.

Monday Feb 11th

Begins with fine weather[.] was on different tacks wind Eastward[.] Pleasant Island bearing North dist 10 miles[.] at 4 PM spoke the ship **Florida** of San Francisco[.] Middle and latter part was off and on.

Tuesday Feb 12th

Was cruising off and on[.] the Island in sight[.] 2 ships in sight[.] saw no whales[.] at

4 PM spoke the Bark **Navy**[.] Middle and latter part fine weather[.] saw the Island but no shales.

Lat 00°20 S Long 165°48 E.

...

Thursday Feb 28th

Begins with fine weather[.] bent the fore topmast staysail course NW1/2W saw nothing[.] middle and latter part fine weather[.] mended the mizzen staysail[.] at 10 AM saw the land the Island Saypan.

Friday March 1st

Begins with fine weather[.] was running in for the land[.] at 4 PM anchored in 15 fathoms water off the town[.] 3 ships at anchor[.] at 5 AM got underway and at 11:30 AM anchored at Tinian.

Saturday March 2nd

Sent in a raft of water[.] at night the boats returned[.] at daylight sent in after the raft[.] got it off[.] stowed it and sent in the casks for another.

Sunday March 3rd

Got off the raft and filled all the casks in the lower hold[.] cleared up for the night[.] at 5 AM sent the boats off for humpbacks.¹

Monday March 4th

At 4 PM the boat returned[.] at 5 AM sent in a raft[.] got off 5 boatloads of wood.

Tuesday March 5th

Got off the raft and was employed stowing off[.] at daylight called all hands and stowed off and cleared up the decks.

Wednesday March 6th

Washed off decks and got ready for sea[.] at 5 AM got underway and stood out by the wind for the Island Tinian.

Thursday March 7th

Was beating up for the anchorage[.] at 1:40 anchored[.] three ships at anchor and 2 laying off and on[.] one cutting a humpback[.] at 5 AM sent off 2 boats to cruise[.] at 11 AM returned[.] saw nothing[.] took on board some cocoanuts and potatoes.

Friday March 8th

Took on board some potatoes and bananas[.] at 5 PM the Capt went on board the

1 Ed. note: That is, whales they saw offshore Tinian.

Bark **Active** [.] at 6 AM took in the bow boat for repairs.

Saturday March 9th

Put out the bow boat[.] at 2:30 got underway[.] unbent the chains and stowed the anchors course WNW[.] middle and latter part fine weather[.] painted the bow boat[.] saw one ship[.] no whales.

Lat 16°41 N Long 143°23 E.

Sunday March 10th

Begins with fine weather wind NE course WNW[.] employed variously[.] saw one ship[.] Middle and latter part fine weather[.] saw no whales.

Lat 17°42 N Long 140°52 E.

Monday March 11th

... in company with the **Active** course WNW...

...
[They were headed toward the NE corner of the Philippines, then Korea, then to the Arctic, etc.]

Document 1867C

The Australian ship Dundonald visited Ujelang

Sources: Article in The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Honolulu, July 18, 1868; reprinted in the Nautical Magazine, 37 (1868).

Give Credit To Whom It Belongs.—

Capt. Daniel Smith has called our attention to the following article, taken from the North China News, published at Shanghai, and extensively copied into other papers, reporting the discovery of a group of Islands of which but little appears to be known. The Islands were first discovered [sic] in 1864, by Capt. Samuel James, of the [missionary] brig **Morning Star**. His report, as published in our paper, locates one of the atolls in north latitude 9°52', and east longitude 160°56'. He also reported that it had the form of an irregular parallelogram extending east by south and west by north twelve miles, by five in width, and that there are in the atoll ten small Islands, the largest one on the east side. Two passages lead into the lagoon on the south shore, the best of which is about five miles from the east coast. It is the same group as was seen by the **Dundonald** three years later, as described below. If not heretofore named they should be called James' Island, in honor of their discoverer.

[Report of Capt. Kewley]

The **Dundonald** left Sydney on the 29th of September [1867], and on the 3d of October made Norfolk Island, bearing E. by S. 10 miles. From this date to the 8th instant had light N.N.E., wind, which drove the ship very far to the eastward. At 6 A.M. 24th, made the island Oualan [Kosrae] (one of the Caroline Islands). At 6 P.M. took our departure from the island, distance 15 miles, and proceeded on our voyage to the N.W. with a fresh breeze from N.E. About 10 A.M. on the 26th, when walking on the quarter-deck, was very much surprised to see land dipping on the horizon. At first I could not believe that it was land, as I knew if my reckoning was right that there was no land known to Europeans nearer than forty miles; but in half an hour the trees were distinctly visible. I therefore kept the ship direct for it, determined to satisfy myself as to its position, &c.

At 11 A.M. four more islands appeared in sight, all covered with trees, and at noon I got a good observation and found my reckoning quite correct, so that these islands had not been discovered before. At 1 P.M., we came up to them, and the ship was then

rounded to with the southernmost islands bearing north northwest, distance two miles. A boat was lowered and I proceeded toward the island accompanied by Mr. McKay, passenger. After getting in within a hundred yards of the shore our progress was suddenly stopped by an extensive reef. Up to this time we had seen no signs of life on the island. We then rowed around along the shore for about five miles, until we came to a break in the reef, and immediately pulled for it, but on getting closer to it found there was no possibility of crossing, owing to the water being too shallow. We then discovered that the reef was a bed of red coral, completely surrounding the island, inside of which the water was apparently about six feet deep, and as smooth as a mirror. We then pulled for the next island, which was connected with the first by a coral reef, but the water did not break on it, and when about a mile from the second island, saw the masts of two canoes lying inside the island. Feeling quite satisfied that if those canoes could get in we also could do so, we pulled along the island for about two miles, and then found an opening in the reef through which we passed, and found ourselves in the center of a beautiful lagoon with about 14 feet of water, and the bottom perfectly clear, consisting of corals and other calcareous productions. We then went alongside of the canoes, but finding no natives in them, being immediately followed by the crew and Mr. McKay.

As soon as the boat was made fast, fired a few shots in the air, having taken the precaution to arm ourselves before leaving the ship, and proceeded to a large opening in the trees, keeping a sharp lookout for any one that might be concealed in the bush. After walking about fifty yards inland, we came to a beautiful clear space of about 300 yards long, 80 or 100 broad, of which we took a good survey before proceeding further; not thinking it judicious to go into the bush, as there was quite space enough for a large number of natives to be concealed in it. Cocoa-Nut trees were in abundance, with plenty of nuts in immense clusters, and the ground was strewn with those that had dropped down from the trees. There were a great many more trees of different kinds, but we could not find any other fruit, though we found a large basket full of potatoes just dug, so that it would seem the natives have been disturbed by our firing when coming on shore. The basket was made out of the cocoanut leaf and the potatoes were similar to ours, only very bitter in taste and very much like quinine.

After spending about two hours looking over the island, we returned to the boat loading her with cocoanuts, and regretting very much that time would not allow us to take a further survey. Before getting into the boat the health of Queen and Royal Family was drunk with all honors, and at the request of the crew and Mr. McKay, the islands were christened Kewley's Group, and the one I landed on Kewley's Island, as I was the first to land, and feel certain that I was the first white man that ever set his foot on it.¹ We took each a little part of whatever we could get out of the canoes, to keep in remembrance of our visit, and the peculiar figurehead of the largest canoe is now on board of my ship.

1 Ed. note: The Spaniards who were marooned there in 1566, would not agree with this statement.

The position of the southernmost islands is lat. $9^{\circ}47'$ N., long. $161^{\circ}15'$ E. The group extends in an E. by S., and W. by N. direction for about thirty miles but cannot say what their extent is north and south, as I had not time to explore them properly. The latitude and longitude may be relied on, as I only left the Island of Oualan two days before, and my instruments were quite correct then.¹

1 Ed. note: The Editor of the Nautical Magazine adds the following note: "We find the islands laid down in the Admiralty chart as "Arrecifes or Providence Islands," discovered long ago: and we have accordingly appended their name to that given by the recent supposed discoverer."

Document 1867D

The bark Elizabeth Swift, Captain Pontius

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; Log Inv. 1552.

Notes: This whaling voyage under Captain Reuben Pontius lasted from 1863 to 1868.

Extracts from the logbook kept by Charles Hamill, Mate

[The bark went around Cape Horn, to Hawaii, Arctic, the Coast of California and San Francisco, to Hawaii (April 1865), to the Arctic, to San Francisco, to the Marquesas, to New Zealand, to the Cook Is., then NW without touching at any Micronesian islands, to the Arctic a third time, back to San Francisco (Nov. 1866), and to the Line.]

...

Thursday Dec. 27, 1866

... 7 a.m., raised Baker's Island. One English ship loading [guano], named **Mary Frances** of Glasgow... Lat. 00°09' North. Long. 176°53' West.

...

Monday Jan. 1st, 1867

... Spoke the Bark **Java**, clean from Honolulu... Lat. 1°10' South. Long. 178°43' East.

...

Thursday Jan. 3rd 1867

... 2 p.m., raised Byron's [Nukunau] Island ahead. 5 p.m., natives aboard... Bark **Java** in sight. 1 kanaka we shipped in San Francisco wished for to be set ashore on Byron's Island. As he was sick, so the Captain let him go ashore. Lat. 1°11' S. Long. 176°35' East.

Friday January 4th 1867

... 3 ships in sight. 6 p.m., spoke the Bark **Norman** from Honolulu, clean. 6 p.m., shortened sail and laid aback all night. Daylight, made all sail heading to the S. James P. Ryan asked Captain Pontius for to let him go ashore here on Byron's Island; so he let him go; shipped in San Francisco as foremast hand. Lat. 1°33' [S].

Saturday Jan. 5th 1867

... Byron's Island still in sight. Also Peroat [Beru] Island in sight to the Westward. Bark **Java** in sight to the NW... Lat. 1°12' S. Long. 176°23' E.

Sunday Jan. 6th 1867

... 6 p.m., close to Byron's Island. Natives aboard trading for coconuts and broom stuff...

Monday Jan. 7th, 1867

... 7 a.m., raised Hope [Arorae] Island ahead. Several canoes came off... 2 ships in sight... the Ship **Adeline** of New Bedford...

...
Thursday Jan. 10th 1867

... 5 p.m., raised Rotch's [Tamana] Island ahead... Lat. 2°33' S.

Friday Jan. 11th, 1867

... 1 p.m., Captain went on shore and traded for chickens and coconuts. 3 p.m., Captain aboard again, made sail and stood to the Northward... 1 ship in sight to the Eastward. Lat. 1°40' S. Long. 176°44' East.

...
Sunday Jan. 13th 1867

... 4 p.m., raised Peroat Island to the SW... Lat. 00°47' S. Long. 176°02' E.

...
Wednesday Jan. 16th 1867

... 6 p.m., spoke the **Adeline** of New Bedford, 25 bbls sperm since leaving Honolulu... Lat. 1°10' S. Long. 177°22' E.

...
Saturday Jan. 19th 1867

... 4 p.m., raised Byron's [Nukunau] Island ahead... Lat. 1°9' S. Long. 176°27' E.

Sunday Jan. 20th 1867

... Byron's Island in sight ahead... Some natives came aboard and traded for broom stuff. 1 native wished to go in the ship and we kept him. Kept her off SW. Daylight, made sail. Clark's [Onotoa] Island in sight ahead. Ship **Adeline** in sight. Lat. 1°56' S. Long [blank]

...
Friday Jan. 25th 1867

... Daylight, saw a ship ahead... 11 a.m., came up with the Bark but did not make out her name.¹ Lat. 1°52' S. Long. 173°36' E.

...
Tuesday Feb. 5, 1867

... 10 a.m., raised Ascension [Pohnpei] ahead...

1 Ed. note: The bark Courser was in the vicinity (see Doc. 1867B).

Wednesday Feb. 6th

... 4 p.m., off Roan Kiti Harbor, Ascension Island. Sent a boat ashore after a pilot. 6 p.m., came to anchor in 9 fathoms of water... 5 a.m., called all hands...

Thursday February 7th

... Cooper employed setting up water pipes. Tried for to haul the ship into the Inner Harbor but the breeze too strong from NE...

Friday February 8th 1867

... Men employed getting water aboard... Hauled the ship further into the harbor letting go anchor in 12 fathoms of water with 30 fathoms of chain out. Got 1 raft of water off and stowed it down, containing about 90 barrels...

Saturday Feb. 9th 1867

... Got 1 raft of water making about 110 barrels. Captain Pontius and the REverend Mr. Sturges left at 7 a.m. for Ant Island in the Starboard Boat and arrived at 3 0.m...

Sunday Feburary 10th 1867

... 8 a.m., sent the men ashore on liberty. 2 men deserted and Bil, a kanaka from Ebon, and --- Brown...

Monday February 11th 1867

... Men on liberty. Sundown, all hands on board but the steerage boy. Set strick watches through the night. Saw 2 ships pass, supposed to be the **Illinois** and the **Wm. Rotch** from Bonatik Harbor.

Tuesday February 12th 1867

... Got 60 iron poles and a spare for crocket yard...

Wednesday February 13th 1867

... Men employed getting off wood and water. Got off 1 raft of water, about 100 barrels and 2 boatloads of wood. Carpenter drunk on duty, also 1 native of Ebon. Mr. Sturges paid us a visit today...

Thursday February 14th 1867

... Loosed the sails and dried them. Saw a ship of Penyuon [sic]¹ going into Mudok.

...
Saturday February 16th 1867

... Traded for some yams and co[conuts]...

1 Ed. note: Probably meaning "off Panian," an islet off Mutok Harbor.

Sunday February 17th 1867

... Mr. Smith, second officer, started for Middle Harbor in a canoe... 8 a.m., Captain started for Mudock Harbor...

Monday February 18th 1867

... 5 p.m., Captain aboard. Reports 2 ships at Mudok, **Adeline** and **Florida**. 7 p.m., Smith got back... Got 1000 coconuts...

Tuesday February 19th 1867

... Men employed getting wood and water. 4 p.m., furled all of the sails and got 380 coconuts... 11 a.m., commenced painting ship outside...

...
Thursday February 21st 1867

... Mr. Doane, the American Missionary for Ascension paid us a visit. Captain Fraser of Bark **Canton Packet** came on board; reports 35 barrels since leaving Honolulu...

Friday February 22nd 1867

... **Canton Packet** laying off and on. Captain Davis of the Bark **Navy** came aboard today; reports 117 barrels of sperm oil since leaving Honolulu. Men employed painting ship and getting off wood. Capt. Pontius paid Mr. Sturges a visit in company with Capt. Williams of the Ship **Florida**. Got 32 boatloads of wood in all and about 4000 coconuts.

...
Monday February 24th 1867

... Capt. Barrett of Bark **Sunbeam** came aboard, reports having taken 86 barrels sperm oil since leaving Honolulu. Got all ready for to smoke ship. 9 a.m., started the fires. Sent Mr. Smith to windward for the 2 men that deserted the ship...

Monday February 25th 1867

... 4 p.m, opened the hatches. Calm through the night. Got off 1 boatload of wood and finished painting outside and painted the foremast. 10 a.m., Mr. Smith got back from the windward with 1 of the men that deserted the ship named Brown. Put him in irons. The Ebon kanaka, we did not get. Got in the old Boat and got all ready for to sail. Shipped 3 men, named Miguel, 2 natives of Ascension. Discharged 1 man named Alfred Davis, by mutual consent.

Tuesday February 26th 1867

... 1 p.m., hove ahead and made all sail and at 4 p.m., outside and squared away. At 8 p.m., passed Saint Augustine [Oroluk] steering NW... Latter part... got 15 hogs... Lat. 8°19' N. Long. 156°16' E.

- ...¹
 ...
 Thursday February 28th 1867
 ... 2 p.m., released Brown, the deserter, out of irons... Lat. 12°35' N. Long. 151°11' E.
 ...
 Saturday March 2nd 1867
 ... 9 p.m., raised Saypan ahead. Got two anchors all ready, etc.
- Sunday March 3rd 1867
 ... 2 p.m., came to anchor in 10 fathoms of water with 25 fathoms of chain out. **Nautilus**, **Wm. Rotch** and **Java** at anchor. 4 p.m., saw 2 humpbacks. Lowered the boats without success. Daylight, lowered boats but did not strike...
- ...
 Tuesday March 5th 1867, Civil Account.
 ... Bark **Nautilus** got under way today and left...
- Thursday March 7, 1867
 ... Bark **Courser** came to anchor. Ship **Florida** and Bark **Active** came in and went off again.
- ...
 Saturday March 9th 1867
 ... Whaling in company with the **Wm. Rotch** of Honolulu. Bark **Courser** got under way and put to sea...
- Sunday March 10th 1867
 ... Ship **Oregon** came to anchor this afternoon...
- ...
 Wednesday March 13th 1867
 ... Bark **Java** left for Tinian...
- ...
 Friday March 15, 1867
 ... Ship **Oregon** left for Guam...
- ...
 Sunday March 24th 1867
 Started 2 boats for Tinian in company with 2 of the **Wm. Rotch's** boats... Arrived in Tinian and struck another whale and saved him. Anchored him in 25 fathoms of water and left Mr. Yale with the whale, the rest going ashore.

1 Ed. note: If they got some hogs, the island in question must have been inhabited, and must have been Nomwin Island. Therefore, I must have transcribed the longitude wrongly; it should be 151° instead.

Monday March 25th 1867

... Daylight, I started for the whale when I found the 2nd officer, Mr. Yale, had jumped overboard and drowned himself. 8 a.m., ship came along, took the whale alongside and worked up to the anchorage and let go in 15 fathoms of water...

Tuesday March 16, 1867

... 3 boats whaling, the rest employed cutting. 11 a.m., boats aboard. 3 p.m., finished cutting, started the try works, stowed down about 30 barrels of oil...

[End of Vol. 1]

...

Thursday March 28th 1867

... Lying at anchor in Tinian. All hands employed stowing down oil. 10 a.m., got under way for Saypan. 1 p.m., raised our boats towing a whale in company with the **Wm. Rotch's** Boats. Took the whale alongside and worked up to the anchorage. Let go off our Port Anchor in 12 fathoms of water, with 30 fathoms of chain out...

Friday March 29, 1867

... 5 p.m., finished cutting and started the try works. Bark **Stephania** laying off and on, reports having taken 175 bbls of sperm oil since leaving Honolulu.

Saturday March 30th 1867

... Bark **Aurora** laying off and on...

...

Wednesday April 3rd 1867

... Called all hands and got the Starboard anchor all ready for to let go...

Thursday April 4th 1867

... 5 a.m., lowered 2 boats whaling but without success. 1 boat employed getting off potatoes, hogs, coconuts, corn, etc... Bark **Wm. Rotch** got under way and went to sea today.

...

Saturday April 6, 1867

... Got the Starboard anchor on the bows and hove short. 8 a.m., hove ahead and made sail... Set sail, steering North...

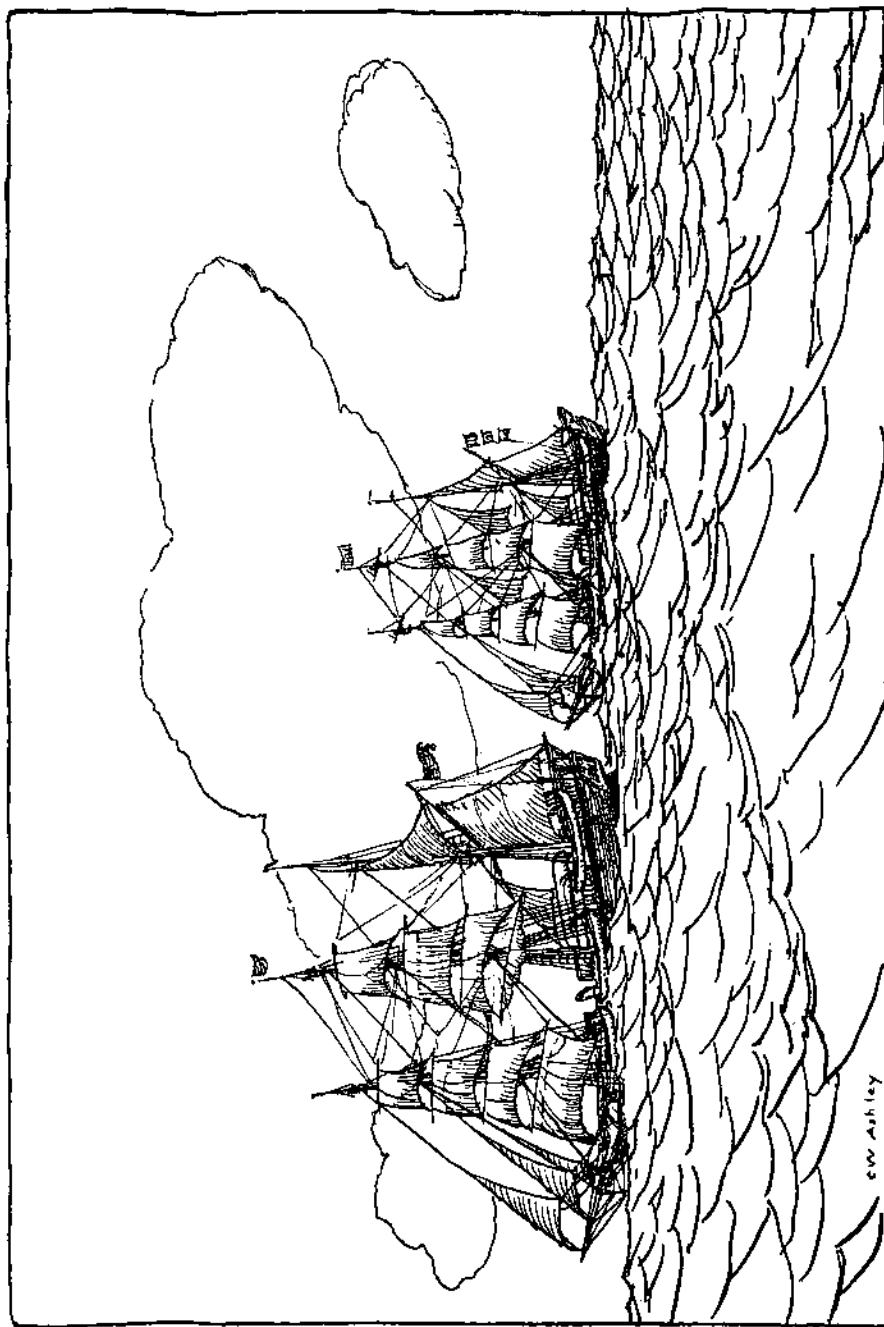
...

Tuesday April 9th 1867

... 3 a.m., raised Volcano [Asunción] Island... Lat. 20°47' N. Long. 145°12' E.

...

[To Yokohama, the Arctic, San Francisco (Dec. 1867), then home.]



The Sunbeam and the Morning Star, gambling.

Document 1867E

The bark Sunbeam, Captain Barrett

The logbook kept by Sumner A. Withington

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 364; Log Inv. 4492.

Notes: Voyage 1864-68. Journal kept by S. A. Withrington [sic], bound to the North Pacific.

Extracts fom this logbook.

...

[The bark went to the Arctic, Hawaii (Dec. 1865), then South of the Line, back to Hawaii (Feb. 1866), North to the Arctic, back to Hawaii (Nov. 1866), and to the Line in January 1867.]

...

Monday Feb. the 4 [1867]

... Carrying all sail, steering West. At 7 o'clock a.m., took in all of the light sails, double-reefed the topsails. [Note in margin:] Mulgrave [Mili] Island.

At 8 o'clock, luffed to heading North. At 5 p.m., kept off on our course again with a strong and thick squally weather, carrying all sail. So ends. Lat. 5°56' [N]. Long. 172°44' [E].

Tuesday Feb. the 5, 1867

... At 4 o'clock a.m., made Mulgrave Island. Passed by the South end of the island. At dark, shortened sail and steered W by S1/2S until daylight. Then made all sail and steered West. At 11 o'clock p., made the land, Bapham [Jaluit] Island. Kept off SW and W around the South end of the island... Lat. 5°55' [N]. Long. 169°24' [E].

Wednesday Feb. the 6

... Off Bapham Island. Two canoes came off to the ship but had no trade but a few chickens. Middle part, strong wind and raining weather. Took in sail and lay by wind during the night. Latter part, the bark **Washtone** [sic = Wassington] of New Bedford, Capt. Baker, came on board and [stayed] but a little while, then we made all sail and steered on our course W by N. Employed mending sail. So ends.

...

Monday Feb. the 11

... Steering W by South. At 3 o'clock a.m., made the land, the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei]. Steered in for the harbor and lay off and on during the night. At daylight in the morning, took a pilot on board and bent the chains and went in the harbor where let go the starboard anchor and went to work sending down the yards to the main.

Tuesday Feb. the 12, 1867

These 24 hours fine weather. In port. First employed sanding down the main top mast and found it to be very poor. Middle and latter, employed fitting a new top mast and overhauling the rigging. So ends. Broke out one barrel of beef.

Wednesday Feb. the 13.

These 24 [hours] in port with fine weather. All hands on board employed fitting main top mast, tarring down the rigging fore and aft. **Brig Comet** came in port today. So ends.

Thursday Feb. the 14

... In port. Employed sending main top mast and main top gallant mast and tarring down. So ends.

Friday Feb. the 15

These 24 hours in port [with] fine weather. All hands on board employed painting spars and fitting rigging. So ends.

Saturday Feb. the 16

... All hands on board, employed painting the white streaks around the ship. Got a raft of casks ashore for water and got off three boatloads of wood. So ends.

Sunday Feb. the 17, 1867

These 24 hours in port. All hands on board.¹ First, fine weather. Middle and latter, strong trades and heavy rain. So ends.

Monday Feb. the 18

... All hands on board. Getting off wood and water... Broke out one barrel of beef.

Tuesday Feb. the 19

... All hands on board... painting ship outside and spars to the main. Sent a raft ashore for water. Wood all on board, 12 cords in all. So ends.

1 Ed. note: Here is a case for a possible lie, written with a view for consumption back home. A Sunday afternoon with fine weather with all hands on board, doing nothing... Highly unlikely.

Wednesday Feb. the 20

These 24 hours in port, fine weather. All hands on board employed stowing sperm oil down in the fore hatch and painting the starboard side of the ship. Took on board 200 barrels of water and 10 hogs in this port.

Thursday Feb. the 21

... All hands on board employed bending sails and stowing of between decks and got off a raft of water. So ends.

Friday Feb. the 22, 1867

... All hands on board employed stowing up between decks and got off five casks of water and got it down in the main hatch. Broke out one barrel of beef.

Saturday Feb. the 23

... In port, all hands on board. All ready for sea. Latter, pilot on board. Manned the windlass and hove short and made sail. Took the anchor and went out. At 12 o'clock p.m., pilot left the ship. Filled away and went around to the lee side of the Island and Capt. Barrett went on shore. So ends.

Sunday Feb. the 24

... Off and on the Lee Harbor. Capt. on shore. At 10 o'clock, sent a boat in for the Capt. So ends. Lat. 6°48 [N]. Long. 158°12' [E].

Monday Feb. the 25

... First part off and on the side of Sen [blank]. At 1 o'clock a.m., Capt. came in with [boat] and crew. Brought off 1 hog and kept the ship off NW b W and made sail, un-bent the chains and stowed them away below...

...

Thursday Feb. the 28

... Broke out one barrel of beef... Lat. 13°12' [N]. Long. 147°20' [E].

Friday March the 1, 1867

... One ship in sight. Middle, ran under short sail. At daylight land in sight, Guam. Ran the land down, off the land. So ends.

Saturday March the 2, 1867

These 24 hours off and on at Guam with fine weather. At 2 o'clock a.m. [rather p.m.], Capt went in shore and returned at 9 p.m. with some gentlemen from the shore. So ends.

Sunday March the 3

These 24 hours fine weather. Off and on at Guam. Took on board 30 barrels of sweet potatoes and sent on shore 1 barrel of flour, one barrel of beef and about 100 pounds

of bread. So ends.

Monday March the 4

... Off and on at Guam. At 11 p.m. [rather a.m.], sent a boat in for 3 men that Capt. Barrett had shipped. Boat returned with the men. So ends. Broke out 4-1/4 barrels of pork, 1 barrel of beef, 1 bag of butter, 1 box of tea.

Tuesday March the 5

These 24 hours fine weather. First and middle parts, off and on at Guam. At 7 o'clock p.m. [rather a.m.], sent a boat in for the Capt. At 8 o'clock, came off with his boat and a boat from the shore. At 8 o'clock, [the shore] boat [left] the ship for the shore and we put the ship off on her course, WNW. So ends. Lat. 14°08' [N]. Long. 144°02' [E].

...

[North to Japan, the Arctic (June-Oct. 1867), to Honolulu, South to the Line in Dec. 67, to South Pacific, around Cape Horn and home. There exists another logbook, kept by Captain Dewitt C. Barrett, in the Kendall Whaling Museum (PMB 845; Log Inv. 4493).]

)

Note 1867F

Memoranda. Report from Bark Peru

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, July 1, 1867.

Captain Smith of whaling bark **Peru**, writes from Ascension [Pohnpei] Island under date of March 15 [1867] that he had put in there to replace his main top-mast, lost in a gale; had taken 100 bbls. sperm since leaving Honolulu. Also, fished up a 2000 lb. anchor and 30 fathoms chain.

Reports brig **Comet** at Ascension, clean; **Hac Hawaii**, 30 bbls. sperm; **James Maury**, 150 sperm; officers and men all well.

Note 1867G

The Hawaiian sloop **Hokulele**, Captain Foster

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, August 1, 1867.

Notes: The Hokulele visited Wake to salvage part of the wreck of the Libelle. See also reference to the brig Clio (Doc. 1868A).

Return of the Hokulele

The sloop **Hokulele**, dispatched by the Messrs. Foster and others for the scene of the wreck of the bark **Libelle**, returned on the 29th ult. [July 1867]. The **Hokulele** left here on the 9th of May, and arrived at Wake Island on the 31st.

A brig fitted from China, (name unknown, as the captain did not wish to be reported,) joined the **H.** in securing the quicksilver, and together secured 495 flasks. The **H.** received 247 flasks as her share, which will pay the expedition a handsome profit. This is one of the few expeditions fitted from Honolulu that has netted a profit, and we heartily rejoice at the good fortune of the parties concerned.

Document 1867H

The Hawaiian schooner Blossom, Captain Pease

Sources: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, August 1, 1867; copied from the Honolulu Advertiser.

Note: This is the first mention of this captain who was soon to be called a pirate, along with Captain Hayes.

From Micronesia.

The Hawaiian schooner **Blossom**, Capt. Benjamin Pease, arrived here on the 26th ult. [July 1867], from a cruise among the groups to the westward, after an absence of nearly six months, having sailed hence on the 1st of February last. The written history of the voyage would be very interesting, but we find room only for a brief sketch at present.

Arriving at Mille [Mili], Marshall's group, 15th February, thence touched at Jeluit [Jaluit], Strong's [Kosrae] Island, McAskill's [Pingelap] and Ascension [Pohnpei]. At the latter island, February 16, saw the bark **Peru**, with 120 sperm. Thirty-six whalers had touched at Ascension during the "season," but Capt. Pease can only remember the names of the following: **Florida**, Williams, clean; **James Maury**, 160 sperm; **Nautilus**, 40 sperm. The **Washington**, Baker, went into Strong's Island to cooper—amount of oil not ascertained. Bark **Stella** was at Ascension March 22, 8 months out, with 260 sperm.¹

In lat. 32°06' N., long. 178°36' E., the **Blossom** spoke the Bremen bark **Ophelia**, Torres, 34 days from Hongkong for Callao, who asked to be reported.

From Ascension the schooner sailed for the Marshall Islands on the passage to Honolulu, and touched at the island of Marika [Marakei], next adjoining Butaritari, where the three Hawaiians belonging to the **Pfeil** were massacred about a year ago. Some white men living on Marika informed Capt. Pease that the legs, arms and breasts of the three men killed had been eaten by the people and chiefs of Butaritari. When warned of the consequences which might result from their bad conduct, the chiefs laughed at the idea that the Hawaiians could do anything to them by way of retaliation;—they were kanakas like themselves, and had no men-of-war.

¹ Ed. note: Starbuck (pp. 612-613) reports that the **Stella**, Capt. Ebenezer F. Nye, left New Bedford on 10 July 1866; she was lost, along with two men, in the Gulf of California five months later, on 11 August 1867.

Capt. P. says the natives of the northern groups are a very saucy bad set and ought to be punished. Many vessels have been cut off there and the crews murdered. He saw some relics of a vessel, which was cut off at one of the islands about eighteen months ago, which from the appearance of the relics he should suppose to have been a merchant vessel. No man-of-war has visited them since Kotzebue's voyage, and a wholesome thrashing and the hanging of some of the murderers, who can be identified, would have a salutary effect.

The **Blossom** was 54 days from Marika to port, experiencing light and head winds.

Note 1867I

Ten horses brought from Honolulu to Guam

Sources: Article in the Nautical Magazine 37 (1868); probably copied from The Friend, Honolulu.

The Island of Guam.

We learn from the Sandwich Islands that the brig **Ana**,¹ which sailed in December last [1867] from thence for Guam, took away ten fine horses, to improve the breed of that island. She also carried two oil presses, one rice mill, one cotton gin, and other agricultural machinery. We are glad to see a trade springing up with that port, which has many years been a resort of whalers. The Ladrone [sic] Islands are twenty in number, of which Guam is the principal one. They belong to Spain, which has a Governor residing at Guam: and a full account of it from a Spanish officer we have given in our recent volumes.² Five of the islands are inhabited, and are said to be very fertile and well adapted to rice, sugar, coffee, and cotton.

1 Ed. note: Captain Johnson, Guam-based.

2 Ed. note: Captain Sanchez y Zayas and his survey of the Marianas (Doc. 1864A).

Document 1867J

**The ship Sebastian Cabot, Captain Steele,
visited Saipan in June 1867**

Source: Nautical Magazine, 1867 (vol. 36, Oct. 1867), pp. 450-451.

The report of Captain J. B. Steele**To the Editor of the Nautical Magazine.**

Shanghai, 20th June, 1867.

Sir.—

I beg to offer you for publication in your valuable Magazine an account of the Stewart Islands, which I have no doubt will benefit vessels passing in their direction, and more particularly those which unfortunately may be wrecked on or near them. From the accounts of the savage nature of those natives of the Solomon Islands, and others in their vicinity, the crews of such vessels may be afraid to land on the Stewart Isles, as the very meagre and unsatisfactory descriptions of them and their inhabitants, given by the sailing directions, do not encourage them to do so.¹

The ship **Sebastian Cabot**, of Liverpool, under my command, called at the Stewart Islands, situated in lat. 8°26' N., long. 163°2' E. on the 16th of May, 1867.² They consist of a group of four islands, connected with each other by a coral reef. They are very low and covered with trees, and cannot be seen in clear weather at a greater distance than twelve miles. The largest island is about a mile and a half long, and the total of the inhabitants of the group is less than two hundred. A number of the natives came off to the ship in canoes, resembling in every particular those used by the Cingalese.³

They are a very fine, stout, and good looking race of men, their colour is tawny with black hair, they are extremely simple in their behaviour and their dealings. They brought on board for exchange a quantity of fowls, ducks, pigs, cocoanut oil, etc. Tobacco was the great object of their wishes, and they deal very liberally. Knives, fishhooks, and

1 Ed. note: He seems to refer to Captain Cheyne's book entitled *Sailing Directions*.

2 Ed. note: There are no islands at or near that position. However, there is a Stewart Island, also called Sikaiana, in 9° S. and 163° E., according to Brigham's Index.

3 Ed. note: Inhabitants of Ceylon, or Sri Lanka.

needles were among their wants, which we supplied. One of the natives had a book in which was inscribed, by their respective masters, the names of all vessels that had visited the islands for some years, and from this it appeared that twelve months had elapsed from the date of the last, which was a whaler. All the natives speak English pretty well, but one of them who seemed very proud of his attainments, repeated the alphabet very correctly. This man had in his possession a certificate which, was granted him by the master of a vessel in testimony of services rendered in refitting, and for the hospitality and attention shown to his crew who were sick, and who remained on the island some weeks to recover. Not the slightest apprehension of hostility need be entertained in landing here. Indeed, parties coming here from wrecked vessels, or from those in any kind of distress may be certain of being relieved, and their wants attended to by these well disposed and humane, but very primitive people.

Ladrones, Resources of.—Isle Saypan.—

Having been deceived by the directions with regard to the Isle of Saypan (one of the Ladrones N. Pacific), which I was induced to visit through statements of the ease with which they alleged supplies were to be obtained. I am inclined to send you a few particulars which may be the means of preventing others from being misled in the same way. The ship **Sebastian Cabot** sailed within five hundred yards of the shore where it was described that a good anchorage existed, but nothing could be more erroneous. There is no opening in the reef which lies N.W. of the island, nor was there any point of approach along the shore which we could discern. The above reef extends along the coast about ten miles in a N.W. direction. A number of boats crowded with men were engaged fishing inside the reef; but paid not the slightest attention to us, nor did they show the least sign of coming off to ascertain our name, so as there were no means of our communicating with the shore, we proceeded on our course.

According to my observations the N.E. point of the Island of Saypan is in lat. 15°16'30" N., long. 145°50' E.

Douglas Reef.—

Having sighted Douglas Reef N. Pacific on the morning of the 10th of June, 1867, and finding a difference in the position and the description given by Mr. Sproule, of the ship **Marie**, in 1848, from the "China Pilot," fourth edition, 1864, I beg leave to state that it is a reef extending in a W.N.W. and E.S.E. direction for five miles. Two isolated rocks near its western end, the westernmost about twenty feet, the other about fifteen feet above water, distant from each other about a quarter of a mile.

The position by excellent observations of the westernmost rock I made to be long. 136°17'15" E., lat. 20°28' N. It is a very dangerous reef in stormy or cloudy weather, as it can be seen but a very short distance.

By inserting the above your will much oblige,
Your obedient Servant,
J. B. Steele,

Master of the **Sebastian Cabot**,
From Sydney, Bound to Shanghae.

Document 1867K

The bark Midas, Captain Drake

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 350; Log Inv. 3273.

Note: The voyage, under Captain David R. Drake, lasted four years, 1865 to 1869.

Extract from the logbook

...
Thursday January 17th [1867]

... Spoke the Bark **Washington** of New Bedford, 500 bbls. Lat. 1°15' [S]. Long. 178°16' [E].

...
Saturday January 19th

... At 7 a.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing off SSE... The **Washington** in sight. Two boats went on shore.

Sunday January 20th

... At 10 a.m., saw Rotch's [Tamana] Island bearing WSW...

...
Wednesday January 23rd

... Spoke the Ship **Adeline** of New Bedford, 28 bbls of sperm. Lat. 2°18' [S]. Long. 175°19' [E].

...
Sunday February 2nd

... At 6 a.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing SE dist. 20 miles... Lat. 24 miles S. Long. 168°55' [E].

...
Tuesday February 5th

... At 1 p.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing SW by W. Steering for it. At 7, tacked ship. Stood off and [on] in the night. At 8 a.m., the canoes came aboard. Got some pigs and coconuts...

...
Monday February 11th

... At 10 a.m., saw the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing WNW... Lat. 7°00' [N]. Long. 158°15' [E].

Tuesday February 12th

... At 4 p.m., passed Ascension...

...

Saturday February 16th

... At 10 a.m., saw the Island of Sipan [Saipan] and Tinian bearing NW. Steering for Tinian... Lat. 15°00' [N]. Long. 145°49' [E].

Sunday February 17th

... At 5 p.m., let go anchor off Tinian in 7 fathoms water. Saw the Bark **Java** of New Bedford take 2 humpbacks alongside...

Monday February 18th

... At 10 a.m., saw 3 humpbacks. Lowered and chased; did not strike. Latter part employed in getting off water, stowing it down.

...

Thursday February 21st

... Employed in getting off wood and sweet potatoes.

Friday February 22nd

... At 9 a.m., got under way, steering NW. At 5, got clear of the land. Saw 5 ships to anchor off Sipan. At sundown, the Island bearing NE dist. 12 miles...

...

[To the Bonins, and the Arctic for another season.]

...

Saturday Jan. 4th [1868]

... Land in sight, a long low island... [Butaritari] Lat. 03°18' [N]. Long. 173°00' [E].

Sunday Jan. 5th

... At 2 p.m., kept off and ran between two islands.¹ At 6 p.m., dark, hauled aback...

Monday Jan. 6th

... Lat. 02°24' N. Long. 171°30' E.

...

Friday Jan. 10

... At 8 a.m., raised Pleasant Island right ahead...

Saturday Jan. 11th

... All sail set heading in for the land. At 1 p.m., the natives came on board & commenced to trade. Got off from shore 52 hogs & other things. At 7 p.m., made all sail &

1 Ed. note: Between Makin and Butaritari.

stood off shore for the night... At daylight, commenced to get off stuff...

Sunday Jan. 12th

... At 3 p.m., got on board all our things, 4,074 pounds of pork & 75 fowls, with 4,000 coconuts for hogs to eat. Took on board 9barrels of coconut oil. At 4 p.m., made all sail heading to NNE...

...

[Saturday Jan. 18th]

... At 11 a.m., raised Strong's [Kosrae] Island & a sail...

...

Monday Jan. 20th

... At 2 p.m., raised McAskill's Island bearing WNW. AT 6 p.m., got down to it & a canoe came off to the ship. The Captain went on shore & brought off one turtle. Kept off our course W by N... At daylight, raised Wellington's [Mokil] Island. At 8 a.m., got up to the Island. Boats came alongside. Sent 2 boats on shore after coconuts. Got off 2,000. Kept off our course W by N under short sail for the Island of Ascension...

Tuesday Jan. 21

... At 9 p.m., hauled aback... At 9 a.m., raised the land ahead. At 10 a.m., it cleared off...

Wednesday Jan. 22

... At 2 p.m., took the Pilot on board. Got up chains & anchors off the bows. At 6 p.m., tacked off shoe. Couldn't get in; got too late... At 11 a.m., came to anchor in 8 fathoms of water, paid out 30 fathoms & let go the port anchor under foot, furled sails...

Thursday Jan. 23

... Employed getting off wood & water & varios oother jobs.

...

Sunday Jan. 26

... Employed smoking ship to kill the rats...

...

Thursday Jan. 30

... Employed at getting wood. At dark, got done getting wood. Took on board 27 boatloads all told, 300 barrels of water, 27 hogs, about 1,100 cononuts & 22 barrels of yams, some fowl & fruit. Ship all ready for sea...

Friday Jan. 31

... Employed getting out lines to haul ship by. Got all ready & took up port anchor then starboard anchor. Made sail & got under way...

Saturday February 1st

... Ship outside all clear of reef. Discahrged Pilot. Steered WNW...

...

Thursday Feb 6th

... At daylight, raised land, the Island of Guam.

...

[They did not stop at Guam, but went strait to the Bashi Islands, etc.]

Document 1867L

The bark Aurora, Captain Aveline

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 310, 311; Log Inv. 495.

Notes: The voyage of the bark Aurora of New Bedford lasted from 1865 until 1871, but actually this period corresponds to two voyages: the first under Captain James O. Aveline, until November 1868, and a second voyage out of Sas Francisco, under Captain William Barnes (see Doc. 1870F). There were 31 men on board at departure in 1865.

Extract from the logbook kept by First Mate John W. Flansburg

...

Tuesday February 12th 1867

... At 2 p.m., seen Hope [Arorae] Island to the westward. Steered for it and by 5 p.m., up to it and the natives came on board with trade, etc. and about (20) twenty remained on board all night¹ and at daylight in the morning, no land in sight and did not see any the day... Lat. 03°16' S. Long. 177°17' E.

Wednesday February 13th 1867

... At 11:30 a.m., seen Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island to the westward...

Thursday February 14th 1867

All this day pleasant weather with light NE winds. All sail set working the ship to the windward for Hope Island. At 10 a.m., sighted it ahead about N and by Meridian up with it and natives on board. So ends.

Friday February 15th 1867

... Standing off and on at Hope Island. By 3:30 p.m., missed 2 men by desertion, Manuel Dore and George Williams. Offered a reward, one box of tobacco. The rest of the day waiting for them. At 11:45 a.m., Capt. Aveline went on shore in a native boat to assist in taking them...

¹ Ed. note: They were women.

Saturday February 16th 1867

... At 3 p.m., the Captain came on board with George Williams. Manuel Dore could not be found. Steered to the westward... We took 4 natives from the Island...

...

Tuesday February 19th 1867

... At 10 a.m., Ocean [Banaba] High Island in sight to the N.W. Steered for it and by Meridian about 5 miles off... Lat. 00°55' S. Long. 170°55' E.

...

Friday February 22nd 1867

... At 6 a.m., Pleasant [Nauru] Island in sight to the westward. Steered for it and by the end of the day up with it and the natives on board...

Saturday February 23rd 1867

... Got about 4-1/2 cords of wood. The middle part, steered NNW...

...

Thursday February 28th 1867

... The latter part of the day, passed Strong's [Kosrae] Island... Lat. 05°30' N. Long. 162°57' E.

...

Friday March 8th 1867

... At 2 p.m., saw the Island of Rota to the SW. Steered for it and at 6 p.m., spoke with the Bark *Cicero*, Capt. Paun of New Bedford and by the end of the day the Island of Guam in sight. At 10:30 a.m. took the pilot and steered for the Harbor.

Saturday March 9th 1867

This day pleasant weather. All hands employed in getting a raft of casks on shore for water.

...

Monday March 11th 1867

... At 10 a.m., the Starboard Watch went on shore for 48 hours liberty. Employed on board in receiveing wood and stowing it away.

...

Sunday March 17th 1867

... All hands on board but 2 men, deserters.

...

Friday March 22nd 1867

... The ship ready for sea.

Saturday March 23rd 1867

At 11 a.m., took the anchor and proceeded to Umatac Bay for water and at 2:30 p.m., anchored in 10 fathoms water.

Sunday March 24th 1867

... All hands on board keeping the Sabbath.

...

Thursday March 28th 1867

... At 3 a.m., took the anchor and set topsails and job and steered by the wind heading to the northward...

...

Saturday March 30th 1867

... At 4 p.m., seen the Island of Tinian to the eastward working the ship toward the land. By 9 a.m., we were up to the Island of Saypan and Capt. Aveline went on board of the **E. Swift**, Capt. Pontius, the **E. Swift** boiling a humpback. At 10 a.m., Capt. Aveline came on board and we steered for Tinian and so ends this day by sea account.

Civil account at Tinian.

... At 1:30 p.m., anchored at Tinian in 11 fathoms water with starboard anchor, 30 fathoms chain out. At 3:30 p.m. lowered for humpbacks but without success. At 7 p.m., confined the cooper in singe irons for refusing to stand a watch when ordered to do so by the Capt...

Sunday March 31st 1867

... All hands on board keeping the Sabbath...

...

Tuesday April 2nd 1867

... At 9:30 a.m., made all sail and took up anchor and steered to the northward with light airs from the westward...

...

Thursday April 4th 1867

... All sail set, steering N. Passed several islands... Lat. 17°00' N. Long. 145°57' E.

...

Sunday April 7th 1867

... All sail set, working the ship to the eastward for the Island of Pagon [Pagan]. The Bark **Stephania** of New Bedford, Capt. Sinclair in company...

Monday April 8th 1867

... At 1 p.m., Capt. Aveline went on shore and returned on board at 11 a.m...

...

[And on to the Arctic. Capt. Aveline went home sick, after he disembarked at San Francisco in November 1867. For continuation of this voyage, see Doc. 1870B.]

Document 1867N

The bark Sea Queen, Captain Mooers, whaling in the Tobi area

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; Log Inv. 4307.

Notes: There is another logbook of the bark Sea Queen of Westport, Mass., kept by Captain Charles C. Mooers himself, in two versions, one kept in Nantucket and the other at Sharon, but they are of marginal interest for Micronesia, as can be seen by the present document. The voyage lasted from 3 July 1868 to 5 September 1869.

Extract from the logbook kept by William A. Folger

...

Sunday 22nd [September 1867]

... At 9 a.m., made St. David's [Mapia] Island bearing ESE 20 miles dist. At 11, signalled a large English Ship steering to the WNW. At noon, St. David's bearing SSE 12 miles...

Monday 23rd

... At 3 p.m., two boats went in. At 8, returned with 200 coconuts. Middle and latter part, steering to the NE... Lat. by Obs. 1°43' N.

...

Monday 30th

... Spoke the **Mary**.¹ [She has] seen whales twice. Taken some 20 bbls. Lat. 00°50' N. Long. 132°15' E.

...

Tuesday 8th [Oct. 1867]

... Spoke French Bark **Jacques et Marie**, 127 days from [Le] Havre bound to Japan...

...

Wednesday 23rd

... Spoke the Bark **Petchelee**(?) [Batchelor?] of Liverpool, 112 days out bound to Hong Kong. Short of water. Let him have a small cask...

1 Ed. note: The **Mary**, of Edgartown, Capt. George Smith, voyage of 1866-71, last met on 12 September.

...

Friday 6th [Dec. 1867]

... Spoke the **Xantho** 800 bbls sperm... Lat. 1°25' N. Long. 129°34' E.

...

Sunday Bark **Alaska** of New Bedford, out 6 months, 27 bbls sperm... Mortty 30 miles SW.

...

Friday 10th [Apr. 1868]

... Spoke English Bark **Fanny & Mail** bound to Amoy...

Saturday 11th

... Off St. DAvid's. No whales. Hard times for us fellows, you bet.

Sunday April 12th

... At 4 p.m., St. David's SSE 15 miles dist...

...

Thursday 16th

... St. David's SE by E 16 miles dist. A ship to the SE steering to the N...

Friday 17th

... The **Mary** in sight to the Eastward.

Saturday 18th

... 4 p.m., spoke the **Mary**, 19 months out, 900 sperm, 100 whale. ...

Wednesday 22nd

... At 11 a.m., spoke the Bark **Orlando** of New Bedford, 12 months out, 60 bbls sperm oil...

...

Friday 24th

... Spoke the U.S. gunboat **Kewanee**, 7-1/2 months from New York bound to Japan.

...

Sunday 17th [May 1868]

... The **Mary & Orlando** in sight.

[Position next day: Lat. 00°17' N. Long. 134°32' E.]

...

Thursday 23rd [July 1868]

... At daylight, steering E. Lord North [Tobi] Island bearing SSE 6 miles. Latter part... saw a ship steering to the SE... Lat. 3°10' N. Long. 131°40' E.

Friday 24th

... At 1 p.m., made Helen Shoal SE 10 miles. Passed along under the lee within 1-

1/2 miles... Lat. 2°08' N. Long. 132°06' E.

Saturday 25th

... At 8 a.m., William Wand, Boatsteerer, a native of Hawaii, S[andwich] Is., aged about 33 years died after a sickness of about five weeks, what we called Typhus Fever. We did all in our power to save him but all to no purpose (but such is life) in mides(?) of it we are in death. Lat. 1°50' N. Long. 131°50' E.

Sunday 26th

... At 4:30 p.m., we performed the burial services and committed the body to the deep... Lat. 1°19' N. Long. 132°15' E.

...

Tuesday 28th

... The Asia Islands WNW 20 miles... At 10 a.m., spoke Ship **Lennox Castle**, 25 days from Hong Kong bound to Liverpool.

...

Document 18670

The ship Three Brothers, Captain Taber

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 367; Log Inv. 4605.

Extract from the logbook kept by Robert Post Gifford and Leonard L. Finch

...

Saturday Dec. 14th [1867]

... At 1 p.m., raised Hope [Arorae] Island. At 3, the natives came off with chickens & mats. At 4, steered W in a heavy squall... At 6 a.m., raised Bhering [i.e. Byron = Nukunau] Island & steered for it. At 7 a.m., the natives came off & we got a load of wood & a few coconuts. At 11 a.m., steered W...

...

Friday Dec. 27th

... At 7 a.m., raised Pleasant [Nauru] Island. At 11 a.m., a boat came off. At 12, hove to 2 miles off shore.

Saturday Dec. 28th 1867

... Laying off & on at Pleasant Island trading for recruits.

Sunday Dec. 29th

... Laying off & on and getting wood & hogs.

Monday Dec. 30th

... At 4 p.m., finished getting our wood & steered WSW...

...

Wednesday Jan. 15th [1868]

... At 9, raised McAskill's [Pingelap] Island one point on our lee bow. At 12 M.D., hauled aback.

Thursday Jan. 16th

... At 3, the 3 larboard boats went in after coconuts. At 5, took them on board & steered NW by N...

...

Tuesday Jan. 21st

... At 7 a.m., raised land bearing NW by W & steered for it. At 12 M.D., sropped anchor off Saypan & furled the sails.

...

Thursday Jan. 23rd

... At 6 [a.m.], called all hand & all 4 boats lowered after breakfast.

Friday Jan. 24th

... The boats off after whales. Saw a few but got none.

...

Sunday Jan. 26th

... Called all hands at 6 p.m. & commenced cutting. At 4 a.m., lowered 3 boats. At 4:20, the L. B. struck. At 4:30, she killed him. The ship took anchor. At 6 a.m., took him alongside & set the watches.

...

Tuesday Jan. 28th

Called all hands at 5:30 & sent the boats off. At 10, the L. B. sunk & the other boats towed her on board. At 7, cooled down the try works.

...

[Humpback whaling over the next 14 days.]

...

Wednesday Feb. 12th

... At 1 p.m., got under way... steered for Tynian.

Thursday Feb. 13th

... At 3 p.m., dropped anchor off Tynian and the Capt. went on shore.

Friday Feb. 14th

... At 6, the Capt. came off... At 9 [a.m.], the Capt. went on shore. At 11, he returned & took the anchor. At 12, made sail.

Saturday Feb. 15th 1868

... Steering for Umata with light squalls of rain in the last part. At 7 a.m., raised Guam.

Sunday Feb. 16th

... At 10 p.m., hove to off Guam. At 6 a.m., steered for the lee end of the Island... At 11:30 a.m., dropped anchor off Umata & furled the sails.

Monday Feb. 17th

... At 6 a.m., called all hands & sent 3 boats after water. At 9, took one raft along-

side & sent in another. At 10, struck adrift & hove up the anchor. At 10:30, the boats came alongside. 11, got the anchor & made sail, beating to windward.

Tuesday Feb. 18th

... At 3 p.m., dropped anchor in Umata Bay & sent 2 boats off after water. At 4, they returned. At 5:30 a.m., called all hands & sent 2 boats after water, the remainder smoking ship. At 11, they returned with the water.

Wednesday Feb. 19th

... At 3 p.m., took the anchor & made sail steering by the wind heading NW by N...

...

Document 1868A

The Clio, Captain Cargill, rescued marooned salvagers on Wake

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, May 1868.

Note: While at Guam, the English brig Clio heard about the treasure left by the Libelle at Wake, and went there, just in time to rescue some divers, whom she took to Honolulu. She stopped again at Guam on her way to Hong Kong.

Report of the English Brig Clio

This vessel arrived [at Honolulu] April 29th [1868], from Wake Island, bringing as passengers Mr. Thomas Foster, Capt. English, and the Hawaiian divers. It appears that they were landed on the Island from the schooner **Moi Wahine**, which sailed from Honolulu nearly eight months ago. Three days after landing this company to wreck the **Libelle**, the schooner was driven off to sea by a gale, and nothing has ever been heard from her. Capt. Zenas Bent was in command. Besides there were on board Mr. Wight the mate, three Hawaiian sailors and one Tahitian, and a colored cook by the name of Sampson.

Capt. Zenas Bent has a sister residing in Atlanticville, N.Y., and Mr. Wight is reported to have been from Lowell, Mass. He was a soldier in the Federal Army during the war.

The **Clio** brought 240 flasks of quicksilver, some copper, anchor, chains, &c., from the wreck of the **Libelle**.¹

¹ Ed. note: According to a note on Departures in The Friend of June, the Clio departed Honolulu on 13 May, bound to Hong Kong, via Guam. There is more information about the Clio in the Foreign Office general letters (see PRO London, and AJCP PRO 3608-9).

Document 1868B

North Pacific Whaling Fleet, in 1868

Sources: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, August 1868: copied from the Honolulu Commercial Advertiser.

Note: Not all, but a fair number of these vessels went to the Arctic by way of a clockwise circuit through the Gilbert, Caroline, and Mariana Islands.

North Pacific Whaling Fleet

We are indebted to Mr. A. J. Cartwright,¹ for the following list of whalers cruising in the North Pacific, numbering in all 76 vessels. Of these the 10 classed under the head of San Francisco, will visit that port; two, the **Splendid** and **Marengo**, it is thought are sperm whaling, and may not come in here this fall; one, the **Cherokee**, is supposed to have gone home via New Zealand, and two, the **Hibernia** and **Janus**, do not visit this group till the spring of 1869. Deducting these from the whole list, we have 61 vessels that may be expected to recruit here with some certainty.

Off First Season: 7.—

<p>Concordia, Jones. Cornelius Howland, Homan. Daniel Webster, Marvin. Helen Snow, Campbell.</p>	<p>Josephine, Cogan. Onward, Pulver. Splendid, Jernegan.</p>
---	---

Off Second Season: 16.—

<p>Acorn Barnes, Jeffrey. Benjamin Cummings, Halsey. California, Wood. Corinthian, Lewis. Europa, Mellen. General Scott, Washburn. George Howland, Knowles. Hercules, Howland.</p>	<p>Hibernia, Ludlow. John Carver, Worth. Marengo, Little. Niger, Cleveland. Ohio, Lawrence. Oriole, Hayes. Progress, Dowden. Vineyard, Smith.</p>
---	--

¹ Ed. note: He may have been the Harbor Master of Honolulu.

Off Third Season: 29.—

Adeline, Soule.
Awashonks, Norton.
Cicero, Paun.
Champion, Worth.
Cherokee, Eldridge.
Courser, Hamblin.
Eagle, McKenzie.
Gay Head, Kelley.
George, Davis.
Islander, Holley.
James Allen, Willis.
Janus, Smith.
John Wells, Dean.
Lydia, Hathaway.
Midas, Drake.

Nautilus, Smith.
Navy, Davis.
Norman, Towle.
Ocean, Barber.
President, Kelley.
Rainbow, Baker.
Reindeer, Raynor.
Sea Breeze, Hamilton.
Seine, Smith.
St. George, Soule.
Tamerlane, Winslow.
Three Brothers, Tabey.
Trident, Rose.
Washington, Baker.

Off Fourth Season: 2.—

Java, Enos.

Milo, Hawes.

Honolulu Fleet: 11.—

Comet, ---- [Abbott?].
Count Bismarck, Dallman.
Eagle, Loveland.
Hae Hawaii, Heppingstone.
Kohola, Tripp.
Monticello, Phillips.

Nile, Allen.
Norman, Snyder.
Pfeil, ---- [Almy].
William Rotch, Nye.
Winslow, Labaste.

San Francisco Fleet: 10.—

Active, Robinson.
Aurora, Aveline.
Eugenia, Barnes.
Fanny, Hunting.
Florida 2d, Williams.

John Howland, Whelden.
Helen Mar, Herendeen.
Massachusetts, Williams.
Massachusetts, Wilcox.
Thomas Dickason, Jernegan.

Of the third season ships, fifteen are expecting to return home this fall. And it is likely that the fleet will be reduced in this way about one third. As very few vessels are being fitted out at home ports, it is probable that next year's whaling fleet will be small. This, however, will depend much on the price of oil. At the latest advices we observe there had been an advance in the value of whale oil, the range being 82 a 85v. This advance is owing in great part to the high price of Lard oil, and the small catch of minhaden fish, the oil of which comes in direct competition with whale oil. Now is the very best time

to fit out whalers from this port, just when the home fleet is decreasing in numbers. And we urge our merchants and capitalists to lend their co-operation in aiding those who wish to engage in this profitable branch of commerce, for prosecuting which our islands are so well located. There is capital now lying idle here, sufficient to fit out a dozen whalers, if proper encouragement is given to the enterprise.

The average price of sperm and whale oils and of bone during the past *four years* in New York, in currency has been: sperm, \$2,26; whale oil, \$1,18; whale bone, \$1,46. There is every probability that the value during the next four years will be profitable, though perhaps not so large.—

Document 1868C

The Hawaiian bark Eagle, Captain Loveland

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, December 1868.

Report of Hawaiian Bark Eagle.

Sailed from Honolulu December 17, 1867, bound south and west; crossed the equator in long. 159° W; sighted Christmas and Jarvis Islands; saw first sperm whales in lat. 2° S and took tow; saw them again in long. 172° and took three, and saw no more sperm whales; crossed the equator bound north in E long. 170°, touching at Strong's [Kosrae] Island for wood and water; touched also at McAskill's [Pingelap], Grigan [Ag-rigan], South Island [in Bonins], Port Lloyd, and Yokohama. Off the last port had two gales.

Left Yokohama April 8 [1868], passing Copper Island April 15, Cape Olutorski the 20th, and met first ice on 22d in lat. 60°. On the 25th entered the ice, and continued in it, sometimes locked fast for weeks. Saw whales occasionally, but owing to the thick ice were unable to lower boats and give chase. On the ..th of June broke our rudder, took it on board, repaired and replaced it. Off St. Lawrence Bay, found clear water, but no whales; cruised there two vweeks and saw nothing. Took three devil fish in July. During August saw a few whales but they were shy, and could not catch them. In September saw six, and the last October 3d, all going quick, evidently bound to the North Pole. (May good luck attend them.) On the 4th put away for the Straits in disgust, in company with the **Count Bismarck** and **Onward**. Have had frequent gales throughout the season, and in getting through the Fox Islands, lost jib-boom, stove in boats, &c. Have taken 110 barrels sperm, 170 whae, 3,000 pounds bone. This season has been a peculiar one, differing from the last in many respects as to weather, winds and whales—prosperous to some, but ruinous to others.

Respectfully yours,
B. F. Loveland.

Document 1868D

Labor recruiting in the Gilberts

Sources: Article in the Journal of Pacific History, 1967, page 24; reproduced from the British House of Commons papers.

Recruiting in the Gilbert Islands for Stewart's Atimaono Plantations on Tahiti, 1868.

Deposition of Walter Oates, mate of Moaroa.

...

[At Beru] went on shore to the King with interpreter called Sunday and asked him if he would give us some natives; the King said he would not—if you take them you will never bring them back again; the captain, Charles Steenalt, said he would give him three days to consider, and if he did not give them he would take them; we had a gendarmed named Du Sander on board at the time; on the third day the gendarme said he would not go on shore, he would stop on board and let the captain go to see if he could get any natives, as he was getting tired waiting for he wanted to get the ship filled quickly so that he could get back; the captain then went on shore, he stopped ashore about five hours, then came on board with 37 natives; the men all told me that they had great sport in the bush catching them and making them fast; these natives were confined down below under lock and key...

[The vessel] proceeded to the Island of Onotow [Onotoa], four boats went on shore during the night, surprised the natives when they were asleep, made 87 men and women fast, took them on board. Next day, vessel sailed for Tamana; ... three large canoes came alongside to sell fowls and coconuts; there were about thirty natives in each canoe; we lowered a boat on the other side, pulled round gently, capsized the canoes and took the natives in the boat, and made them all fast and put them down below. Vessel proceeded to Arour [Arorae], boat went on shore; the men on the Island were very frightened seeing the men all armed; they said do not hurt us, and you can steal all the women you like as long as you make them fast. Thirty-eight young women were all made fast by the hair of their head and led into the boat, and taken on board the ship; we then sailed for Tapituia [Tabiteuea]; capsized some canoes and took the natives on board; we then sailed for Tahiti.

The natives were kept down below for six weeks, never allowed to come on deck till a sickness broke on amongst them, dying on an average five a day; they were all told not to speak about being kidnapped, if they did speak they would get killed. Just before we got to Tahiti, the natives had to sign an agreement for five years; in fact, they were forced to sign the paper when they arrived in Tahiti; they were all marched ashore and put to work on the plantation at wages from one to three dollars per month.—British House of Commons.

Document 1868E

The bark *Eugenia*, Captain Steen

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 324; Log Inv. 1664.

*Notes: Although the *Eugenia* was reported in Micronesian waters in 1867, 1868 and 1869, the only part transcribed deals with 1868. Captain John Steen was replaced by Captain William M. Barnes after the 1868 season, it appears.*

Extract from the logbook

...

Friday Jan. 17th

... At 3 p.m., rose Byron's [Nukunau] Island bearing S 15 miles dist... Latter part, off Byron's Island in company with the **Monticello**. Lat. 1°26' [S]. Long. 176°20' [E].

Saturday January 18th

... At 3 p.m., off Perote [Beru] Island. At dark, the Island bearing E 15 miles... Lat. 00°40' S.

Sunday Jan. 19th

... At 3 p.m., rose Sydenham's [Nonouti] Island. At dark, tacked at the South End... Lat. 00°51' S. Long. 173°15' E.

...

Tuesday Jan. 21st

... At 5 p.m., Charles Johnson died with the dropsy. Buried him at 8 p.m... Lat. 00C36' [S]. Long. 170° [E].

...

Friday Jan. 24th

... Latter part, sighted Pleasant [Nauru] Island.

Sat. Jan. 25th

... Laying at Pleasant Island. At dark, had 4 boatloads of wood on board... At 8 a.m., lowered 4 boats and towed ship off shore.

Sunday Jan. 26th

... Employed getting wood, 8 boatloads, and some hogs... Lat. 1°.17' S. Long.

168°57' E.

Monday Jan. 27th

... At 7 p.m., tacked ship, steering NNW...

...

Wednesday Jan. 29th

... Latter part... Ocean [Banaba] Island in sight bearing E by S. At 10 a.m., sent 1 boat on shore for fowls and broom stuff. Came on board at noon.

...

Thursday Feb. 6th

... At 2 p.m., rose Aborn [sic = Ebon]. At dark, shortened sail off the South End of the Island. Middle part, on different tacks. Latter part, stood into the land. Got one native. Broached a bbl of beef.

...

Sunday Feb. 9th

... At p.m., rose the land, bearing W by S 45 miles dist. Middle part, passed Strong's [Kosrae] Island to the Southward... Lat. 5°49' [N]. Long. 161°44' [E].

Monday Feb. 10th

... At 9 a.m., sighted McAskill's [Pingelap] Island. At noon, off the East End of the land.

Tuesday Feb. 11th

... Passed the land steering WNW... At 2 a.m., rose the land. At 7 a.m., laying off Wellington's [Mokil] Island...

Wednesday Feb. 12th

... Latter part, sighted Ascension [Pohnpei] and passed to the North of it.

...

Tuesday Feb. 18th

... At 7 p.m., kept off for Guam. At 3 p.m. [sic], came to anchor in 20 fathoms. So ends this day of 36 hours to commence Harbor Log.

Wednesday Feb. 19th

... Employed making a main topsail yard and painting ship. Broached a bbl of pork.

Thursday Feb. 20th

... Employed mending sail and various small jobs.

Friday Feb. 21st

... Employed variously. Sent 11 bbls of flour on shore. Broached a bbl of pork.

Saturday Feb. 22nd

... Sent the Starboard Watch on liberty. **John Carver** came to anchor.

Sunday Feb. 23rd

Much the same, rainy.

Monday Feb. 24th

... Sent 4 bbls of flour and 2 bbls of beef on shore. Starboard Watch on shore.

Tuesday Feb. 25th

... The Larboard Watch on shore. Starboard Watch all on board.

Wednesday Feb. 26th

... Employed getting wood.

Thursday Feb. 27th

Much the same. All hands on board.

Friday Feb. 28th

... Employed painting the mast and smoked ship.

Sat. Feb. 29th

... Employed variously. Received 40 bbls of potatoes. Finished the wood, 14 cords.

Sunday March 1st

Continues fresh bree from the NE.

Monday March 2nd

The same. Employed tarring the rigging. Discharged the Steward, sick. One Annabon Kanaka ran away. Shipped 3 Chamorro boys.

Tuesday March 3rd

At 10 a.m., got under way with a fresh gale from the NE. At 12 a.m. came to anchor in Umata for water. Got one raft and stowed it away.

Wednesday March 4th

Continues the same. Finished getting water and stowed it away. At 1 p.m., got under way. So ends this day of 18 hours to commence a maritime log. Broached a bbl of pork.

Thursday March 5th

... Heading along the land. At 4 p.m., passed Rota [Orote] Point. Put the Cook in [as] Steward and William Emery in Cook. Middle part, working up to the town. At 7

a.m., the pilot came off and brought the runaways on board. Lat. 13°48' [N].

...

Sunday March 8th

... At noon, passed the Island of Alamagan 3 miles dist. bearing W. Middle and latter part, working up to Pagan. Broached a bbl of beef & pork.

...

Tuesday March 10

Laying off the Island of Pagan. Lowered the boats for humpbacks, without success... Latter part, steering N by E. Gregan [Agrigan] in sight.

Wednesday March 11th

... At dark, Gregan bearing WNW 15 miles dist... Lat. 18°40' [N]. Long. 146°22' [N].

...

Document 1868F

Visit to Nauru of the barque Glenisle, Captain Hall

Source: Nautical Magazine, 1870, pp. 1-4.

Australia (Newcastle) to China, touching at Pleasant Island, in the Barque Glenisle.**Mauritius, October 22nd, 1869.**

Dear Sir.

Having read Captain Brown's accounts of his passages from Australia to China, during the months of October and November, 1865, and to Japan in March, 1868, and having made the passage last year, east of New Caledonia, during the months of August and September, I now take the liberty of sending you a short account of it...

We sailed from Newcastle N.S.W. on August 6th [1868], with the wind moderate from the S.E. ...

...
We experienced the westerly current as far as Pleasant Island, which Captain Brown mentions.¹ On the morning of the 29th at daybreak we sighted Pleasant Island. We seemed to have been seen from the island as soon as we saw it, as we could observe several canoes coming out towards us. At seven a.m. we had two or three of them alongside, and a whale boat with an Englishman in her. They did not attempt to come on board until they had received permission to do so. As soon as they were on deck there commenced a strong bartering match, they having cocoa nuts, a few fowls, a few eggs, and some large sized flying fish. One of the natives had a pistol; and another had an English Bible which he had obtained from some passing ship. He offered it to me for five gun-caps, or ten fishhooks. The Englishman had a few mats, very neatly made from the cocoanut leaf, which I got for a bag of small bread. There was another whale boat that came alongside at this time with another Englishman in her, who had been twenty-eight years on the island. His son was with him, a youth eighteen years of age. They brought three pigs in their boat, which I bought.

1 Page 72, February, 1868.

There were several more canoes came alongside, and I believe we had a visit from the same old woman mentioned by Captain Brown, and I am certain we are not the first ship that she has visited. I just saw her once, as she kept at the fore part of the ship. As to her beauty, just picture to yourself a kitchen wench of Shakespeare, and you have her true likeness. I spoke to the

Englishmen about the island having a bad name, and they told me it was owing to a man named Jones who had been taken off the island by a man-of-war. They told me that they try to visit all ships that pass within an easy distance, and seemed to be very anxious for it to be known that they could supply ships with pigs and cocoanut oil. I told them they ought to try and cultivate potatoes which they said they would do. I read them the account of the island in the *Nautical* for 1865, and they were quite proud to think that they are mentioned in it. They gave me an advertisement¹ to put in the papers if I should come back to the colonies. This I take the liberty to enclose you; but I am making my story of the island too long. We had them on board for four hours. They wished me to tell them what I made the position of the island. They said it was nine miles across, and twenty-two miles in circumference, and from what I made the west end in, I think Captain Cheyne's position is the correct one for the centre, which I see is given in last year's *Nautical*, as I made the west end to be in long. 167° E., and I had the mean of eighteen sets of Lunats two days afterwards, and found the chronometers going steady, and got the errors, thanks to Mr. Toynbee's hints on Lunars, which I find very useful. I spoke to several captains in China who have had a visit from Pleasant Island, but I must conclude and go on with the passage.

We had light variable winds from the Equator to lat. 8° N., and had an easterly current of from twenty-five to thirty miles per day, which set us down in sight of Baring Island, although steering every day to pass within sight of Ovalou or Armstrong Island. I saw the track of four other ships making the passage about the same time that were set in the same direction. We then got a light breeze from the S.E. which brought us out of the bight again, and we felt a slight westerly current from then until we were in lat. 14° N., long. 155° E., wind varying from S.E. to S.W., and a strong S.W. sea.

We passed in sight of Arcifes or Providence [i.e. Ujelang] Island, intending to steer up to sight Alamagan or Agrigan of the Marianne Group, and from there to pass to the northward of the Loo Choos. But we never felt any Trades until after we had passed the Mariannes; and then only had them light for a day or two. Then we found the wind from North, which obliged us to pass to leeward of the Loo Choo Islands, where we had a three or four days beat, although we felt the benefit of the Kuro Siwo or Japan current by being inside. The wind then came round from the eastward, and two days afterwards we sighted the Saddles, sixty-two days from Newcastle.

Four ships of us having sailed the same day bound to Shanghai, three of us were in sight together in passing the light ship, the other made the passage in fifty-one days. Two struck off from Brown's Range [i.e. Eniwetok], and entered the China Sea by Van

1 We have tried to read this production, and from the very faulty writing we have failed.—Ed.

Diemen's Strait. They made the best passage, as the slowest sailer amongst us was up to the light ship at the same time as we were, and we were fourteen days ahead of her at the Arcifes, which she gained on us again by carrying steadier winds. You will see by this, that it is just the opposite to what Captain Brown experienced going the same passage during the months of October and November, 1865. I blamed the equinox for our having no Trades, and think that if we had been later and the Trades properly established again after the equinox, we should have done best by passing through the Mariannes, and not going so far noroth until we drew up towards the Loo Choos.

I have seen several tracks up west of New CAledonia. One ship was thirty-five days from Newcastle to Shanghai; two others forty- eight days, but these were all fast ships.

...

I remain, yours, most respectfully,

William Hall.

To the Editor of the Nautical Magazine.

Document 1868G

The bark Helen Snow, Captain Campbell

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 332; Log Inv. 2187.

Notes: The voyage under Captain Thomas G. Campbell lasted from 1867 to 1871, but visits to Micronesia, only 1868-70.

Extract from the logbook, probably kept by a Mr. Harris, First Mate

Bark Hellen [sic] Snow. Log Book. Sailed from New Bedford August 31th 1867 with a crew of 27 men. Bound on a Whaling Voyage in the Pacific Ocean, Thomas Cambell [sic] Master.

...

[First to the Arctic Ocean, then Hawaii, in October 1868.]

...

Remarks on board 173°45' E.

Friday Dec. 18th [1868]

All this day fine, NE trades. Steered WNW with light rain squalls. At daylight, saw the Mulgrave [Mili] Is. bearing WSW dist. 10 miles. At 9 a.m., the natives came on board. Bought some coconuts & a few fowls. At 12 Meridian, kept off. Steered WSW. So ends.

Saturday Dec. 19th

All this day light NE trades, all sail out. Steering W by S with fine weather. Latter part saw Elizabeth [Jaluit] Isl. bearing W by N1/2N dist. 15 miles. So ends. Lat. 5°43' N. Long. 169°43' E.

Sunday Dec. 20th

All this day light NE trades, all sail out. Steering W by S1/2S with fine weather. Saw nothing. At 12 Meridian, hauled by the wind, headed to the NNW. Employed at repairing sails. So ends. Lat. 5°17' N. Long. 168°32' E.

Monday Dec. 21st

All this day light breezes from the Eastward, all sail out, steering by the wind, heading to the NNW. At 1 p.m., saw the Isl; Bearing's [Namorik] Island bearing NNW. AT 3 p.m., Capt. went on shore, got a few fowls & ducks. At 6 p.m., came on board. Kept off W1/2S. Latter part, employed at repairing sails. Saw nothing. So ends. Lat. 5°34' N. Long. 167°13' E.

...

Thursday Dec. 24th

... At 9 a.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Isl. bearing WSW dist. 20 miles. So ends. Lat. 5°28' N.

Friday Dec. 25th

... At 2:30 p.m., the natives came on board from Strong's Isl. At 3 p.m., the Capt. went on shore to trade. At dark, returned with 8 hogs & some fowls. Kept off & steered W by S. Latter part, employed at rattling down pantry, boats, etc. So ends. Lat. 5°28' N. Long. 161°10' E.

...

Thursday Dec. 31st

... Latter part, spoke the **John Wells**; nothing since leaving Sandwich Isl., bound to Booker [Buka] Bay, So ends. No obs.

...

[Buka Bay and Island is just north of Bougainville in the Solomon Islands.]

...

Thursday Feb. 11th [1869]

... 8 a.m., saw Pleasant [nauru] Island bearing WNW, hauled by the wind for it. At 10:30 a.m., the natives came on board with trade. A strong current setting to the leeward. Ends laying off and on, trading.

Friday Feb. 12th

All this day light winds & squally. Laying off and on at Pleasant Isl. trading for hogs, coconuts, etc. So ends.

Saturday Feb. 13th

All this day light airs & calms & heavy rain squalls. At 4 p.m., finished trading 5,500 lbs of pork, 7000 cocohuts, 1-1/2 wood, etc. Kept off, steered N by W. Saw nothing. So ends. Lat. 00°22' N. Long. 167°23' [E].

...

Thursday Feb. 18th

... At 6 a.m., saw Strong's Isl. bearing N by E dist. 30 miles. So ends. Lat. 5°37' N. Long. 162°30' E.

Friday Feb. 19th

... At 8 a.m. kept off W by N. Set all sail. Saw nothing. So ends. Lat. 6°57' N. Long. 161°08' E.

Saturday Feb. 20th

... At 9 a.m., saw the Isl. of Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing WSW. Ends steering in for the Isl., getting up chains, etc.

Sunday Feb. 21st.

All this day strong trades,. At 2:30 p.m., the pilot came on board. At 4 p.m., came to anchor in Ascension Harbor. Latter part, employed at breaking out the fore hold and getting casks ready for water. The 3-masted schooner **Frances Allen** of Hong Kong loading with lumber here. So ends.

Monday Feb. 22nd.

... Ship at anchor at Ascension. Employed at smoking ship & getting water, etc...

Tuesday Feb. 23rd

... Ship at anchor at Ascension. Employed at getting wood, water, recruits, etc...

...
Tuesday Mar. 2nd

... At daylight hove short, warped out to the point of the reef. At 10 a.m., made sail & went to sea... Put Peter Chater [sic] and Raymond Murphy in irons for attempting to run away. So ends.

Wednesday Mar. 3rd

... Peter Chater & Raymond Murphy on duty...

...

[The bark went directly to the Bonins, bypassing the Marianas. Then to Yokohama, the Arctic, Hawaii (Oct.-Nov. 1868), to the Line, and Pohnpei.]

...

Thursday Jan. 4th [1870]

... At 7 a.m., saw the Isl. of Ascension bearing SW dist. 10 miles. At 9 a.m., the pilot came on board. At 10:30 a.m., came to anchor in the NW Harbour. The natives took our axes on shore to cut wood. So ends.

Wednesday Jan. 5th

... Ship at anchor. Employed at trading for hogs & yams, waiting for wood. So ends.

Thursday Jan. 6th

... Ship at anchor. Employed at getting wood & trading with the natives. At 12 Meridian, ship all ready for sea. So ends.

Friday Jan. 7th

... At 1 p.m., got under way and went to sea. Discharged one Sandwich Isl. native, sick. Middle & latter part, steered SW by W with squally weather. So ends.

...

[To Buka Island once more, Duke of York Islands, etc.]

...

Tuesday Feb. 1st

... Spoke the **Daniel Webster**, nothing. Saw black fish, lowered, got one. AT 8 p.m., kept off, steered East bound to Pleasant [Nauru] Isl. Latter part, employed at mincing the black fish's blubber. The **Norman** in sight. Lat. 5°28' S. Long. 156°08' E.

...

Wednesday Feb. 16th

... At 2:30 p.m., saw Wellington's Isl. bearing NW. At 6 p.m., the Captain went on shore. Lay off and on through the night. Latter part employed at trading for hogs, coconuts, etc. So ends.

Thursday Feb. 17th

... At 4 p.m., finished trading, kept off, steered W by N. At daylight, saw the Isl. of Ascension. At 8:30 a.m., the pilot came on board. AT 9 a.m., came to anchor. Employed at getting a raft of casks on shore for water. Found the **Norman** here. So ends.

Friday Feb. 18th

... Ship at anchor in Ascension. Employed in getting some wood & getting ready for painting the yards. So ends.

Saturday Feb. 19

... Ship at anchor. Sunday with the ship, so there is nothing [to report]. So ends.

Sunday Feb. 20th

... Ship at anchor in Ascension. Employed at getting water, wood & painting the mast heads, etc. So ends.

Monday Feb. 21st

... Employed at getting wood, trading for yams, hogs, etc. Shipped 2 seamen.

Tuesday Feb. 22nd

... Ship at Ascension. Employed at getting wood & trading & getting ready for sea. So ends.

Wednesday Feb. 23rd

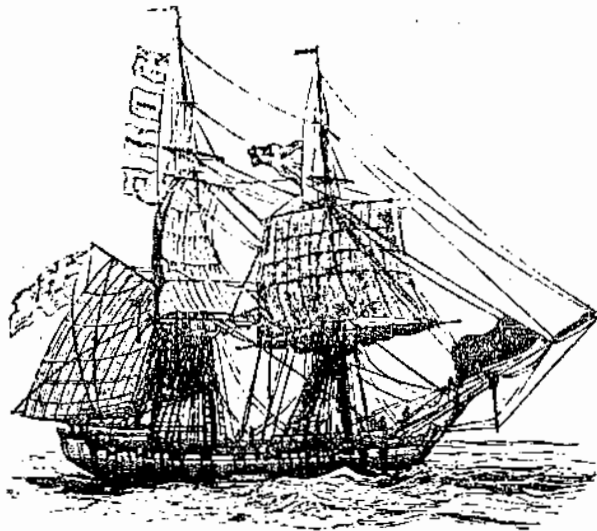
... Employed at getting ready for sea. At 12 meridian, ship all ready, waiting for wind. So ends.

Thursday Feb. 24th

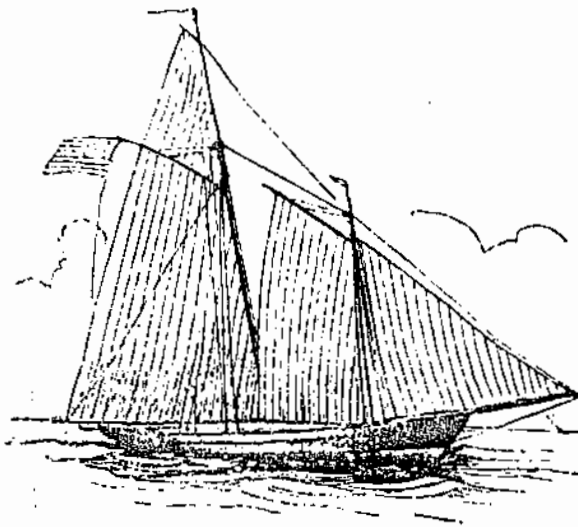
At 2 p.m., a breeze sprang up, got our anchor & went to sea... steering NW...

...

[Directly to Yokohama, the Arctic, Hawaii, then home.]



CAPTAIN PEASE'S BRIG "PIONEER."
EX "LEONORA," EX "WATER LILY."



Captain Pease's vessels.

Document 1868H

The trading schooner Malolo, Captain Bridges, and others, 1868-70

Source: Logbook 1868M in the Peabody Museum, Salem; PMB 219.

Notes: During this period, the Malolo had many captains: G. A. Bridges, J. P. Eldridge, A. W. Tripp, J. J. Mahlmann, and E. A. Pitman. The schooner Malolo may have been acquired by Captain Pease at Honolulu, after he sold the Blossom. The logbook itself must have retained kept by Captain Pitman, who took it home to Marblehead, Mass., and it was later acquired by the Peabody Museum.

Extracts from the logbook

Schooner Malolo from Honolulu towards Maraki.

...

Monday February 24th /68

At 2 p.m. Maraki [Marakei] Island bearing NW by W distance about 15 miles. At 6 p.m. hauled on the wind to wait for morning, the North end of the island bearing WNW and South end SW. Hauled down the main topmast staysail. Distance about 5 miles off shore. At 3:30 a.m. wore ship. At daylight, the North end of the island bore SW and South end SSE dist. 8 miles. At 8 a.m., came up close to the west beach. A canoe came alongside and the Captain went on shore. At 10 a.m. the Captain came on board, landed provisions. At 11 a.m. filled away for Pitt's [Makin] Island. At noon Maraki Island bore SSE, distance about 4 miles.

...

Thursday February 27th 1868

At 5:45 p.m. made Pitts Island bearing SW distance about 12 miles. At 3:15 a.m. wore ship. At daylight made the island bearing WSW distance about 8 miles. At 9 a.m. came up at the West shore of Huber(?) Island and laid off and on to be boarded by the trader. Sent the mail on shore in charge of Robert Anderson for J. W. Canaa.¹ At noon, filled away for Millie [Mili]...²

1 Ed. note: Rev. Kanoa, the Hawaiian missionary.

2 Ed. note: Pages corresponding to the period from Feb. 28 to March 13 inclusive, are missing from the bound logbook. Since Fr. Hezel has a quote for March 5th, it is possible that these pages have disappeared after the logbook was microfilmed by the Pacific Manuscript Bureau; check PMB 219, and perhaps 220 also, for the schooner's visit to Mili and Ebon.

Thursday March 19th 1868

At 4 p.m. the West end of Strong's [Kosrae] Island bore N by W distance about 5 miles... At 9 a.m. anchored in the South Harbour with starboard anchor and 15 fathoms of chain...

...

Sunday March 22th /68

... The Barque **Count Bismarck** coming in. At 11 a.m. got ashore, run lines and got off again at 2 p.m.

...

Saturday March 28th 1868

At 6 a.m. weighed anchor and made all sail. At 9:30 a.m. the West end of Strong's Island bore E by N distance about 10 miles...

Sunday March 29th 1868

At 7:40 a.m. made McAskill [Pingelap] Island bearing West dist. about 15 miles. At 10 a.m. hauled the jib to windward for a canoe to come alongside and filled away for Duperrey...

Monday March 30th 1868

At 6 p.m. made Duperrey [Mokil] Island bearing W by N distance about 12 miles. At 8 p.m. Duperrey Island bearing north distance about 2 miles. At 6 a.m., made Ponape [Pohnpei] bearing WNW distance about 20 miles. At 100 a.m. anchored in Middle Harbour¹ and furled all sail...

...

Thursday April 2nd 1868

... Landed stores and trade. Filled tow casks of water and painted ship outside and got one boatload of wood.

Friday April 3rd 1868

... At 5 a.m., weighed the port anchor and hove in 25 fathoms of the starboard chain. At 8 a.m. weighed the starboard anchor and amade all sail. At noon, Ponape bore West distance about 18 miles...

...

Monday April 6th 1868

At 3:45 p.m. McAskill Island bearing East distance about 12 miles. At 7:15 p.m. sent the boat on shore with passengers. At 10 p.m. McAskill Island bore WNW distance about 5 miles.

Tuesday April 7th 1868

At 10 p.m. made Strong's Island bearing East distance about 20 miles. Hauled on the

¹ Ed. note: Middle, because Bonatik is between Mutok and Kiti Harbors.

wind. At midnight, Strongs Island bore ENE. At 67 a.m. Strongs Island bore NE. Wore ship and steered for the island. At 7:15 a.m. anchored in South Harbour with starboard anchor and 15 fathoms chain. Fine, moderate, pleasant weather.

April 10th 1868, Strongs Island. Capt. J. P. Elridge transferred to the Schooner **Malolo** and Capt. Bridges to the Schooner **Blossom**.

April 10th 1868

Comes in with light wind and calm. All hands employed in shifting and changing ships. Exchanged 7 seamen from the Schooner **Blossom** to the **Malolo** and two traders and Robert Briggs as trading master.

...

April 12th 1868

... At 2 p.m. hove up the anchor but the wind died away and we did not get out.

...

April 14th 1868

... At 9 a.m. got light wind from the N. Hove up anchor and went to sea steering by the wind bound for Nomoric [Namorik]. All hands employed in working ship.

...

April 10th 1868

... All hands employed in cleaning firearms.

...

April 22nd, 1868

... At 4 p.m. sighted the island of Namorarik [sic] about 10 miles off...

April 23, 1868

... At 11 a.m. sent the boat on shore at the station. At 2 p.m. sent the boat on shore for the raft about 30 lbs. At 6 p.m. left for Juliet [Jaluit] bearing SE., the wind at ENE...

...

April 26, 1868

... All hands employed at cleaning guns. At 1.5 [sic] sighted the island of Juleit [sic] about 9 miles off bearing SE by S. Laying off and on Namorick.

April 27, 1868

... At 6:50 sighted the island and steered for the SE passage. AT 1:50 p.m. came to anchor in 9 fathoms of water...

April 28, 1868

... At 9 a.m. got light wind from the N. Hove up anchor and went across the lagoon to the station and let go anchor. The Captain and trading master went on shore to the station. The Captain returned to the ship at 5:50 p.m. with Robert Keyser for the murder of Lewis. When Captain Elridge went on shore, he went up to the station and saw

'Robert Keyser. He asked him where Mr. Lewis was. He replied he was dead and the Captain asked what was the matter with him. He (R.K.) replied: I shot him.; The Captain then asked him: why did you shoot him. He replied he (Mr. Lewis) shot at me first. Captain E. then asked him: what did he shoot at you for. He (R.K.) replied: I don't know. He had a grudge against me. As soon as he said that, Mr. Briggs (trading master) said to Captain E.: we will take this man prisoner. R. Keyser: I am willing to go. Captain E. then brought him (R.K.) on board the Schooner **Malolo** and trade. On Captain arriving on board with the prisoner, he told me to put him in irons. I did so and the prisoner made no resistance.

Henry Gardner, trading master and two makin kanakas were sent on shore and relieved Mr. Briggs and took charge of the station.

April 29, 1868

... At 6 a.m. sent the boat on shore at the station for the oil, about 35 lbs. At 9:50 a.m. hove up the anchor and went out of the South passage bound for Mille...

...

May 6, 1868

... At 5:50 sighted Mille. At 11:30 entered the SW passage of the lagoon and went to the station and let go anchor. At 3:30 p.m. broke out some provisions for the Schooner **Blossom**, 2 lbs of beef, 1 bag of rice and 4 bags of flour...

May 7, 1868

... Lying at anchor at Mille. All hands employed in getting water and lumber and empty casks, about 28 lbs, and one anchor...

May 8, 1868

... Lying at anchor in Mille. At 5:50 a.m. hove up anchor and went to sea bound for Strong Island steering SW by S...

...

May 19, 1868

... At 7:30 sighted Strongs Island bearing W about 35 miles off...

May 20, 1868

... At 5:30 a.m. got the wind from the W steering WNW for Wellington Island...

...

May 23

... At 8 a.m. kept off and steered WSW for Ascention [sic] Island....

...

May 25, 1868

... At 5 a.m. sighted Ascention Island. At 11 a.m. let go anchor in the Middle Harbor and unbent the sails and landed them at the station.//

May 26, 1868

Laying to anchor in Ponatic, Ascension. All hands employed in landing trade and cleaning the hold.

May 27, 1868

Laying in Ponatic, Ascension. All hands employed in cleaning the hold, ready for smoking.

May 28, 1868

Laying in the Middle Harbor, Ascension. All hands employed in scraping the ship round and stripping the fore mast.

...

[Between 29 May and 5 June, the crew was employed in fitting rigging.]

...

June 5th

Mr. Williams was discharged today, also one Wahoo native. That leaves me,¹ 3 natives and second mate and cook. Finished setting up the rigging and commenced to scrape the vessel outside.

...

Sunday June 7th

At midnight Mr. Briggs took the boat and 2 natives from the vessel and 2 from the station to go trading up to windward...

...

Tuesday June 9th

... Discharged the blacksmith. He would do no other work than blacksmithing and there is nothing in that line to do...

...

Thursday June 11

... At noon trading master returned.

...

Thursday June 18th

... Second mate finished repairing the new mainsail. Discharged Hugh Shirley, cook, today.

...

Wednesday June 27th

... Discharged Mr. Rose.

...

Friday June 26th

... Sent Mr. Briggs in charge of two boats to the Ant Islands for hogs to use on the

1 Ed. note: So writes the Mate, A. W. Tripp who remained in custody until 5 January 1869, when John J. Mahlmann took over as captain of the Malolo.

station and vessel, also to trade torturtle shell on his way. All the vessels men gone in the boat. Nothing doing. Took two men of the station and washed ship. Mr. Briggs took 1 bos tobacco from ship to replace one sent up by James Hadley.

Saturday June 27th

Fine weather. Mr. Briggs returned at 2 p.m. Brought 8 hogs weighing 948 lbs, also some turtle shell. Reports the box of tobacco that was on the station he left there for Frank, also one piece of dungaree. The cash, Capt. Pease took with him.

...

Monday June 29th

... At 4 p.m. the trading master came on board and told me he was going to windward to buy *beach de mar*. He took from the Schooner 5 dog knives, 2 axes, 4 hatchets, 3 riveting hammers, 6 claw hammers, 3 pairs duck pants, 15 spoons.

Tuesday June 30th

... The port side of the vessel being very much blistered, scraped it off and repainted. At 10 a.m. Mr. Briggs came on board and took the boat and two men, also 1 keg sugar, 128 lbs, and 6 lbs tea.

Wednesday July 1st 1868

... At 3 a.m. Mr. Briggs came back with the *beach la mar*.

Thursday July 2nd

... At 11 a.m. the trading master went to windward again. Took 2 lbs tea, 1 hatchet from Schooner. Franck weighed the *beach de mar*. 2776 lbs baskets included.

Friday July 3rd

... At 3 p.m. trading master came back. Three white men came on board. They want to work their passage to Honolulu. Their names are as follows: Alvin Bourne, John Sullivan, Edward Conway.

Saturay July 4th

Rainy blowy day. No work doing. Celebrated the day by firing cannon, having an extra dinner, etc.

...

Wednesday July 8th 1868

Fine weather all day. Mr. Rose went to work as mate until such time as a vessel arrives. The trading master went to windward at daylight. At 7 a.m., Frank Joliver who has charge of the Ant Station came to Ponatic Station after trade. Mr. Briggs not being here, I refused to give him trade. He sent a note to Mr. Briggs, and Mr. Briggs sent a note to me to let him have some trade. I gave him the following articles for station: 2

lbs tea, 7 lbs sgar, 100 lbs flour, 6 bs coffee, 12 lbs black paint, 1 gallon paint oil, 1 axe handle.

...

Saturday July 11th

Stowed water casks and commenced to stow the hold calculating to go to Wellington's Island. I went up home, left the schooner in charge of Mr. Rose.

...

Monday July 13

Employed getting ready for sea. Mr. Rose in charge.

Tuesday July 14

Capt. Pease arrived from China in the Brig **Water Lily**.¹

Wednesday July 16th

Nothing doing. Waiting to discharge freight to the **Water Lily**...

...

Friday July 17th 1868

Hauled alongside the **Water Lily** and discharged all the trade found. Found that two large boxes of tobacco had been opened. Mr. Rose, drunk again, wanted his discharge. GAVE it to him but did not pay him off.

...

Sunday July 19

Went to sea at 7 a.m. Wind light from ENE. Bound to Weather [Metalanim] Harbor distant 20 miles after a load of stones for the **Water Lily**...

Monday July 20th

At 1 p.m. came to anchor... Got off 5 boatloads of stone during the night...

Tuesday July 21st

All hands employed getting off ballast. Got off 10 boatloads...

Wednesday July 22nd

Blowing fresh from NE. Employed getting off ballast. At 7 a.m. a sail hove in sight. No pilot going to her. I sent Mr. Briggs out to pilot her into the Middle Harbor. Got off 6 boatloads of ballast today, also received 808-1/2 lbs *Beach de Mar* from Joseph Keyhoe.

Thursday July 23

... Got off 6 boatloads of stone which loaded the schooner. Also received from Joseph Keyhoe 2218 bs *Beach de mar*. Sent the boat to Ponatic to get our hauling line.

1 Ed. note: Later re-named Pioneer.

Friday July 24th

... At 8 a.m. got off the remainder of the *beach de mar* 732 lbs, making in all 3758 lbs received from Joseph Keyhoe, packages excluded. Got off 2 more loads of stone... The vessel ready for sea.

Saturday July 25th 1868

... At 1/2 past 2 p.m., came to anchor in Ponatic Harbor. I went on board the **Water Lily**. The mate was not ready to receive the ballast. Capt. Pease being absent, I did not haul alongside.

...

Monday July 27th

... Hauled alongside the **Water Lily** and commenced discharging ballast. At 9 p.m. Capt. Pease arrived on board...

Tuesday July 28th

... Finished discharging ballast, also *beach de mar*. Cleaned up the hold and washed ship. Mr. Briggs went on board the **Lizzie Allan** to work at blacksmithing. Delivered to **Water Lily** 7 pigs, lead.

Wednesday July 29th

Lying alongside the **Water Lily**. Discharged all the provisions and empty casks as follows: 12 empty casks 1220 gallons, 1 cask containing 100 lbs flour, 100 lbs coffee, 100 lbs rice, 3 casks containing 800 lbs flour, 5 barrels beef, 3 kegs sugar, 3 chests tea, 1 bbl 1/2 mollasses, 1/2 barrel of oil, 1/2 keg butter, 2 barrels of leaf tobacco, 1 cask bread, 1 empty barrel. Also delivered to Schooner **Lizzie Allan** 300 lbs flour. Also delivered to Capt. Pease the **Blossom's** chron[ometer] and all the trade, unbent all the sails and put them below preparing to lay the schooner up...

...

Tuesday July 31st 1868

... So ends my command of the **Malolo**. I delivered the Schooner's papers and Log to Capt. Pease.

John P. Eldridge¹

...

[However, Captain Tripp did not take over the schooner until 16 December 1868 with a crew of 2 officers and 2 men. The logbook is kept by Tripp himself.

...

Sunday the 20th day of Dec. 1868 (Civil Time)

... The [U.S.] whaling bark **John Wells** came in.

...

1 Ed. note: This last entry by Captain Eldridge is written in a specially-shaky form of handwriting.

Wednesday the 23rd day of Dec. 1868

A.M. strong trades with occasional light rain squalls passing over the whaling barque. Got under way from this harbor and proceeded to sea...

...

Friday the 25th day of Dec. 1868

... At about 5:30 a.m. discharged two 3-pounder guns of blank cartridges in memory of Christmass Day. Lying in Ponatick Harbor. At about 9 a.m., the whaling barque **John Wells** weighed from her anchorage with all sail set and proceeded to sea.

...

[End of log kept by Capt. Tripp. Capt. John J. Mahlmann took up the log on 5 January 1869.]

...

Tuesday January 5th 1869

Landed the remainder of our cargo & afterwards employed cleaning the hold & getting the vessel ready for sea. Thomas Badger & wife came on board as passengers bound to McAskills [Pingelap] where he is to be stationed.

Wednesday January 6th 1869

... The ship got detained in harbor on account of Jack Smith not having all his luggage on board.

Thursday January 7th 1869

... 6:30 a.m. made sail and proceeded to sea bound to McAskills. John Smith, Thomas Badger & wife and their natives (6) on board as passengers.

...

January 10th 1869

... Sighted McAskills Island at daylight dist. 6 miles. 7:30 a.m., hove to under the lee of the island. Landed Badger and took off the old trading master Frank, also one hogshead of coconut oil. J. Smith got 26 natives to go with him to Wellington [Mokil] Island. 5:30 p.m. made sail & proceeded towards Wellington.

Monday January 11th 1869

... 6 a.m. kept away for the island of Wellington. 8 a.m. sighted the island bearing SW dist. 12 miles. Found a strong current setting to the NE. 10 a.m. made fast to the reef at Wellington's Island. Got the natives on shore and got some of the oil off. Should have got the whole off, but could not get the natives to work on account of a chief dying...

Tuesday January 12th 1869

... Got the remainder of the oil off, making altogether about 22 barrels. Noon, fine weather & steady trades. A barque passed the island steering NW. 5 p.m. made sail and proceeded for Borneby [Pohnpei]...

Wednesday January 13, 1869

... 7:30 a.m. entered the Middle Harbor to get orders. 11 a.m. got under way & proceeded for the North Harbor. Noon, light air & fine weather. 5 p.m. North Harbor bearing East dist. 5 miles. The ship under small canvas and stood off & on all night.

Thursday January 14, 1869

... 8 a.m. entered North Harbor, Robinson piloting. 10 a.m. brought it up in 7 fathoms of water. In the afternoon, hauled alongside of the Brig **Water Lily**, discharged the oil and took some provisions on board.

Friday January 15th, 1869

... 9 a.m. cast off from the **Water Lily**, hove up our anchor and hauled alongside of the **Lizzie Allan** for to take in some boards. Noon, got under way with all sail set and beat out of the Harbor, bound for Middle Harbor. P.M., wind increasing with fine weather. 7 p.m., I thought we were abreast of the Middle Harbor, put the helm to port for to enter, but struck on the reef, and found that I had mistaken the passage. Tried to get the vessel off again but did not succeed, the tide falling fast, the sea breaking clean over the vessel; after consulting with the Mate, Mr. Hardy, we thought it unsafe to remain any longer by the vessel, launched the boat, but ket near the vessel all night.

Saturday January 16th 1869

I employed natives besides the ship's crew to heave the ballast overboard and take stores and sundry articles on shore. 11 a.m., had to leave the vessel, it not being safe to remain on board of her, but kept ourselves ready to board whenever she should begin to float. 3 p.m., the vessel floated over the reef. We boarded her and towed to get her over to the North side of the lagoon, but did not succeed, the tide seting the schooner onto the south reef, and left her aground before we could get ready. Pump attended to, the vessel making no more than her usual quantity. Capt. Pease came on board, but found that he could not do anything this day. Therefore, left for Middle Harbor to get assistance.

Sunday January 17th 1869

hove the remainder of the ballast overboard. Capt. Pease came on board with about 30 men, took out a kedge & line to the North reef, and hove away on the line, moved the vessel about her own length along the reef, but did not succeed in getting her off. Capt. Pease left Capt. Cole to superintend and went himself up to the North Harbor. Pumps attended to.

Monday January 18th 1869

At low water, we shifted the kedge farther to the Eastward and hove taut on the line, when near high water (5 p.m.). We started the vessel and hove her into deep water. Shortly after Capt. Cole brought assistance & anchored the vessel ahead & astern...

Tuesday January 19th 1869

... Had 3 whaleboats employed carrying rice, etc. to the station at the Middle Harbor. Ship lying alright and making the usual quantity of water.

Wednesday January 20th 1869

... Ship crew employed taking boards down to the station. Mr. Hardy employed making a new rudder.

Thursday January 21st 1869

... Hands employed getting the stores & other articles on board again and clearing up the ship's hold.

Friday January 22nd 1869

... Carpenter Mr. Hardy returned to the vessel, having finished the rudder. Sent the Chinaman (Carpenter) down to the station who came as passenger with us from the North Harbor.

...

Sunday January 24th 1869

... Captain Pease came on board at 1 a.m. & left again for the North Harbor at 9 a.m. Mr. Hardy and crew took the boat and went to the station for trade which then took on to Sturges's place from which place Capt. Pease is going to take it to the North Harbor. Captain Allen and Captain Jones¹ held a survey on the vessel today, having a diver employed overhauling her bottom. The diver reported her false keel gone and several places badly bruised.

Monday January 25th 1869

... Mr. Hardy & crew returned at 9 p.m. having delivered the trade to Capt. Pease...

Tuesday January 26th 1869

Went down to the station today and brought the rudder up, also a crowbar & axe to make a passage for the schooner over the reef...

Wednesday January 27th, 1869

... Mr. Hardy fitting the tiller for the rudder. A whaling barque entered Middle Harbor 5:30 p.m. Hands part of the day employed clearing a passage over the reef.

Thursday January 28th '69

... Employed putting the vessel on even keel, drawing 4 ft 9 inches. Took in the bower

1 Ed. note: Probably whaling captains then in port; Captain Jones was then in command of the Camilla.

anchor and got all ready for taking the vessel over the reef but as the tide only rose about 3 feet 9 inches above the reef, we had to let the vessel lay where she was, it being impossible to take her through the passage, the sea breaking very high all the way across. Mr. Briggs called on board on his way from the North Harbor to the Middle Harbor.

Friday January 29th '69

Fresh trades throughout. No chance of getting the schooner out of here today, the tide being no higher than it was yesterday, and the sea breaking as high in the passage...

...

Feb. 3rd 1869

Mr. Hardy who had gone to Ponatic for water, returned to the vessel with orders from Capt. Pease for me to come down to Ponatic. I went down to see him. Capt. Pease gave me full charge of Ponatic Station and the business in general. I left Mr. Hardy on board the **Malolo** as ship keeper and took Clarke to the station as cook.

[The logbook is blank until 25 May, when Capt. Mahlmann again took charge.]

Tuesday May 25th

Capt. Pease having arrived on May 22nd, I gave up all charge of the station, and took command of the **Malolo**, taking with me Mr. William Lancaster as chief officer, William Clarke as cook & steward & 2 able seamen. I am anxiously waiting for a chance to get the **Malolo** over the reef.

Saturday June 5th /69

Capt. Pease came up with 2 hands to make an attempt to take the schooner through the passage, but it being too late this day, we let her remain at her moorings.

Sunday June 6th /69

Took a kedge & line through the passage for to haul the vessel but with the wind blowing into the passage, and a very high sea running, the boat which took the kedge out got capsized on her return, and her crew only escaped with their lives under great difficulties. Then I told Capt. Pease that it was not advisable to take the schooner out, but he insisted on taking her. We made sail on the schooner, hauling on the line to seaward likewise, got a little way into the passage when she struck heavily, and drifted on the lee reef, where she struck fast bumping very heavy. Capt. Pease left for the station to send assistance. I took a kedge & line onto the inner reef for to haul the vessel in again at high water, but the afternoon tide, we could not get her afloat, hoping to do it next tide.

Monday June 7th /69

At midnight, we got the vessel afloat inside the outer reef, shortly after assistance arrived from Ponatic with orders to haul her on the reef astern of the vessel (or South reef) which I did, got her on about her own length this tide.

June 8th 1869

During this time, we tried to get the schooner over the reef, but did not succeed until June 22nd when a very high tide favored us, and got the vessel into deep water.

June 23rd 1869

Arrived at Ponatic at 8 a.m. with the schooner. Got orders from Capt. Pease to wait until his Brig was repaired, at the same time sending for Mr. Rose to construct ways for to haul the **Malolo** up upon. Crew was on shore to assist about the station.

June 29th 1869

The **Lizzie Allan**, Capt. Brown, arrived, load timber, with Capt. Coe on board, who is to remain on the isand as agent for Globber, Dow & Co.¹

July 19th

The **Pioneer**² left for the Marshalls & Kingsmill Group to trade.

July 24th /69

The ways being completed we hauled the **Malolo** onto them but did not get her very far owing to bad purchases & a defect in the ways.

July 27th 1869

The defect having been repaired, we tried to get the vessel higher up, and succeeded in getting her about half way, where she stuck again, her keel having caught the blocks, the vessel not sitting fair in the ways.

July 28th 1869

Capt. Coe not wishing to spend any more time on the schooner, sent all hands up to Mataline [Metalanim] to assist in loading the **Lizzie Allan**.³ I remained on the station to look after the schooner, also to assist in keeping account of transactions at the station.

1 Ed. note: The Hong Kong company that owned all the vessels under Captain Pease's supervision.

2 Ed. note: The new name of the **WaterLily**.

3 Ed. note: With timber for Hong Kong.

Tuesday Sept. 28th 1869

All the Chinese carpenters employed making shores, blocks & wages for to wedge the **Malolo** up, she not being high enough to get to work at her keel. Exchanged boats with Capt. Brown.

Wednesday Sept. 29th 1869

The Chinese employed as yesterday, likewise putting up some of the shores. 6 p.m., the crew consisting of William Clarke, Manuel & Jim arrived at the station. Mr. Lancaster off duty & going to Shanghai per **Lizzie Allan**.

...
[Repairs continued until 18 November when she was ready for sea once again. Some noteworthy remarks noted during that period follow.]

...
Sunday Oct. 3rd 1869

... **Lizzie Allan** was obliged to anchor on account of a head wind.

...
Wednesday Oct. 6th 1869

... **Lizzie Allan** in sight from Roan Kittie at sundown.

...
Monday Oct. 11th /69

... Discharged William Clarke with mutual consent & gave him an order on Capt. Benj. Pease for \$64.10.

...
Sunday Oct. 17th 1869

Lost one of our iron pots out of the cookhouse. I went to several houses but no signs of it. Must have been stolen by natives from another part of the island. No work carried out today, it being Sabbath.

Monday Oct. 18th /69

... Brig **Anne Porter** left for Strongs Island.

...
Wednesday Oct. 20th 1869

... Crew employed scraping masts of **Malolo & Coquette**.¹

...
Saturday Oct. 23rd 1869

... A report afloat that Capt. Pease called at Roan Kittie, went on shore in a boat, stayed an hour, and steered SW on leaving??

...

1 Ed. note: Mysterious ship; no further details. Not a U.S. whaler. Not in Nicholson's Log of Logs either. Perhaps a simple boat, or gig.

Thursday Oct. 28th 1869

All Chinese at work on the schooner, as yesterday, except five of them who only worked half a day being employed the other part of the day caulking the **Rubenia** & fixing Capt. Coe's canoe.¹

...

Tuesday Nov. 2nd 1869

... Capt. Coe intends to send the schooner to Shanghai, but I cannot take her until advised from Capt. Pease.

...

MONday Nov. 8th 1869

... Ship making about 6 inches in 24 hours.

...

Thursday Nov. 11th 1869

... I am anxiously waiting for Capt. Pease. Took about 9 tons of ballast on board.

...

Thursday Nov. 18th 1869

... The vessel is all ready for sea except the foresail not being bent and old staves not taken on board. I did not take them on board thinking that Capt. Pease would want to put some of them together.

...

Saturday Dec. 4th 1869

I intended to sail for the Group Thursday next, but Capt. Coe wishes me to take the Chinese bound to Jokoits [Sokehs] Harbor.

Sunday Dec. 5th 1869

... 3:30 p.m., a Brig in sight (**Pioneer**) 5 p.m., **Pioneer** entered Middle Harbor having on board 600 barrels of coconut oil.

Monday Dec. 6th 1869

... Capt. Pease made up his mind to send the schooner to the Group trading & to tender on the **Pioneer**.

...

Wednesday Dec. 8th 1869

Got under way at 7:50 a.m. Capt. Pease on board, run on the weather reef but did not do any damage, cleared the harbor about 8 a.m. Anchored at Roan Kittie at 10:15 a.m. William Clarke joined the vessel as A[ble] S[eaman].

Thursday Dec. 9th 1869

... Capt. Pease went on shore to trade for yams, landing for that purpose: 28 muskets, 3 whole pieces 26-1/2 yards of white cloth, 5 cases tobacco, 2 kegs of powder...

1 Ed. note: Again, this vessel may have been a simple boat, or gig.

5:30 p.m. received 20 barrels yams on board.

Friday Dec. 10th 1869

... 4 men (part of **Pioneer's** crew) went away to Joe Keith [or Keyhoe?] with John's whaleboat... Received on board 20 barrels yams.

Saturday Dec. 11th 1869

... Received about 14 barrels of yams and 5 pigs.

Sunday Dec. 12th 1869

... Received 16 barrels of yams.

Monday Dec. 13rd 1869

Received on board 11 barrels of yams. 7:30 a.m. hove up the anchor, made sail and proceeded for Ponatic. Cleared the passage at 9:30 a.m... 5:30 p.m., abreast of Mudok Harbor, tacked ship and stood off shore all night.

Tuesday Dec. 14th 1869

... 7 a.m. anchored in Ponatic and hauled alongside of the **Pioneer**. Hands employed discharging the yams & pigs...

[The following sentende was writttenm, then crossed out: Captain Pease is offended with me at something, and will not speak to me.] Frank Joliver joined the **Malolo** as 2nd Mate. William Clarke off duty, being unwell.

Wednesday Dec. 15th 1869

... Sent in my resignation to Capt. Pease. It was accepted, and I received an order for my wages. Here ends my command of the vessel.

J. J. Mahlmann

[The log is continued by Captain E. A. Pitman.]

Thursday Dec. 16th 1869

Took charge of **Malolo**. Found everything in very good order, with the exception of some of the running rigging. Hands employed getting everything ready for sea.

...

Saturday 18th Dec. 1869

AT 9 a.m. fine pleasant weather. Took the anchor, made all sail and proceeded to sea in company with Brig **Pioneer**...

...

Tuesday 21st Dec. 1869

... At 8 a.m. made the Island of McAskill bearing E by S 8 miles distance. At 9 a.m., hove to off the station. Was boarded by Thomas Badger and Charles Sturgis' traders. Got 3 pigs and 3 ducks. Repaired the foresail and proceeded on our voyage. No news

of Brig **Pioneer**.

...

Friday 24th December 1869

... At 8 a.m., made Strong Island bearing SE1/2E 20 miles distance. At 4 p.m., came to anchor in South Harbor at Strong Island in 5 fathoms water with 30 fathoms chain on starboard anchor. Brig **Pioneer** not arrived.

Saturday 25th December 1869

... At 3 a.m. Brig **Pioneer** arrived from Ascension...

...

Wednesday 5th January 1870

... Frank Benson [rather Joliver?] went on shore to work for Capt. Pease...

Thursday 6th January 1870

... Whaling ship **California** lying off and on South Harbor for wood.

Friday 7th January 1870

... Thomas Badger came on board to work, is to go in **Malolo** and take a watch. Charles Sturgis came on board to go as passenger to Wellington Island, Capt. Pease having made up his mind to send **malolo**. Afternoon got under way and proceeded to the wreck of Brig **Morning Star**. Got one of the **M. S.** anchors with 45 fathoms chain. 3 p.m. came to an anchor and chain on board Brig **Pioneer**, Capt. Pease being in charge of **Malolo** this day.

...

Sunday January 9th 1870

At 1 p.m. took the anchor, made all sail and proceeded to sea. At 4 p.m. Point Lot-tin bearing ENE 12 miles from which I take my departure.

Monday 10th January 1870

... Saw a large ship to leeward steering as per bearing course WNW...

Tuesday 11th

Course W by N... At 2 o'clock made Penlap [Pingelap] bearing W by S 8 miles distance. At 4 o'clock went on shore. Got from Capt. Pease's station 7 pigs and 10 ducks. At 7 p.m., kept away W by N for Wellington Island.

Wednesday 12th 1870

... At 11 a.m., made Wellington Island bearing NE by N. Beat to windward all day. At 5 o'clock off the Station, landed Charles Sturgis. Very hard rain squalls; has all the appearance of a heavy gale and having no running rigging fit to trust to, concluded to run to Ascension to try and get rope. At 6 o'clock kept away for Ascension...

Thursday 13th 1870

... At 7 a.m. made Ascension Island bearing West 15 miles. At 10 o'clock came to an anchor at Port Ponatic.

Friday 14th January 1870

Went on shore to Station. Found no arrival from Shanghai. Capt. Coe informed me he had no rope for me and that he would not lend any of his money either to Capt. Pease or to Glover, Dow & Co. Learning there was a whale ship at Murdock [Mutok], sent Frank Joliver down to Rohn Kittie to see if John the Portuguese can buy any. Whale barque **Count Bismark** arrived in this port today.

...

Sunday 16th January 1870

Frank Joliver returned. Brought one boat yams. Could get no rope as the Capt. of the **Josephine** does no trading with him.¹

Monday 17th January 1870

Went to Murdock to see Capt. Cogan he would let me have rope for cash but would take no order, Capt. Coe not being willing to assist me. Could get no rope. Got a suit of oil cloth for Thomas Badger, paid one keg gunpowder.

Tuesday 18th January 1870

... In coming back from Murdock yesterday, it was low water, was forced to walk and cut my foot badly with coral. It is very painful today. Cannot put my foot to the deck.

...

Tuesday 25th January 1870

... At 8 a.m., took the anchor, made all sail and proceeded towards sea. The anchor not being hove up far enough, caught the rock on the reef and held. Was forced to lower all sails. Hove but could not break the anchor out. Run the kedge. The line broke and we lost the kedge. Am forced to wait until low water to try to get the anchor out.

Wednesday 26th January 1870

... A line to the reef succeeded in breaking the anchor out. Made all sail and proceeded to sea. While the anchor was afoul of the reef, was offered no assistance from the stations. Nowhere then even a boat sent to know what was the matter. At 8 o'clock a.m. entrance [of] Port Ponatic bearing WNW 8 miles distance from which I take my departure. Tried the pumps and found the vessel tight.

...

Wednesday 30th January 1870

... At 11 a.m., made Wellington Island bearing NNE 8 miles distance...

1 Ed. note: This Josephine, Capt. Cogan, was the whaling ship anchored at Mutok.

[He did not stop.]

...

Monday 14th February 1870

... Midnight, made the land Hunter's [Kili] Island bearing SSE 7 miles. Lat. 5°54' North Long. 168°40' East. Found the longitude to be in error 30 miles to the westward.

Tuesday 15th February 1870

... At 4 a.m. made Juluit [Jaluit] bearing NE dista. 8 miles. Beating down the west side all day. Midnight south part of Juluit bearing West 6 miles, from which I take a new departure...

...

Friday 18th February 1870

... At 6 p.m. tacked to Northward, turned the reef. Out of mainsail...

...

Sunday 20th February 1870

... At 5 p.m. made the land, one of the Mulgrave [Mili] Group. Stood off & on all night.

Monday 21st February 1870

... At daylight stood in for the land. At 8 a.m. came to an anchor in the lagoon of Millie... Went on shore to the station. Learned that Capt.; Pease in **Pioneer** sailed on the 5th February for Samoa or the Navigator's Island. Received no letter from him. They being in charge of Capt. Rodd and he is away from the station up to windward for food.

Tuesday 22nd February 1870

Noon, Capt. Rodd returned from the windward. Delivered a letter from Capt. Pease to myself giving me instructions how to act in his absence placing in full charge to act as he would do when he [was] here himself.

Wednesday 23 February 1870

... King with his Chiefs came on board at noon. Left at sundown. Bought a quantity of native twine to make rope...

...

Thursday 24th February 1870

... William Clarke joined as A.B....

Friday 25th February 1870

... Got off a raft of empty casks for Arno and Medesro [Majuro], about 50 lbs in all...

Saturday 26th February 1870

... Took off the Station a quantity of trade for ARno and Medesro. List of trade taken off the Station: 39 files, 2 whale spades, 6 axes, 12 small hatchets, 13 Chinese umbrellas, 6 cutlasses, 12 bayonets, 1 piece white cloth, 1 do. dungaree, 25 boxes tobacco, 400 plugs do. damaged. Sent the boat on shore for firewood. Boat returned at 5 p.m. with a load of firewood.

Sunday 27th February 1870

... The ship's provisions finished this day, am forced to buy food off natives...

Monday 28th February 1870

... At 6 a.m. took the anchor, made all sail and proceeded to beat up the lagoon to look for *Beach de mar*, also to procure food to proceed on a voyage to Medesro and Arno. At 3 p.m. came to an anchor under lee of the island of "An-ah-neck-a-ro". Went on shore, got a small quantity of fish but could get no chickens...

Tuesday March 1st 1870

... At 6 p.m. took the anchor, made all sail and proceeded to beat to windward. At 4 a.m. came to an anchor under the island of "Look-ah-nore."¹ Bought 10 fowls and 20 breadfruit...

Wednesday March 2nd 1870

... Hove up the anchor to beat to windward but thick with rain. Came to an anchor...

Thursday 3rd March 1870

... At 6 a.m. took the anchor and proceeded to windward. At 11 a.m. came to an anchor under the lee of the island of J---jes. Bought 43 fowls. Went on shore on the reef to look for *Beach de mar*. Found but one fish and that very small. Bought a quantity [of] fish.

Friday March 4th 1870

... Lying at anchor all day waiting for two canoes with chickens to arrive... Canoes not arrived.

Saturday 5th March 1870

At 6 a.m. took the anchor, made all sail and proceeded down the lagoon. At 11 a.m., came to an anchor abreast of the Station. Went on shore. Got carpenter to fix the boat and at 3 p.m. took the anchor, made all sail and proceeded to see towards Arno...

1 Ed. note: Lukunor, Mar 15-47 in Bryan's Place names.

Sunday 6th March 1870

At daylight made the island of Arno bearing N by W 8 miles. At 10 a.m. hove to off the Station. Went on shore, found the trader with all containers full of oil. Landed 25 barrels casks but no trade, he having enough to fill all casks. Found at the station 80 barrels of oil. At 11 a.m., bore away for Medesro. At 5 a.m. off the Station. Went on shore. Found Burlingame, trader, all right, with 20 bbls oil. Landed 16 pigs or about 25 empty bbls and trade. Trade landed at Medesro: 20 boxes tobacco, 1 small breaker containing 400 plugs tobacco, 1 doz. files, 6 Chinese umbrellas, 1 whale spade. At 8 a.m. bore away for Millie...

Monday 7th March 1870

... At 6 a.m. made the land, the island of Nahloo [Alu] bearing E by N 12 miles. At 6 p.m. came to an anchor under the lee of Nahloo with port anchor with 45 fathoms water.

Tuesday 8th March 1870

At 3 p.m. got under way. At 8 p.m., came to an anchor in the lagoon of Millie abreast of the Station. Furled all sails...

...

[The crew was employed until the end of March refitting the rigging, whitewashing the hold, repairing the sails and boiling sea water to make salt.]

...

Thursday 17th March 1870

... At 8 o'clock, Frank with 4 men took **Pioneer's** boat and started for Millie to see if the Missionary had any paint oil, we being informed he had. Boat returned at 7 p.m. but got no oil.

...

Friday 1st April 1870

... Am getting very short of provisions. Crew had nothing but rice and what few fish they could catch for the last 3 weeks. I have bought all the chickens I could and there seems to be no more left.

...

Sunday 3rd April

... **Pioneer** has been gone 8 weeks today.

...

Friday 8th April

... Kiloki canoe came alongside. Bought 163 flying fish. Paid 4 lbs tobacco.

...

Thursday 13th April

... Brought from the Station one cask rice, there being but one more left at the Station. Am forced to put the crew and myself on two meals per day of rice alone.

...

Sunday 1st May 1870

... The vessel started to leak at the rate of 2 inches per hour... **Pioneer** absent 12 weeks this day...

...

Friday 6th May 1870

... The **Pioneer** absent this day 3 months. Am giving up all hopes of her ever coming. Am forced to live altogether on native food. Can not stop much longer here as it is ruinous to all concerned. The natives will make no oil when they can get all the trade they want for breadfruit and fish which I am forced to buy for crew and myself, there being no provisions on board.

...

Saturday May 21st 1870

... At 9 a.m. cleared up, took the anchor, made all sail and proceeded to sea bound for Ascension [Pohnpei]...

...

Sunday 29th May 1870

... At 6 p.m. made Penlap [Pingelap]... At 8 a.m., made Wellington [Mokil] Island...

Monday 30th May 1870

... At 8 a.m. made Ascension Island bearing W by N 25 miles distance. At 11 a.m., came to an anchor in Ponatic Harbor. Was boarded by Capt. Mahlmann who informed me of the death of Capt. Coe on March 15th and that he was in charge of Station. Concluded I would do what necessary repair was wanted to **Malolo** and take all the Chinese and return to Shanghai as soon as possible.

...

Wednesday 1st June 1870

... Discharged and paid off with an order Frank Joliver...

...

Friday 3rd June 1870

... Discharged and paid off with an order Thomas Badger. Shipped Mr. Carlos as Chief Officer...

...

Wednesday 8th June 1870

... Mr. Adams came on board and told me he had not a friend on the Island and could get nothing to eat. I told him I had not much trade on board the **Malolo** but not to want as long as I had one plug of tobacco, I would share with him. He then asked me if I would take him to Shanghai. I told him: Certainly, I would. I gave him a small quantity of tobacco for his own use and he went away very much pleased.

...

Thursday 16th June 1870

... Mr. Adams called on board, took the boat and went to the Mill. "Ed. note: A sawmill established in Metalanim (see Doc. 1869H and 1870J). While at the Mill learned

that an American man-of-war was to windward in Jokoits [Sokehs] Harbor.

...

Saturday 18th June 1870

... Went around to Jokoits Harbor. Went on board the man-of-war which proved to be the **U.S.S. Jamestown**. Was informed by the Capt. that he had been to Millie and Ebon and that the Capt. which Capt. Pease took from Ebon to Samoa had arrived back to Ebon with a barque and that he last heard of Capt. Pease he was spoken by an English barque to the NE of Samoa. He is this day absent from Ascension six months. So I give up all hopes of ever seeing him.

Sunday 19th June 1870

... Returned to **Malolo** at 4 p.m.

Monday 20th June 1870

... Crew employed getting ready for sea to go around to Jokoits harbor for some knees [sic]¹ for ballast instead of stone.

[End of one logbook. Beginning of another.]

Tuesday 21st June 1870

(Lying in Port Ponatic Harbour, Ascension Is.)

Fine pleasant weather. **U.S.S. Jamestown** steam launch came in. The Capt. called on board to know if he could get quarter for himself and officers and crew for the night. Capt. with Mr. Doane, Missionary, went on shore at Uh Station, officers and crew remaining on board **Malolo**.

....

Thursday June 23rd 1870

... **U.S.S. Jamestown** steam launch left for Mudock. Made a requisition to Capt. Truxtun of the **Jamestown** for provisions to enable me to proceed to China. He informed me I could have what I wanted.

Friday 24th June 1870

... Had a complaint from N^o 1 Chinese carpenter. Capt. Mahlmann giving him and the rest of the carpenters five cops² a piece to find themselves [food] for the day. What can be bought for five cops, I have not the least idea. I can not get one breadfruit for them. I told him to make no trouble as we would soon be away. Capt. Mahlmann had at this time on the Station 4 bbls yams, 15 yeisn(?), 35 chickens on station.

...

1 Ed. note: Ship timber pieces that have a natural curve to them.

2 Ed. note: Slang for U.S. cents.

Sunday June 26th 1870

... At 8 a.m. made all sail, took the anchor and proceeded to sea, bound to Joquoits Harbour. Ends calm.

Monday June 27th 1870

Fine pleasant weather. At 11 a.m. came to an anchor in Joquoits Harbour in 5 fathoms water with 20 fathoms chain on starboard anchor. Vessels in port **U.S.S. Jamestown**, and trading brig **Anne** [Porter].

Tuesday June 28th 1870

... Received from **U.S.S. Jamestown** the following provisions:

207 lbs bread
 456 " beef
 200 " pork
 100 " rice
 20 " tea
 50 " sugar
 8 " beans

...

July 1st, Friday 1870

... Brig **Anne Porter** sailed for Metalanim Harbour...

Saturday 2nd July 1870

... **U.S.S. Jamestown** sailed for Honolulu.

...

Wednesday July 6th 1870

... Filling [with] water and getting ready for sea to go to Port Ponatic to take in passengers for Shanghai...

...

Saturday July 9th 1870

... At 11 a.m. came to an anchor in Port Ponatic...

...

Wednesday 13th July 1870

... At 6 a.m. a sail reported. Went off to her in the whale boat. It proved to be the Schooner **Margaret** from Strong's Island. Been dispatched by Capt. Pease, he putting a supercargo on board to bring **Malolo** to Strong's Island. Piloted the schooner in and made her fast to **Malolo**.

...

Friday 15th July 1870

... Ready for sea, having 16 Chinese carpenters on board and one Chinese black-

smith, Capt's Coe's steward and boy, making in all 19 passengers...

...

Sunday 17th July 1870

Light breeze from NE. At 5:50 a.m. hove short on **Malolo** and hoisted the mainsail. Went on board the Schooner **Margaret** and steered him out through the passage, he having Pilot Jos. Kehoe on board. Came back with pilot on board **Malolo**. Took the anchor, made all sail and stood out towards the passage. 6:45 the pilot telling me "you all right, Captain, keep her full" and he scarcely had his canoe shoved off when the wind suddenly shifted to SE and struck me hard aback. I had weather room to tack a veer(?). I immediately let go the starboard anchor, veered the 40 fathom chain when we struck & lowered all sails and she swung in such a position that I thought I could slip the chain and veer under the jib and so run in the passage again but it was no use. I found the tide would take me farther on the reef. Let go port anchor. She then dragged farther on the reef and commenced striking heavily and the water filling all the time. Sounded the pumps, found three feet water in hold. I told the passengers to keep cool which they did notwithstanding there was a very heavy breaker breaking within 30 yards of them. I then set them at work to get their effects out which they did and landed them all safe at the house of a native chief. I then ran a small kedge to keep her steady, then commenced lightening the rudder lying at this time unshipped and vessel filling with water very fast, so much so that I could not see the extent of damage done. I had my ensigh Union [Jack upside] down and was boarded by the pilot at Capt. Mahlmann for the station. All hands busily employed getting everything out. All hands remaining on board throughout the night.

Monday 18th July 1870

Blowing hard, vessel pounding very much. All hands employed stripping and landing everything movable from vessel on shore at station.

Tuesday 19th July

Rainy all day and fresh SE breeze. Everything being now removed which is possible to save, I went on shore at station, leaving a watch on board to look out for natives.

[End of the logbook]

 Document 1868I

Bio-sketches of Captains Pitman, Pease and Hayes, by Lawrence W. Jenkins

Source: Article in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. 66.

Author's note: This paper is based on a journal and three log books of Captain Ebenezer A. Pitman, Jr., which came into my possession some twenty years ago.

A Marbleheader Meets the Last of the South Sea Pirates

In the *Marblehead Messenger* of January 11, 1873, appeared the following: "Captain Allen Pitman, a native of this town, but for the last 14 years a native of Hong Kong, China, arrived home about a month ago [December 1872]. Capt. Pitman left home as a common sailor but his industry and perseverance have raised him to the command of one of the largest steamers plying between Hong Kong and Honolulu, Sandwich Islands.æ

This news item referred to Captain "Aloa" Pitman, as he was known to his fellow townsmen of two generations ago, other Ebenezer Allen Pitman, Jr., second of the four children of Ebenezer Allen and Rebecca (Chapman) Pitman. Born in Marblehead on November 26, 1837, he, like so many other Marbleheaders, early turned to fishing and made his first trip to the Grand Banks at the age of sixteen. Soon realizing that fishing offered little in the way of advancement, he decided to try the merchant service and sailed before the mast on May 16, 1860, in the ship **Belvedere**, bound from Boston to San Francisco.

On arrival at San Francisco, Pitman left the ship and went up into the mountains. Apparently gold digging did not appeal to "Aloe" as he remained there only ten days before returning to "Frisco" and shipping on the **George Lee**, Lunt master, bound for Hong Kong via the Sandwich Islands. The succeeding three years twice brought him back to San Francisco, but the greater part of that time he was sailing the Eastern seas, calling at Hong Kong, Chefoo, Swatow, Bangkok, Singapore, Manila, and Sydney.

...
[He successively sailed aboard the barque Nancy Brison, the Kiang Loong, and the Fire Dart. He received his Master's certificate at Hong Kong in 1867.]

...
On April 30, 1868, he took command of the **S.S. Jessie**, sailing from Shanghai for

Nagasaki, Japan... From this point there is no trace of Captain "Aloe" for a year and a half. Probably during at least a part of this time he was engaged in trading through the Gilbert, Marshall, and Caroline Islands in the western Pacific,¹ as he next turns up at Ascension [Pohnpei] in the Caroline Islands where he enters in the log, under date of December 16, 1869: "Took charge of **Malolo**—found everything in very good order with the exception of some of the running rigging." The **Malolo** was a schooner belonging to the firm of Glover, Dow & Company of Shanghai, which had been trading through the Gilberts, the Carolines, and the Marshalls for some two years commanded successively by Captains G. A. Bridges, John P. Eldridge, A. W. Tripp, and John J. Mahlmann.

...

The control of Glover, Dow & Company's trading was in the hands of Captain Ben Pease, who commanded the brig **Water Lily**, the name of which he later changed to **Pioneer**.

...

[There follow some entries from the logbook of the **Malolo** (see Doc. 1868H).]

...

It is probable that Captain "Aloe" never did see Captain Pease again, nor did the **Jamestown** catch up with him.

Captain Pease and his one-time friend and partner, Captain William Henry (Bully) Hayes, who also figures in this story, were two of the most precious rascals and pirates who ever infested the Pacific. That Captain "Aloe" did not know their reputation seems impossible, for there was hardly a port from San Francisco to Singapore or from Hong Kong to Sydney where they had not practised their villainies. There are a few tales about these worthies which will give an idea of the sort of company with whom Captain "Aloe" was now hobnobbing.

[Captain Benjamin Pease]

Captain Ben Pease is identified by Basil Lubbock in his book, *Bully Hayes, South Sea Pirate*, as an American lieutenant named George Pease... There seems to be some doubt, therefore, as to Lubbock's identification since Captain Ben Pease is credited with being in the Pacific as early as July, 1865, a month before Ensign Pease was discharged. Whoever Ben Pease may have been, he is said to have met and to have been befriended by Captain Bully Hayes, through whose influence with certain Chinese officials he became a lieutenant in the Imperial Chinese Navy. It is said that while in command of a gunboat Pease was more of a menace to the Chinese merchants than to the pirates whom he was supposed to suppress. Pease later appears in the brig **Water Lily**, trading for Glover, Dow & Company as stated in the log of the **Malolo**.

In addition to his business of trading, Captain Pease carried on the avocations of barratry, blackbirding, gun-running, and headhunting...

1 Ed. note: In 1868, he left Shanghai with Capt. Pease (see his own statement in Doc. 1870J7).

Pease finally met his end in the early seventies by being shot by a Negro while in the Bonin Islands where he had retired, supposedly on account of ill health.

[Captain Bully Hayes]

Captain Bully Hayes was fully as much of a scoundrel as Pease, but of a different breed. There are numerous stories about his scandalous deeds, some of them of doubtful authenticity but many of them true or at least based on fact. Possibly no pirate has had more written about him during the last half century. I have, in fact, the titles of almost fifty books and articles in which he is referred to at greater or less length. They range from the biographies of him by Basil Lubbock, Louis Becke, H. Stonehewer Cooper, A. T. Saunders, and Captain Joshua Slocum... to minor mentions of him in the Pacific stories of Frank Burnett, C. F. Gordon Cumming, Clement Wragge, William T. Wawn, and others.¹

...
He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1829. Nothing definite is known regarding his early life, but no doubt he took to the sea at a comparatively early age since, according to the records of the American Consul at Singapore, he sold the American barque **Canton**, 198 tons, Elisha Gibbs master, to an Englishman in 1854. From that time on he was notorious throughout the length and breadth of the Pacific until, while in the Marshalls in April, 1877, he was murdered by the cook of his schooner, the **Lotus**.

...
Louis Becke, a youth from New South Wales who served under him and was his agent in 1874, states that "he had a deep baritone voice and was an accomplished musician, playing on pianoforte, violin and accordion." He was also a past master in obtaining something for nothing, whether money, a ship, or a valuable cargo, as the following excerpt from the *San Francisco Herald* of September 5, 1859, indicates:

*"Some time ago (Aug. 28th to be exact) a Capt. Hayes purchased the brig **Ellenita** from M. S. Morrison of this city for \$800. He paid nearly 500 dollars of the purchase money and then had the brig placed upon the ways of Mr. Hichener, where she was thoroughly overhauled and repaired. Finding his indebtedness pressing upon him, and that hte brig was about to be libelled, he applied to eminent counsel n this city, by whose exertions the libel was staved off for two weeks. About half-past two o'clock on Monday morning, the **Ellenita** got under way and sailed from this port, leaving all her debts unpaid, and without taking out a clearance or being in possession of a single paper. Yesterday the steam tug **Martin White** was sent in pursuit, but returned in the evening without being able to see or hear of the brig."*

"We learn that the following parties have been swindled by Captain Hayes: Mr. Morrison, 300 dollars; Mr. Hichener, 250 dollars; ship carpenters, 800 dollars; victuallers

1 Ed. note: The most factual of the bio-sketches about Bully Hayes is by James Lyle Young, who had known him personally (see Doc. 1870A).

and grocers, 1200 dollars; vegetable dealers, 300 dollars; a gentleman, per borrowed money, 300 dollars; legal advice, 100 dollars; a bill which his lawyers promised to pay, 14 dollars; money borrowed from his lawyers, 30 dollars; plumbers, 500 dollars; and a multitude of other liabilities of less note, making in all about 40,000 dollars. The fellow also managed to swindle Mr. Morrison out of some 40 tons of beans. It is supposed by those who appear to be best informed that he will steer for Tahiti, where he will lay in a cargo of oranges, for the Sydney market.—

A trader in pearl shell, *bêche-de-mer*, and copra, Hayes also was bigamist, barrator, gun-runner, buccaneer, and blackbirder.

...

In 1869 Hayes was in command of a schooner named the **Atlantic**, in which he proceeded to kidnap some natives, for which he was arrested at Pago Pago and taken to Apia for trial. The British Consul, feeling he was unable to deal properly with the case, sent for H. M. Sloop **Vixen**, but before she arrived Hayes made a bolt in the brig **Pioneer**, commanded by Captain Pease. Some time after this, bad blood developed between Hayes and Pease, and the latter retired to the Bonin Islands. Hayes proceeded to Shanghai where he purchased the **Pioneer** from Glover, Dow & Company, paying something on account and changing her name to the **Leonora**.

The **Leonora**, ex-**Pioneer**, ex-**Water Lily**, was a brig of 318 tons, built in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1860.

...

On October 16, 1871, a man named G. Lechart declared at Strong's Island that he had sold his vessel and goods to Hayes and that Hayes refused to pay him and threatened him with a hiding when he pressed for payment.¹

Such were these two characters whose paths crossed Pitman's in the Pacific. Pitman, as has been seen, was at Ascension Island on June 18, 1870. Where he was during the succeeding sixteen months I do not know, but possibly he carried out his intention of going to Shanghai and then traded through the islands, as he next appears at Strong's [Kosrae] Island where he enters in the log of the schooner **Neva**, under date of October 19, 1871: "Came on board from Brig **Leonora** the following persons—Charles Roberts, Maniller Peter, Wahoo John, Old Penna." One might wonder, considering that this event occurred only three days after Mr. Lechart's complaint against Hayes, whether or not the **Neva** was the vessel Hayes had "purchased" from Lechart.² Whenever he got the schooner, Pitman did not get much of value, for the sails and rigging were rotten, and there was scarcely a day when she was at sea during the next year that some-

1 Ed. note: Young (Doc. 1870A) says that Gustave Lechart was a Frenchman, and the name of his schooner was the **Hirondelle**. He may have bcome to Kosrae from Tahiti.

2 Ed. note: The fact could be verified in perusing *The Friend of Honolulu* for arrivals and departures, to see if the **Hirondelle** (her former name) and/or that of Lechart appears as her master. The schooner was first renamed **Emily**, then **Neva**.

thing was not carried away or that the crew were not repairing past damage.

...

This ends the entries in the log, and I have not learned how Captain Pitman disposed of the *Emily*, *The Friend*, a missionary monthly published in Honolulu, says in the November, 1872, issue: "Donations: From Captain E. A. Pitman, for Bethel \$5, and 'The Friend' \$5. Arrivals: Oct. 26 Am. Schoer *Emily*, E. A. Pitman, 64 days from ARno, Marshall Islands." Under the caption "Memoranda" is a very brief summary of the voyage together with ten corrections of Admiralty chart, sheet 6, principally changes in latitude or longitude of certain islands. Under "ARno" the account adds: "The *Nar-ragansett* was standing on to pass through the apparent channel between the two islands when spoken by the *Emily* about the 19th of August, and warned off, Capt. Pitman received the thanks of the Commander of the man-of-war."

Captain Pitman, perhaps disgusted at having been deserted by two pirates, or, maybe, satisfied with his experiences in the Pacific, did not tarry long in Honolulu, for in December [1872], he was back in Marblehead where he settled down to pass his remaining years. As his contemporaries are all dead, it is difficult to learn much about his latter activities, but one does get a sketchy idea from the local directories and newspapers where he is mentioned at various times as proprietor of the first steam ferry running to Marblehead Neck, dealer in washing machines, Deputy Collector of Customs, Chief of Police, poulterer, and, finally, insurance agent and Justice of the Peace. He was reputed to have been the first to teach the natives of the Marshall Islands how to prepare coconut oil for market. He delivered lectures, and he even wrote an article for the *Boston Daily Globe* on these islanders.

Captain "Aloe" died on October 26, 1896, leaving his neighbors deprived of a genial friend but satisfied that he "pulled the long bow" when he related his adventures among the Marshall Islanders.

1 Ed. note: See her logbook (Doc. 1871J).

Document 1868J

The English barque *Syringa* wrecked at Jaluit

Source: Article in The Pacific Commercial Advertiser, Honolulu, Feb. 12, 1870.

Notes: Captain Andrew(?) Brown (or Erskine?), in the bark Syringa of Sydney, was driven aground by a gale at Jaluit in 1868. Part of the crew was later picked up by Capt. Benjamin Pease and brought to Pohnpei.

Items Reported By Morning Star

Capt. Tengstrom furnished us with a few items relating to the voyage of the late **Morning Star**, which are worthy of publication.

In the beginning of December 1868 the British bark **Syringa**, Capt. Brown from Sydney, N.S.W. to China, with coals, lost the fore and main topmasts in a squall, when a little north of the Kingsmill Group. She made Jellunt [Jaluit], and anchored on the northwest side in five fathoms of water. The carpenter commenced cutting out and fitting new topmasts; but before this had been accomplished the wind had veered to the westward and the vessel swinging, touched with the stern on the rocks and was wrecked. Capt. Pease, of the **Water Lily**, bought the wreck for \$500 taking away with him seventeen sails, two boats complete, a large quantity of other gear, and left four men to save what they could. Capt. Brown and part of the crew left for Ascension [Pohnpei] in the **Water Lily**.

[Yapese drifted to the Marshalls.]¹

January, 1869 the chiefs of the Radock chain left Jellunt, on their way to Namerick, and touched at Kili en route. There they found two canoes nineteen men and women, natives of some Islands to the westward, of which the name could not be ascertained. Their teeth were blackened by eating the betel nut, they had wooly hair, and were of a darker complexion than the people of the Marshall Islands. They had been adrift five months, and fetched Kili. On the departure of the Marshall Island canoes for Namerick these strangers went with them and were divided in different canoes having previously been deprived of their property which was considerable, consisting of four brass swivels, powder, earthenware vessels, clothing, &c. During a calm the strange chief and nine others rose against Hoiak, a Namerick chief in whose canoe they were, murdered

1 Ed. note: Hezel, quoting Mahlman's book, says that they were Yapese, not Melanesians.

his wife and son, stabbed and threw overboard his daughter, and wounded several who jumped overboard. The fleet, which was a little way astern, seeing the commotion pursued the canoe, and on coming up with it a fight ensued...

1
...

1 Ed. note: Ward, who reproduced this text in his "American Activities in the Central Pacific, adds the following note: "The remainder of this report is missing and the original newspaper in the Harvard University Library was not available for checking." The missionaries later reported that the Marshallese had been the ones to kill the strangers, out of greed, to take possession of their property, which they still had at the time. The logbook of the *Syringa* is to be found in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, under Ms. 2344, Box Y 4489, according to Nicholson's Log of Logs.

Document 1869A

Report of Ship Janus

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, December 1869.

Note: This voyage is not recorded by Starbuck, but is in Hegarty's Addendum, p. 51 where it is said that the Bark [sic] Janus departed New Bedford on 6 December 1865, under Captain Smith and Mate Carroll, and returned home on 8 June 1871 under the command of a Captain Eastwood. There is no log-book extant.

Letter of Captain F. C. Smith

H.M. Whitney, Esq.,¹

Dear Sir:

Knowing that you are never tiring in exerting yourself in gathering up the events of the day, which makes your *Advertiser* so welcome and interesting to its readers, I herewith submit a brief report of my unfortunate whaling cruise.

The **Janus** sailed from Honolulu Nov. 13th, 1868, and steered off to the south-west, running down through the Caroline Group, touching at several of the islands for the purpose of obtaining hogs and other supplies. From there steered for New Ireland, where we cruised a short time, but did not see any whales. Experienced very boisterous weather, with very heavy squalls, torrents of rain, and thunder and lightning in abundance. Ran down off Booka Bay, and on the same night of our arrival a heavy gale came on from the westward, which lasted several days. After the gale abated, found ourselves a long distance to the eastward of the bay, with a strong easterly current and light westerly winds. Finding it impossible to beat back to the bay again, put away for the equator, where we saw sperm whales once. Captured three, which yielded eighty-five barrels of oil.

After leaving the equator, steered for the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei], where we arrived Feb. 10th. Here we found plenty of supplies, such as whaleships are in want of before going north—hogs, wood, water, &c. Sailed from Ascension Feb. 25th and steered for Guam, arriving off the anchorage March 3d, and was boarded by a pilot, but did not require any, as we only intended to be off and on a day or two to purchase a few necessaries that were not to be had at Ascension. The pilot said the captain of the

¹ Ed. note: This indicates that the letter had been addressed to the Commercial Advertiser, and was copied by The Friend.

port would be off immediately, this being about the middle of the afternoon. We laid off the harbor until the afternoon of the following day, and not having seen any signs of the captain of the port, or boarding officer, and having no time to spare, kept off for Japan Sea.

..
[The ship went to the Yellow Sea, the Japan Sea, and the Ochotsk Sea.]

...
August 23d, Kaukau, seaman, died. He was a native of Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island, aged 50 years. Sept. 10th, seeing no whales, put away for Janett harbor (Tavisk Bay) for wood and water, and to refresh the crew, as many of them began to show symptoms of the scurvy—two cases quite bad. Arrived in Janett harbor Sept. 14th, On the following day Mr. John F. Carroll [First Officer] died, and his remains were interred the next day on the north bank of Little Salmon River. The deceased belonged in Troy, New York, where his parents and other relatives are living. His death was caused by heart disease, accompanied with dropsy. He was 39 years of age. Mr. Carroll was an able officer and a superior whaleman.

...
Left the Ochotsk Sea Oct. 17th, coming out through the Fiftieth Passage. On the following day experiencee a heavy gale from the north-east, after which had strong westerly gales, running us down to within five hundred miles of the Islands,. Since then, Nov. 2d, have had calms and light variable winds. Made the land on the morning of the 19th. Took 650 barrels of oil.

Very respectfully yours,
F. C. Smith, Master of ship **Janus**.

Document 1869B

**The ship Cornelius Howland, Captain Homan,
visited Saipan**

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; Log Inv. 1267.

Note: This was a New Bedford ship. The captain's full name is Benjamin Franklin Homan. His First Mate, and log-keeper, was a Mr. Potter.

Extract from the logbook

...

Tuesday Jan. 26 [1869]

... Mid. part, laying to the windward of the land. Latter part, made the Island [Saipan] steering NW... and found us to the North of Sypan. Wore round to the South. At noon, made the land steering South. Cron. 30 miles out.

Wednesday Jan. 27

... Steering down for the island. At 1/2 past 12 o'clock, Mr. Whiteside ceased to live. Had been sick ever since he came aboard. Had a very painful illness... At 6 o'clock, took in light sails and luffed to the wind on starboard tack head off shore... Latter part, came to anchor in 10 fathoms water, 60 fathoms chain. 4 boats ashore after wood, 4 boat-loads.

Thursday Jan. 28

... Getting off wood and buried Mr. Whiteside ashore... Latter part, got off potatoes and corn. Governor & Pilot aboard to dinner.

Friday Jan. 29

... Hove up anchor and stood out to sea. Got 4 doz. iron [i.e. ironwood] poles. All sail out, steering WNW...

...

Documents 1869C

The leasing of Tinian, Agrigan and Pagan Islands by Captain George Henry Johnston

Source: PNA. Note: Captain Johnston leased some of the Gani Islands, north of Saipan, but the business caused many problems after his untimely death at sea in 1876.

C1. Contract for the lease of Tinian, dated 7 April 1869

Original text in Spanish.

En la ciudad de Agaña á siete de Abril de mil ochocientos sesenta y nueve ante el Señor Gobernador Militar y Político de estas Yslas y Juez de primera instancia en ellas Don Francisco Moscoso y Lara y nosotros sus testigos acompañados Don Ignacio Aguon y Don Vicente Dueñas escribiente é interprete del Juzgado de esta provincia; compareció Mr. George H. Johnston casado y establecido en estas Yslas y dijo: que habiendo solicitado del Gobierno en veintitres de Diciembre de mil ochocientos sesenta y cinco tomar en arriendo las Yslas desiertas de Agrigan y Tinian bajo la obligación de colonizarlas con las mismas condiciones que la de Pagan, y habiendo recaído aprobación superior para que pueda llevarse á debido efecto segun comunicación de la Intendencia General de Filipinas de veintisiete de Marzo del ño anterior, y deseando tomar posesión desde luego de la de Tinian, presentando como sus fiadores á Don José de Torres y á Don Juan de León Guerrero, se hacia cargo de ella bajo las condiciones siguientes:

Primera. El Gobierno cede en arriendo á Mr. Johnston por el término de ocho años, contando desde el dia en que se posesione de ella el usufructo de la Ysla de Tinian.

Segunda. Adjudica al mismo el aprovechamiento de la ganaderia y toda clase de animales existentes en dicha Ysla, permitiendo la cria y pastos de otros de las propias especies á diferentes que importase; el de los frutos naturales á industriales, el de las plantaciones existentes, así como tambien la pesca en sus costas, senos y bahias.

Tercera. Se adjudicarán igualmente los edificios que hubiese en la Ysla el dia de la toma de posision bajo el correspondiente inventario.

Cuarta. Mr. George H. Johnston se compromete á importar á la expresada Ysla de Tinian lo menos doscientos Carolinos traídos del exterior y no podrá posesionaese de ella hasta tanto que haya traído la espresada gente.

Quinta. Se obligarú á satisfacer anualmente, pagada por semestres anticipados y en destino á los fondos de Lazarinos, la cantidad de trescientos pesos fuertes.

Sesta. Igualmente se compromete á poner al frente de la poblacion Carolina que importe una persona del pais que merezca la aprobacion del Gobierno, la cual está en todo lo gubernativo dependiente de la Alcaldia de Saipan. Proveer“ tambien de un Maestro ó Maestra que enseñe á leer, escribir, doctrina y las mas precisas labores, cuidando de que á cada individuo se le facilitasen dos trajes por año para sus necesidades y á fin de que vayan acostumbrandose el vestido.

Setima. Harú con buque de su propiedad ú otro un viage por lo menos cada año de esta ú aquella Ysla y vice versa.

Octava. No podrá disponer, ni permitirá se maten vacas de las existentes en la Ysla, á menos que sean de las llamadas machorras ó de las que por viejas sean improductivas, debiendose satisfacer una multa de veinticinco pesos por cada una, si se averiguase que se han matado de las de cria.

Novena. Pasado el plazo marcado en la condicion primera, el Gobierno se encargará otra vez de la Ysla y de la poblacion que tuviese en ella, no pudiendo durante el transcurso de dicho tiempo Mr. Johnston disminuir por sí el numero de la importada.

Decima. Al terminar el espresado plazo, devolverá igualmente por inventario los edificios que reciba al tomar posesion, en el mismo estado que los reciba los que fueren permanentes y de los que nó, otros equivalentes.

Undicima. Sin perjuicio de concedersele á Mr. Johnston que desde luego que importe las doscientas almas CAROLINAS pueda tomar posesion de la Ysla de Tinian, se entenderá que ha de ser provisionalmente hasta tanto que recoga la superior aprobacion del Excelentisimo Señor Gobernador de Filipinas sin la cual no tendrá validez el presente contrato.

Y para su cumplimiento otorga esta escritura y se obliga con su personal bienes habidos y por haber; y para mayor seguridad sus dichos fiadores Don José de Torres y Don Juan de León Guerrero dijeron que aceptan y reconocen por suya la obligacion de Mr. Johnston, y lo firmaron el Sor. Gobernador siendo testigos Don Juan de Castro y Martin Ada presentes de que damos fé.

Francisco Moscoso

G. H. Johnston

José de Torres

Juan de León Guerrero

Ignacio Aguon

Vicente Dueñas

Translation.

In the City of Agaña this seventh day of April one thousand eight hundred and sixty nine, before the Military and Political Governor of these Islands and Judge of First Instance, Mr. Francisco Moscoso y Lara, and ourselves, Ignacio Aguon and Vicente Dueñas appearing as his corroborating witnesses, the latter also as clerk and interpreter of

the court of this province; there appeared before us Mr. George H. Johnston, married and residing in these Islands, who declared: that, having solicited from the Government on the twenty-third of December of one thousand eight hundred and sixty five, to lease the uninhabited Islands of Agrigan and Tinian under the obligation to colonize them under the same conditions as Pagan Island, and there having elapsed the superior approval for it to take due effect, in accordance with the communication of the General Intendent of the Philippines of the twenty seventh of March of last year, and wishing to take possession right away of the Island of Tinian, presenting as his guarantors Mr. José de Torres and Mr. Juan de León Guerrero, he was taking charge of it under the following conditions:

Firstly. The Government cedes in a lease agreement to Mr. Johnston for a term of eight years from the day of taking possession thereof the use of the Island of Tinian.

Secondly. It adjudges to the same party the use of the cattle and all categories of animals existing on said Island, permitting the raising and grazing of others of the same or different species to be imported; the use of the natural and industrial products, that of the existing plantations, as well as from fishing on its coasts, inlets and bays.

Thirdly. The buildings that are in the Island on taking possession thereof shall be adjudged under a corresponding inventory.

Fourthly. Mr. George M. Johnston commits himself to import to the said Island of Tinian at least two hundred Carolinians brought from outside and he shall not take possession of it until he has brought the said people.

Fifth. He shall commit himself to pay annually, each semester in advance and to the account of the Leper Hospital Fund, the sum of three hundred pesos in hard currency.

Sixthly. He commits himself equally to place at the head of the imported CARolinian population one of their countrymen who would deserve the approval of the Government, and who in all administrative matters is to be dependent upon the Mayor of Saipan. He shall provide also a school teacher, male or female, to teach reading, writing, religion and other more precise subjects, taking care to provide to each individual two suits each year for his own use and in order that they become used to wearing clothes.

Seventhly. He shall make with a ship of his own or of someone else at least one voyage per year from this or that Island and vice versa.

Eighthly. He shall not dispose of nor allow that cows that exist on the Island be killed, unless they be those called barren or those unproductive on account of old age, obliging himself to pay a fine of twenty five pesos for each one, if it should be ascertained that some breeding cows have been killed.

Ninthly. Beyond the deadline shown as the first condition, the Government shall take charge again of the Island and its population left in it, Mr. Johnston not being allowed during the course of the said period to reduce by himself the number of the imported population.

Tenthly. At the end of the said period, the buildings that he receives upon taking possession shall be returned also by inventory, in the same condition that he receives them for those of a permanent nature, and those that are not, by some equivalent ones.

Eleventhly. Without any prejudice toward Mr. Johnston, as soon as he imports the two hundred Carolinian, he may take possession of the Island of Tinian; it shall be understood that he does so temporarily until such time as the superior approval of His Excellency the Governor of the Philippines is received, and without which the present contract will be null and void.

In order to formalize this contract he has this certified statement executed and commits himself with his personal property, present and future, and for greater security his above-mentioned guarantors, José de Torres and Juan de León Guerrero declared that they accept and recognize the obligation of Mr. Johnston as their own, and it was signed by the Governor, being witnesses Juan de Castro and Martin Ada here present, which we certify.

Francisco Moscoso
G. H. Johnston
José de Torres
Juan de León Guerrero
Igancio Aguon
Vicente Dueñas

C2. Extract from the follow-up file—Summary made in 1877

Note: In interpreting what follows, it is important to remember that Captain Johnston, the lessor, had already disappeared at sea in October 1876, and that the eight-year lease had ended in April 1877.

Original text in Spanish.

Manila ... de Octubre 1877.

Vistos: las comunicaciones del Gobernador de Marianas, que han motivado este expediente, relativas a varias incidencias originadas a consecuencia de la terminación del arrendamiento de la Ysla de Tinian: el Reglamento o plan de Administración decretado en 1828 para el regimen y gobierno de Yslas Marianas, la Memoria redactada por el ex-Gobernador de dichas Yslas D. Felipe de la Corte, sobre el estado de las mismas y las reformas que convendrían introducir; así como el informe producido por el M.R. Cura Parroco de Agaña y Vicario provincial de aquel Archipiélago.

Examinado el expediente de arrendamiento de la dicha Ysla de Tinian a Mr. George H. Johnston y resultando:

Que dicho Johnston se hizo cargo de la Ysla de Tinian en 7 de Abril de 1869, por el termino de 8 años y por contrato ó escritura que celebró ante el Gobernador de Marianas, a cuya autoridad se le delegó este cometido por la Yntendencia general de Hacienda Pública, despues de haber sido oidas las opiniones del Administrador de Hacienda de Marianas, Fiscal de S.M. y Admon. de Estancadas, conformes todos en que se confiriese dicha delegación, con solo las clausulas de que la autoridad local tuviese presentes, para proceder al arrendamiento, las condiciones más ventajosas para la Hacienda, las bases propuestas por el mismo Gobernador y el remitir acta original del contrato para su aprobación, habiendose invertido en despachar este asunto cerca de tres años.

Que, no obstante el envío del acta original del arrendamiento y de aparecer en ella, que el Gobernador bajó el tipo del arriendo a 300 pesos anuales de los 530 que se habían propuesto, fundandose en que, en los calculos de su antecesor, se amalgamaban con los productos calculados de la Ysla, las cantidades que la Hacienda satisfacía para pago de mozos; y de aparecer tambien en dicho documento que se ampliaba el plazo del arriendo, de los cinco años propuestos, hasta ocho, no aparece que sobre el predicho contrato, haya llegado a recaer resolución superior alguna, habiendo terminado con la simple autorización provisional del Gobierno de Yslas Marianas.

Que estando afectos los productos de la Ysla de Tinian de ramo de Lazarinos en los terminos ordenados por el General Ricafort, en su Reglamento, ya citado, de 17 de Diciembre de 1828, el Admor. de H. P. de Marianas, dispuso, de propia autoridad, que desde el predicho arrendamiento cesasen de pertenecer los productos mencionados al Hospital de Lazarinos, suprimiendose a la vez los sueldos de los 14 mozos que se satisfacían como gasto de personal por el citado ramo, sin que aparezca en el expediente que se haya aprobado ó desaprobado esta medida.

Que, por Real orden de 21 de Junio del 68, se previno el envío al Ministerio, de los expedientes instruidos para el arrendamiento de las Yslas de Agrigan, Tinian y Pagan, y, al remitirlos, se hiciese una reseña de los propositos de este Gobierno, al iniciar los expedientes y las ventajas que de ellos se prometiera.

Que por otra Real orden de 3 de Octubre de 74, se recordó la anterior, previniendo su cumplimiento, y la Dirección de Hacienda, apremió a la Admon. de Estancadas, para que evacuase el informe que se le había pedido, por la misma, en 27 de Agosto del 68.

Que por nueva Real orden de 22 de Nov. de 75, se reiteraron las dos anteriores, llamando la atención del Gobierno General, acerca de la morosidad que en este particular se había observado, a fin de que la corrigiese, exigiendo la responsabilidad correspondiente al causante ó causantes de la falta; cuya soberana disposición se trasladó por la Dirección de Hacienda a la Admon. de Estancadas, prediciendole que con la mayor urgencia presentese en acuerdo los expedientes y reseña pedidos, para su inmediata remisión al Ministerio; formando al mismo tiempo el expediente en justificación de las causas de la falta de cumplimiento.

Que, asi las cosas, aparece una comunicación del Gobernador de Marianas, fecha 2 de Abril del 76, transcribiendo la que había recibido del Admon. de Hacienda de las mismas Yslas, manifestandole que el 30 de Junio del presente año de 1877 terminaba el contrato de arrendamiento de la Ysla de Tinian con el precitado Mr. Johnston, y solicitando instrucciones para que en la transición del sistema de arrendamiento al anti-guo de administración, por cuenta del Estado, no sufrieron perjuicios los intereses de la Hacienda Pública, extrañándose a dicho Administrador el que se hubiese dado en 300 pesos anuales de arrendamiento, cuando antes había venido dando productos de mayor valía, y el Gobernador, a su vez, manifiesta su opinión, expresando que sería conveniente, se recibiese la Ysla, al terminar el contrato, con las mismas formalidades que se entregó, se trasladen a ella los carolinos que existen en el barrio de Tamuning de

la Ciudad de Agaña, mediante el buque correo, se establezca un Alcalde y Gobernadorcillo, en los mismos terminos que están las demás Yslas de Saipan y Rota, se introduzcan los productos en los fondos de arbitrios y no en el de Lazarinos, puesto que ya no existe el antiguo hospital, y se apliquen a la construcción de una Casa Real, Yglesia, escuelas y demás necesidades correspondientes a un pueblo de nueva creación los mil setecientos pesos que existían como productos de la Ysla.

Resultando, tambien, que la predicha consulta se recibió en la Dirección Civil en 12 de Mayo del 76, y dispuso, dicho Centro, pasase a la de Hacienda a los efectos que procediesen, con cuyo motivo este último centro superior, despues de extenderse en varias consideraciones sobre los defectos ó vacíos que se encuentran en el expediente que va haciendose referencia, acordó dirigirse a la Dirección Civil manifestandole que si bien al Gobierno gral. en funciones de Hacienda le compete entender en la cesión de bienes del Estado, valdíos ó realengos, cuando se trata de colonización de una parte del territorio, del establecimiento de autoridades de la fundación, en fin, de pueblo, al Gobierno General en funciones de Administración Civil, corresponde entonces como en el presente caso por altas consideraciones políticas y de gobierno, manifestar la norma que debe seguirse, los obstáculos que pueda haber para alterar la marcha administrativa de la Ysla, y por consiguiente, que la Dirección de Hacienda expediría las órdenes oportunas para dar por terminado el arrendamiento, incautandose la Admon. otra vez de la Ysla, emprendiendo por su cuenta la colonización de la misma, tan luego como la Dirección Civil expresase su pensamiento sobre los indicados puntos que se le consultaban.

Resultando que por la Dirección de Hacienda se recordó a la de Administración Civil, en 15 de Noviembre del 76 y 20 de Enero último lo anteriormente consultado sin que aparezca en el expediente contestación alguna.

Resultando que pende tambien en la Admon. Central de Estancadas, un incidente promovido a virtud de instancia de Mr. Alejandro Milne, Agente que se dice ser de la casa de Adolph Capelle Cía de la Ysla de Bonham [Jaluit], grupo Marshall de las Carolinas, cuya sociedad comercial en coco seco entre dichas Yslas Carolinas, solicitando se le conceda el arrendamiento de la Ysla de Tinian, en los mismos terminos que se le otorgó a Mr. Johnston.

Resultando, finalmente, que por la reciente Real orden de 15 de Junio último se conceptúa anómala y poco ajustada a las prescripciones legales, la tramitación que se ha seguido para verificar los arrendamientos de las Yslas de Agrigan, Tinian y Pagan, puesto que pueden considerarse mas bien unos contratos de explotación de aquellos territorios que un sistema ó medio de colonizarlos; y disponiendo que, sin perjuicio de lo acordado en 26 the Marzo anterior y a fin de que el Ministerio pueda, con pleno conocimiento de causa, proponer en definitiva las bases, sobre que ha de plantearse la colonización de dichas Yslas, se remitan al propio Ministerio de Ultramar, los datos que en 24 de Enero último reclamaron las oficinas de estas Yslas de Admon. de Hacienda de las de Marianas, ampliandolos la Dirección general con una Memoria que abarque los puntos que en dicha Real orden se consignan .

Considerando que es verdaderamente anómala la tramitación seguida en el expediente aludido y digno de severa censura el incumplimiento de las reales órdenes citadas;

Considerando que el Reglamento del General Ricafort dictado en 17 de Diciembre de 1828, no ha llegado a producir los benéficos resultados que dicha autoridad se propuso para el fomento de los intereses morales y materiales de las Yslas Marianas y que en la actualidad no solo es infructuoso su aplicación sino que está profundamente alterado por disposiciones posteriores, dictado por distintos ramos de la Admon. del Estado; con el mejor deseo, pero sin unidad de pensamiento y de acción;

Considerando que el ensayo de fiar la colonización de aquellas despobladas Yslas al interés de un particular, no ha dado los lisonjeros resultados que se concibieron, no obstante la innegable actividad y las no menos reconocidas dotes del arrendatario Mr. Johnston y que este sistema de arrendamiento no puede dar otro resultado que el de conceder la explotación del territorio, como perfectamente lo censura la citada Real orden de 15 de Junio último;

Considerando lo necesario y urgente de dedicar a las Yslas Marianas una preferentísima atención, al objeto de dar incremento hasta donde sea posible a la población y la riqueza de las mismas, no sólo por la posibilidad que hay en ello, aun cuando sea de un modo paulatino que obliga la situación poco desahogada del Tesoro de estas Yslas, sino también para que dejen de ser gravosas en algún día a este mismo Tesoro y a más puedan cubrir, con sus propios recursos, las importantes necesidades que su alejamiento, su particular situación geográfica, su mejor administración y el desenvolvimiento de su riqueza y progresiva prosperidad reclaman;

Y considerando, por último, que si la iniciativa que en este particular se reserva el Gobierno Supremo de la nación, ha de ser con completo coconimiento de causa cual el Ministerio de Ultramar desea; es de todo punto indispensable, que mi Autoridad, con el concurso de las luces el celo y el patriotismo de los Jefes superiores de todos los ramos de la Administración pública, eleve al Ministerio una noticia clara, ordenada, perfectamente detallada y práctica, de los recursos, medios y de cuanto, cada una de indicados Ramos pueda disponer a favor de los importantes fines, a colonizar dichas Yslas, de acrecentar sus relaciones comerciales interiores y exteriores; combatir la indolencia de aquellos indígenas; por medio de los estímulos más adecuados; organizar los impuestos con el tacto que estas medidas exigen de por sí y atender en fin, al bien moral y material de aquellos insulares y de los inmigrantes que vayan a establecerse en el territorio:

[Conclusion]

Este Gobierno General en uso de la alta inspección que le compete sobre todos los ramos de la Administración pública, viene en disponer:

1º. Por mi Secretaria General, se remitirán todas las comunicaciones del Gobernador de Yslas Marianas, que han dado margen a este expediente, la Dirección de Hacienda Pública, para que, con el concurso de la Administración de Estancadas, donde radican los antecedentes, se despachen y resuelvan las cuestiones suscitadas, consecuen-

cia de la incautación de la Ysla de Tinian por la Hacienda al terminar el contrato de arrendamiento; recomendando en este asunto la actividad que de suya reclama.

2º. Por lo que compete a las atribuciones de este Gobierno General se declara inadmisibile la proposición de arriendo de la Ysla de Tinian, en los terminos solicitados por Mr. Alejandro Milne, asi como cualquiera otra que pudiera presentarse basada en las condiciones de la contrata que se otorgó a Mr George H. Johnston.

3º. Cesando, con la precedente declaración, de pertenecer al Ramo de Hacienda todo lo relativo a la colonización de la Ysla de Tinian, la Dirección general dispondrá que se saquen copias integras, y autorizadas, de cuanto resulte corresponder al predicho arrendamiento de la Ysla de Tinian, de sus incidencias y de lo que independientemente se relacione con cuestiones de Gobernación y Fomento en Yslas Marianas; y remitir a la Dirección de Administración Civil dichas copias para que le sirvan de antecedentes y entre este Centro entender en todo lo que a su jurisdicción corresponde.

4º. A fin de que no se pierda lo poco que se ha adelantado a consecuencia del arrendamiento de Tinian, y sin perjuicio, de las demas disposiciones que se dicten por este Gobierno General, la Dirección Civil dedicará una preferente atención, a lo consultado por el Gobernador de Yslas Marianas, sobre el sistema que propone para administrar dicha Ysla, recomendandole que desde luego acepte y determine la suspensión propuesta de la caza de ganado vacuno, ordene la persecución de los perros remontados, y no solo se eviten, por ahora, los gastos que no sean de absoluta e imprescindible necesidad, sino que se averigüe que cantidades hayan podido distraerse en otras atenciones, de las que corresponder deben al fondo de Lazarinos, reclamando los reintegros si hubiese lugar a ello, con el objeto de que en su día pueda contarse con lo devengado y lo que en lo sucesivo se devengue, para los fines de la colonización según se determine en su día.

5º. Por el Real Patronato, se gestionará se asigne a la Ysla de Tinian, en los terminos acordados, un Sacerdote de la orden de Recoletos que se haga cargo de la Administración espiritual de los Carolinos allí radicados, de los que se trasladen a la misma desde Agaña y de las familias de la misma raza que vayan a radicarse, favoreciendose, al efecto, la inmigración, con los recursos y medios de que puedan disponerse; al propio tiempo que se interese por el bien temporal de su feligresía con todo el celo, tacto y actividad que conviene a la formación de nuevos pueblos de infieles.

6º. Siendo de todo punto necesario y urgente la reforma del Reglamento ó plan económico dictado en 1828 para el regimen y gobierno de Yslas Marianas, a fin de ponerlo en armonia en las necesidades actuales de aquellas islas, con los adelantos y mejoras que han venido introduciendose en todos los ramos de la Administración pública, y con las sabias miras del Gobierno Supremo; se dirigirán atentas comunicaciones a la Capitanía General, Comandancia General de Marina, Arzobispado, Regencia de la Audiencia territorial, Dirección de Administración Civil y a la de Hacienda, para que cada cual, en su ramo respectivo, proponga lo que con su leal saber y entender, considere más conveniente de objeto indicado, y tan luego como en la Secretaría general se reciban todas las Memorias producidas por las Autoridades, y Centros predichos, se

redactará por la misma la Memoria general que abrace todos los extremos, sin perjuicio de que para entonces se determine la forma y modo de dirimir cualquier divergencia de opiniones que surgir pueda entre unos y otros ramos dándose cuenta al Gobierno Supremo para la definitiva resolución, sin perjuicio de significarle desde luego la preferente atención que a tan importante asunto se dedica, y en contestación a las Reales órdenes de 22 de Noviembre de 75 y 15 de Junio último.

Translation.

Manila, October 1877.

Having reviewed: the communications of the Government of the Marianas that have led to the creation of this file, about the various incidents that resulted from the termination of the contract for the lease of the Island of Tinian; the Regulation or Plan for the Administration decreed in 1828 for the governance of the Mariana Islands; the Report of Felipe de la Corte, former Governor of said Islands, regarding their condition and the reforms that should be introduced; as well as the report produced by the Right Rev. Father Curate of Agaña and Vicar Provincial of that Archipelago.

Having examined the file of the lease of said Island of Tinian to Mr. George H. Johnston, which shows:

That said Johnston took charge of the Island of Tinian on 7 April 1869, for a period of 8 years, by means of a contract signed before the Governor of the Marianas, who had been authorized to do so by the Intendent General of the Public Treasury, after he had received the recommendations of the Administrator of the Treasury of the Marianas, of the Attorney General, and of the Administration of Government Monopolies, who were all in agreement to delegate such authority, but adding that the local Authority should take into consideration, while going ahead with the leasing, the most advantageous conditions for the Treasury, in addition to the conditions already proposed by the Governor himself, and the remittal of the original copy of the contract for its approbation, despite the fact that three years¹ had already passed since the beginning of this business.

That, in spite of the fact that the original copy of the lease was indeed sent but that it had been altered by the Governor, who had reduced the amount of the lease from the 530 pesos per year that had originally been proposed down to 300, based on the reasoning that his predecessor had made a mistake in his calculations, amalgamating the salaries paid by the Treasury to the workers [there] to the [gross] products of the Island; in spite of the fact that said document also lengthened the period of the lease from the proposed five years to eight years, it does not appear that said contract has led to any decision on the part of the Superior Government, and that it was allowed to run in accordance with the provisional conditions imposed by the Government of the Marianas.

That, since the products of the Island of Tinian are applied to the Leper Hospital by

1 Ed. note: From December 1865 to 1868.

order of General Ricafort, and the already-mentioned Regulation of 17 December 1828, the Administrator of the Treasury of the Marianas decided, on his own authority, to stop applying said products to the Leper Hospital, and to stop paying salaries to the 14 Government workers in question, salaries that had been treated as such and deducted from said hospital revenue, it does not appear from the file that such a measure was either approved or disapproved.

That the Royal Order dated 21 June 1868 had requested the despatch to the Ministry [of Overseas] of the original copies of the contracts for the lease of the Islands of Agrigan, Tinian and Pagan, and, upon remittal of same, there was to be added a summary of the objectives that this Government had when undertaken said files, and the advantages that were hoped for.

That, by another Royal Order dated 3 October 1874, the previous order was referred to, and compliance thereof requested, and the Directorate of the Treasury in turn reminded the Administrator of Government Monopolies to produce the report that had been requested of him on 27 August 1868.

That, in a new Royal Order dated 11 November 1875, the two previous orders were again reiterated, and the attention of the Governor General was directed toward the fact that the business had been delayed for too long, should be corrected, and the culprit or culprits be punished; the matter was simply referred by the Directorate of the Treasury to the Administrator of Government Monopolies, requesting that said files be treated urgently and a new file created in which the causes for the long delays and lack of compliance were exposed.

That, things being as they are, it appears that a communication from the Governor of the Marianas, dated 2 April 1876, repeating a letter that he had received from the Administrator of the Treasury of said Islands, that said that the contract for the lease of Tinian Island with said Mr. Johnston would cease on 30 June of the present year of 1877, soliciting instructions for the transition period from the system of leasing back to an administration on the account of the State, to prevent damages to the interests of the Public Treasury, said Administrator expressing surprise that the rent had been reduced to 300 pesos per year, although the products had been worth much more than that, and the Governor, for his part, gave as his opinion that it would be appropriate, at the end of the contract period and upon taking over the Island, to employ the same formalities that had been used at the beginning thereof, and also to transfer there the Carolinians living in Tamuning, a ward of the City of Agaña, by means of the mail ship, to create the posts of Mayor and Gobernadorcillo, the same as already exist in the Islands of Saipan and Rota, to apply the products to the arbitrary funds, not to that of the Leper Hospital, given that it no longer exists, but that the 1,700 pesos in question be applied to the construction of a Royal House, Church, schools and other things needed for the establishment of a new town.

There also appears that said consultation was indeed received by the Civil Directorate on 12 May 1876, and said Center decided to forward the file to the Directorate of the Treasury for corresponding action, but this gave rise to said superior center replying

to the Civil Directorate, saying that the file in question contained various defects, and that, although it was true that the Governor General, through the Directorate of the Treasury, is responsible for the alienation of state properties, untitled or royal, whenever the colonization of any part of the territory is concerned, the establishment of authorities upon the foundation of towns and the like, it is the Governor General through the Civil Directorate who is responsible for delineating the procedure that is to be followed, as in the present case, for political and administrative reasons, and for pointing out the obstacles that might occur in the administrative march of the Island, and therefore, the Directorate of the Treasury was to issue timely orders for the legal termination of the contract, for the government of the Island to be taken over once again and for its colonization to be undertaken, whereas it was the responsibility of the Civil Directorate to express their opinions upon the points referred to in the consultation.

There appears that the Directorate of the Treasury reminded the Civil Administration, on 15 November 1876 and 20 January last, that the file in question did not contain any answer whatever to said consultation.

There appears that there is also another pending matter in the Central Administration of Government Monopolies, regarding the request of Mr. Alexander Milne, claiming to be the Agent for the firm of Adolph Capelle & Co. of the Island of Bonham [Jaluit], in the Marshall Group of the Caroline Islands, said company trading in copra throughout said Caroline Islands, soliciting permission to lease the Island of Tinian on the same conditions as were given to Mr. Johnston.

Finally, there appears that, by a recent Royal Order dated 15 June last, the procedure that was used for the granting of contracts for the leases of the Islands of Agrigan, Tinian and Pagan was anomalous and not too correct legally-speaking, given that they could be considered rather like contracts for the exploitation of those territories, more so than a system or means of colonizing them; it also requested that, without prejudice to what had been said on the previous 26 March, and in order for the Ministry of Overseas to be properly informed before when proposing the definitive arrangement for the colonization of said Islands, there should be remitted to it the information that the offices of the Treasury in these Islands and in the Marianas had already been requested, the former on 24 January last, with an additional report to be submitted by the General Directorate on the points raised by said Royal Order.

Considering the fact that the transaction followed in said file is truly anomalous, and that the non-compliance of the royal orders is worthy of severe reprimand;

Considering the fact that the Regulation of General Ricafort issued on 17 December 1828 has not produced the beneficial results that said Authority had expected in the development of the moral and material interests of the Mariana Islands but that its application is in reality, not only deficient but also, thanks to various decisions made afterwards by various branches of the Administration, with good intentions, without a unity of thought and action!

Considering the fact that the trial that was made in the colonization of those uninhabited islands by means of a private individual, has not given the pleasing effects that

had been expected, in spite of the undeniable efforts and well-known qualities of the lessor, Mr. Johnston, and that this system of leasing cannot give a result other than the exploitation of the territory, something that is expressly censured by the Royal Order of 15 June last;

Considering that it is necessary and urgent to give a preferential treatment to the Mariana Islands with regards to the objective of developing their population and wealth as much as possible, not only because of their own potential, even though this may be done little by little on account of the lack of public funds in these Islands, but also in order for them to become economically independent in the future, when they will rely on their own resources to fill their important needs, made greater by their specific isolation, their geographic position, the improvement in their administration and the development of their wealth and the progressive prosperity that they deserve;

And considering, finally, that, if the Supreme Government of the nation reserves for itself some initiative in this specific case, it must be done with the case being very well known in the Ministry of Overseas, and that it is therefore essential that my Authority, along with the contributions to be made by the zealous and patriotic actions of the heads of all the branches of public administration, sends to the Ministry a clear, ordained, perfectly detailed and practical report, about the resources, means, including financial, that every one of them may make available in order to achieve the important objectives, i.e. the colonization of said Islands, the development of their commercial relations, internal and external, the fight against indolence on the part of those natives, and all this, by means of better incentives, a better organization in tax collecting with the tact that such an operation demands, and finally, the moral and material welfare of those islanders and of the immigrants who may go and settle that territory:

[Conclusion]

This Government General, making use of the right of supervision over all the branches of public administration, has come to the following decisions;

1°. Through my Secretary General there shall be remitted all the communications of the Governor of the Mariana Islands that have given rise to this file, of the Directorate of Public Treasury, so that, with the contribution of the Administrator of Government Monopolies, where the background information resides, there may be studied and resolved the questions raised, as a consequence of taking over the Island of Tinian by the Treasury upon the termination of the lease, and recommending that due speed be applied in doing so.

2°. As far as the attributions of this Government General are concerned, it is declared that the proposal for the lease of the Island of Tinian by Mr. Alexander Milne is inadmissible, and the same can be said about any other proposal made under similar conditions as those in Mr. Johnston's contract.

3°. As the intervention of the Treasury Branch in everything relating to the colonization of the Island of Tinian ends with the preceding declaration, the Directorate General shall arrange for complete copies to be made, and authorized, of anything that

has to do with said leasing of the Island of Tinian, of other direct documentary evidence, as well as other matters related indirectly with the questions of governance and developmen of the Mariana Islands; said copies are to be remitted to the Directorate of Civil Administration, so that they may serve as background material, and enable said Center to deal with everything that corresponds to its jurisdiction.

4°. In order not to lose the little experience that has been gained as a result of the leasing of Tinian, and without prejudice to the other decisions that might yet be made by the Government General, through the Civil Directorate, there shall be given preferential treatment to the matter submitted for consultation by the Governor of the Mariana Islands, with regards to the system of administration proposed for said Island, and recommending to him that his proposal for the suppression of hunting operations of the cattle should be implemented immediately, also that wild dogs be hunted down, but not only are expenditures be avoided, for now, unless they be of absolute necessity, but also that someone find out what, if any, sums may have been diverted to other projects, from those that belong by right to the Leper Hospital, and let said sums be returned, if possible, so that some day they may be used, more judiciously, to the benefit of the colonization, in a manner to be determined later on.

5°. By the Royal Patronage there shall be arranged the appointment, for the Island of Tinian, of a Priest of the Order of the Recollects, to take charge of the spiritual administration of the Carolinians residing there, of those to be transferred overthere from Agaña and of the families of the same race that go and settle there, as a result of the encouragement given them within the means and resources that might be avaiable; at the same time he is to interest himself in the temporal welfare of his parishioners with all the zeal, tact and energy that are necessary for the creation of new towns of heathen.

6°. As it is necessary and urgent to reform of the Regulation or Economic Plan decreed in 1828 for the governance of the Mariana Islands, in order to bring it up to par with the actual needs of those islands, with the progress that has since occurred in all the branches of public administration, and due to the wise views of the Supreme Government; there shall be careful communications between the offices of the Captain General, Commander General of the Navy, the Archbishop, the Regency of the Territorial Audiencia, the Directorate of Civil Administration and that of the Treasury, so that every single one, within its respective functions, may recommend, to the best of his loyal knowledge and ability, what he finds most appropriate for the purpose intended, and as soon as the Secretary General has received all the Reports produced by the said Authorities and Centers, he shall write a General Report that will include all extremes, without prejudice to the possibility of determining later on the best form and manner of settling any divergence of opinions that might appear between branches, and referring the whole to the Supreme Government for eventual resolution, not forgetting, of course, to point out the preferred solutions that might be given to such an important subject matter, and in answer to the Royal orders of 22 November 1875 and 15 June last.

Document 1869D

Some Gilbertese found working in a Fiji plantation in 1869

Source: Captain George Palmer. Kidnapping in the South Seas, Being a Narrative of a Three Month's Cruise in HMS Rosario (Edinburgh, 1871 reprint).

The narrative of Captain George Palmer of HMS Rosario

...
After resting some time, and landing Mrs. Thurston, we pulled sown the river, and a little further to the eastward landed at the foot of the Wai-dau plantation, owned by Mr. Boyd. Ascending a very steep and slippery path that led to the house, we took our way to the native huts to question some of the Kingsmill people, but found we were powerless, no interpreter being at hand; but we arranged that some of the most intelligent should be sent that same evening over to Bureta, where "Jemmy," their fellow-countryman, was working, and who would act as interpreter.

The huts appeared comfortable enough, being large and airy compared with those they inhabit on their own islands. While we were here, in bounced a virago, and, after looking intently at Mr. Boyd and myself, began abusing us most vigorously, and intimating that the men should not be taken away; several other women who had been absent for water now came in and joined her in slanging us, pouring forth a torrent of the choicest Kingsmill Billingsgate; but the consul, who knew something of the language, pacified them, and they seemed much ashamed of their outburst.

Returning to Bureta we took a walk through the cotton plantation, consisting of several acres. The plants were about the height of a good-sized raspberry bush, and the coming crop evidently promised well, for already some of the numerous pods were bursting, showing the beautiful white sea-island cotton.

At dinner Mrs. Thurston gave us a Tongan dish called Palosami, consisting of taro-tops and scraped cocoa-nut, chopped up together and baked in a native earth oven; it has a peculiarly delicate flavour, and is far superior to the best sort of spinach.

The natives having come over from Wai-dau, and Jemmy being in attendance, I began by asking him some questions.

He is a native of Prout [Beru] (Kingsmills), and came to Fiji in the schooner "----," [sic] under the following circumstances:—When the vessel made her appearance off the

island, he went on board to sell mats and fowls, and towards sunset he was told by the white men that as it was late he could sleep on board. There were between sixty and seventy of them, besides fifteen women. They went down into the hold and slept there, but in the morning found the vessel at sea, no land being in sight. Mr. ----- [sic], the supercargo, told them not to be alarmed, as they were only going to another island close to; but they were all brought on to Makongai, Fiji. It was not until they arrived there that he was told they were to stop thirty moons to work, and then be paid and taken back.

They were then distributed to different planters who wanted labour, and he was sent with some others to Nananu, Viti Levu, where he murdered another native, and was sent over to the consul as a prisoner. He had been working amicably enough alongside his victim, until one da another native said to him, "How is it you are friends with that man? why, he killed your brother some time ago;" whereupon the "avenger of blood," according to the Malay fashion immediately got a knife and stuck him.

Mr. Thurston does not very well know what to do with him, as he is a sort of prisoner at large, but is a capital hand in a boat, and is very contented at present, as he quite understands his position. He told me, however, that all his countrymen want to go home, and that they do not like Fiji.

Mr. Boyd said they were quite unfit for agricultural labour (with a very few exceptions), as they cannot work, not being accustomed to any manual exercise, and he is now sorry he ever engaged any; this has been his first experience of them, and he will be glad when they all go back.

Mr. Thurston said that on their own islands they have nothing but cocoa-nuts and fish; neighter yams nor taro to plant, and as a rule they do not wish to leave their own islands.

Malawa, a native of Kukulau [Nulunau] (Kingsmills), stated that he went on board the "-----" to sell mats, and stopped on board all night, as it was late; in the morning the ship was a long way off the land, and the master told them they were going to Fiji; a good many of his people, both men and women, were on board, and they cried a great deal.

Q. "Did the captain make any agreement with you?"

A. "No; the captain say I pay you when I get to Fiji,—did not want to come to Fiji."

Q. "Are you content since you have been at Fiji?"

A. "No like Fiji; (making a sign of putting a rope round his neck) hang myself if I stop here long."

Q. "Why don't you like Fiji?"

A. "Don't like work."

Q. "Have you plenty to eat?"

A. "Plenty."

Q. "Have you been well treated since you came to Fiji?"

A. "Yes; I like the white man I work for." (Mr. Boyd).

Another native of the Kingsmill group, from Onoutau [Onotoa], named Kaurak,

said that on another occasion he went on board the "----" to barter; he wanted to get tobacco, with several other men and nine women; but no sooner were they on board than they were sent down below and the hatches shut on them, and their canoes cut adrift. He did not want to come to Fiji, and it was not until he got there that he was told he must work for thirty moons.

These poor creatures are very different from the Fijimen or those from the New Hebrides, as they inhabit small islands right on the equator,—their food consisting of fish, cocoa-nuts, and a few fowls. They are of Malay origin, sulky and revengeful, and quite unfit for the sort of labour required of them.

I ascertained that the outburst of wrath against me by the women at Wai-dau, was caused by their having taken me for a kidnapper, who was supposed to be bargaining with Mr. Boyd for their lords and masters, as they had been already twice removed since their abduction.

In the evening, about 400 men, women, and children assembled at the consul's house to do honour to himself and his guest, by performing a series of dances. Some were natives of the soil, others from Vaté, who seemd very happy and contented. They were all soon to be returned to their homes, and Mrs. Thurston said she did not know what she should do when her majordomo left.

...

Document 1869E

Captain Pease's timber operations in Pohnpei

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, January 1879.

New Commercial Enterprise in the Pacific.

By letters we have received from Messrs. Doane and Sturges, missionaries on Ascension, we learn that Capt. Pease, of the **Water Lily**, and formerly of the **Blossom**, has entered into an engagement with a mercantile firm in Shanghae to furnish ship timber for two government gun-boats, now building by the Chinese. This ship timber is to be obtained from the island of Ascension. Two cargoes have already sailed from that island for China. There is an immense amount of timber upon the island. Chinese laborers have been imported, and the work is now busily progressing. This is something new for that island. Similar timber is to be found on Strong's Island. These are almost the only high islands in that part of the Pacific. From our recollection of the forests on Ascension, we believe they will furnish timber of various kinds for years to come. In 1861 we brought from that island specimens of ship timber to exhibit to the ship-carpenters of Honolulu. One variety resembles the famous teak of India.¹

¹ Ed. note: See also Doc. 1870F for follow-up information, regarding the **Anne Porter** taking lumber from a sawmill established at Metalanim Harbor for delivery to Shanghai.

Document 1869F

The bark Camilla, Captain Jones

Sources; Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 580; Log Inv. 785.

There is a copy of this logbook in the Providence Public Library. Full name of captain: Benjamin Franklin Jones. The name of the log-keeper is not known.

Extracts from the logbook

...

Sunday September 5th [1869]

Lat. 7°04' N. Long. 160°34' E... At daylight, Wellington [Mokil] Island in sight ahead. At 10 a.m., the Captain went on shore trading, the Ship off and on...

Monday September 6th

... Got off a boatload of coconuts... Latter part... the Island in sight to the SE...

...

Wednesday September 8th

... The Ship off and on at Wellington Island. Got off a lot of coconuts and 32 hogs and other recruits. At sunset, kept off for Ascension [Pohnpei]... The latter part... Ascension in sight ahead...

Thursday September 9th

Off Ascension. At 1 p.m., got a Pilot and at 3 came to an anchor in a heavy squall in the NW Harbor of Ascension. The latter, all hands employed in getting water and stowing casks...

...

Saturday September 11th

One watch on liberty, it being Sunday on shore. Loosed and dried the sails and handed them again.

Sunday September 12

All hands employed in getting wood and water and yams on board.

Monday September 13th

All hands employed in getting wood and hogs and yams, tarring down and painting

Ship. John Barrow and George Joaquin deserted.

...

Wednesday September 15th

One watch on liberty, the other employed in getting wood on board and stowing it away. Frederick Cimbal [Campbell?] and Christopher Riley deserted.

Thursday September 16th

... Two of the deserters returned to the Ship, Christopher Riley and Frederick Cimbal.

...

Saturday September 16th

All hands on board. The first part, got off some wood and stowed it away. The latter part, got under way with a pilot and stood out to sea... heading to NE by the wind. Shipped 3 natives...

...

Monday September 27th

Lat. 2°48' N. Long. 161°17' E... Spoke an English bark, 20 days from Sydney bound to China...

...



Document 1870A

Biography of Bully Hayes, by James Lyle Young

Source: Miscellaneous Papers of James Lyle Young, 1878-1929 in New Zealand; PMB 23.

Note: See also the bio-sketch in Doc. 1868I, and the logbook of the Lotus by Young (Doc. 1880C). The period that Hayes spent in Micronesia goes from 1870 to 1877.

The life and times of Bully Hayes

William Henry Hayes was born, according to his own account, near Cleveland, Ohio in 1816.¹ He learned seamanship on the Great Lakes and afterwards sailed on Transatlantic packet ships as second mate and mate, until about 1852 when he first visited the Pacific Coast, being then known as "Bully" Hayes, a sobriquet which he had earned on the Atlantic, where he had the reputation of being a "Bucko" Mate; that is, a hard driver of men.

He was Master of the American Barque **Ellenita** which foundered at sea 100 miles north of Savaii Island in 1859, when on a voyage from San Francisco to Sydney. Hayes and three passengers reached Matautu on Savaii in a boat. Part of the crew reached Wallis Island on a raft after 17 days exposure, during which some died.

Captain Hayes was Master of the Barque **W. C. Bradley** of Baltimore and made a voyage in her from San Francisco to Adelaide in 1858 and afterwards sold the Barque in Melbourne.

He married an Adelaide woman who was subsequently drowned in Nelson Harbour through the upsetting of a boat.

Hayes was Master of the **Black Diamond**, which name he changed to **Rona**, in which he traded from New Zealand and San Francisco to various Islands in the Pacific. This vessel foundered close to Manihiki Island in 1867. Hayes built a small schooner at Manihiki and brought his crew and passengers to Apia [Samoa].

In 1868 he was Master of schooner **Atlantic** sailing out of Samoa, which place he made his headquarters, his second wife and the twin daughters residing at Apia.

About 1870 he acquired the Brigantine **Water Lily** of Shanghai which name he changed to that of **Leonora**. He traded in the Gilbert and Marshall and Caroline Islands for some time, and lost the **Leonora** at the South harbour on Kusaie (Strong's

¹ Ed. note: The majority of authors say 1829 instead.

BULLY HAYES

BUCCANEER



Cover of the book: **Bully Hayes, Buccaneer**, by Louis Becke.

Island) [Kosrae] in 1874.

In 1874 he made his way to Guam (Marianne Islands) in an American Whaleship,¹ and meeting there a little schooner called the **Arabia**, which belonged to him, he entered into an arrangement to effect the escape of several Carlist prisoners who were detained at Guam by the Spanish authorities. After he had actually got the escapees on board he landed again some miles north of the town of Agaña and was captured by the soldiers, but the vessel got away.

Hayes was sent to Manila and lay in prison there until the middle of 1876. He was then released, it was said through the influence of a high Spanish Official to whom Hayes had promised to reveal some hidden treasure, and proceeded to Hong Kong and thence to San Francisco.

At San Francisco he procured a little Bay Yacht called the **Lotus**, about 40 feet long, which he nominally hired, from the owner, who was an old-time friend of his, but which it is said was given him to get rid of him as he was a dangerous acquaintance for a business man to have about him.

Hayes engaged a Dane named Nielsen as mate and an Alsatian named Hecker and his [the latter's] reputed wife, who was a Frenchwoman, as Cook and Stewardess respectively.

Then, when the vessel was ready for sea, Hayes, in collusion with the woman, sent Hecker up town on some errand and went to sea in the night without him. The vessel being so small no crew was needed but Hayes and Nielsen.

Hayes proceeded to Apia, calling on the way at Manihiki, and after a short stay at Apia left for Jaluit, Marshall Islands, arriving at that place on March 2nd, 1877. At Apia Hayes had shipped as Cook a Hollander named Piet Rietdyk.

During the 24 days' stay of the **Lotus** at Jaluit, Hayes had several quarrels with Rietdyk and beat him severely with a rope's end on at least two occasions. It may be remarked that Hayes seemed to be in an exceedingly irritable mood during his stay at Jaluit.

[Death of Bully Hayes]

He left Jaluit on the afternoon of March 27th 1877 bound for Ujelang (Providence Island) 350 miles to the westward, where he had planted some coconut trees in 1871. Five days afterwards the **Lotus** returned to Jaluit and Nielsen reported that, at 11 p.m. on the night the vessel left Jaluit, she being then about 40 miles west of Jaluit with fresh Easterly trade wind, moderate sea, and good moonlight with passing trade clouds, Hayes had quarrel with Rietduk because the latter could not steer the vessel in the fresh breeze and lumpy sea prevailing.

The **Lotus**, it may be remarked, being so short and carrying a relatively considerable amount of sail was difficult to steer under such conditions with the wind aft. She steered with a long iron tiller, the steersman standing in the cockpit two feet below the level of

1 Ed. note: The Arctic, Captain Whitney (see below).

the deck, into which cockpit the companion stairway from the cabin opened.

Hayes, after abusing Rietdyk verbally, caught him by the shoulder and dragged him to the rail threatening to throw him overboard. Rietdyk, more active but not so strong as Hayes, managed to escape, leaving the greater part of his shirt in Hayes' hands, and ran forward shouting to Nielsen for help. Hayes then called to Nielsen, who was below in his bunk, to hand him up a pistol so that he might shoot Rietdyk. Nielsen and the woman Hecker, who were both afraid of the ungovernable temper which Hayes had been displaying, pretended that they could not find any pistol and Hayes then descended into the cabin to look for it, but could not find it as the woman had concealed the weapon, which, by the way, was not Hayes' but Nielsen's; Hayes had no firearms in his possession.

Hayes then, using most violent threats, not only against Rietdyk but against Nielsen and the woman, stepped up into the cockpit, and as soon as his bald head¹ came above the level of the slide of the companion way, Rietdyk, who was standing on the top of the cabin, struck him on the head with the crutch of the mainboom and stunned him.

This crutch was composed of two pieces of hickory wood with a bolt through them near one end, folding together like a pair of scissors when not in use, and serving to support the mainboom while the vessel was at anchor in port.

Nielsen then came on deck and he and Rietdyk hauled Hayes up out of the cockpit into which he had fallen and threw him overboard.

Rietdyk told the writer that Hayes came to the surface five yards astern (the vessel was headreaching under the influences of the fresh breeze, the mainboom having jibed over when the tiller was left alone and the sheet became entangled round the counter and brought her to the wind) and threw up one hand, as was clearly visible in the bright moonlight, but sank again and was not seen to reappear.

The action of Rietdyk and Nielsen in throwing Hayes overboard is easily explained by the state of panic into which the violent rages of Hayes had thrown them. He acted, said both Rietdyk and Nielsen, like a madman for the last four or five hours before his death, saying that he had nothing to live for and no hope of ever making a start anywhere, and that he would just as soon the *Lotus* would capsize as not, for that death at sea was better than death on land and no trouble to anyone afterwards.

[Physical description of Bully Hayes, as written in 1913]

Hayes was tall, about 6 feet, well-built, strong and muscular until he was about fifty when he began to put on weight. He had very blue eyes, light-brown hair which had turned grey at the back (the crown of his head was bald); a grey beard and moustache.

The appearance of his face when in repose was pleasant. He was an interesting and amusing conversationalist and full of humour. He was very intelligent and able to adapt himself to any company in which he was found. He was reputed to have an ungov-

1 Ed. note: Only the top (see below).

ernable temper but it is probable that his exhibitions of rage were, in some cases at least, assumed for effect.

The writer heard him relate several of his experiences in order, said he, that the true versions, instead of the garbled accounts current might be known. He related these actions without attempting to gloss over their rascality, and always with a sort of distorted humour, and generally taking credit to himself for having been more moderate than he might have been. It was, however, evident that notwithstanding this apparent boastfulness in relating his acts of trickery and robbery, he felt embittered at the position in which he found himself in his declining years for he said after detailing one of the exploits upon which he prided himself most: "But what use has it all been? Here I am on my beam-ends when my hair is grey."

Hayes declared that while in the Pacific he had never had occasion to use firearms, and it is a fact well-known to his contemporaries that he never carried a pistol. He never ill treated natives, nor his crews, except in case of gross disobedience to orders, and he was consequently liked both by the natives and the white members of his crew.

All sorts of absurd stories have been told about his blood-thirsty nature; they are all untrue. He would knock a man senseless with his mighty fist, or with a belaying pin, or a handspike, but he never, so far as the writer knows, used firearms or deliberately took life. He was hospitable and generous, and kindly to those in distress, but at the same time quite unscrupulous in his methods of acquiring goods, produce, or money.

Hayes was a thorough seaman and it was a pleasure to see him handle the fast Brigantine *Leonora* or a schooner, in narrow waters.

His physical courage was undoubted; the writer saw him covered at a distance of a few feet by a revolver in the hands of a man whom he had robbed some years before and when he threatened to slap because the man was reproaching him; the man was of small stature and knew he had no chance with Hayes so drew a pistol and told Hayes he would kill him if he did not leave the house. Hayes never changed countenance but looked the man in the eye for perhaps half a minute and then turned quickly and walked out saying to the bystanders: "That little rat would shoot, sure!"

Such a career of that of Hayes was made possible by the absence of law and order in the Pacific in those days. Hayes was neither Pirate nor Buccaneer; he was an Ocean confidence man and swindler. He avoided robbery by violence because, as he said himself, it was not good policy.

His name has been made a peg on which to hang all sorts of tales of trickery and violence, most of them are absurdly false. But the true history of all his adventures would be more entertaining than most of the stories told about his exploits, nearly all of which are incorrectly related.

J. L. Young

Auckland, March 7th 1913.

[Physical description of Bully Hayes, re-written in 1926]

William Henry Hayes was born in Cleveland, Ohio, of Irish parents, as he had declared at Sydney in 1860, in 1829, which would make him 47 or 48 years old at the time of his death. He certainly looked 10 years older. He was described in 1860 as being 32 years of age which would make him 49 in 1877.

He was about 6 feet tall, well-built, about 200 or 210 lbs. weight, muscular and active, **very** blue eyes (West of Ireland blue eyes), set wide apart, which became almost black when he was excited, light-brown hair with reddish tinge which had turned grey at the back, and crown of his head was bald. He had a rather long grey beard and moustache. The expression of his face when in repose was pleasant. He was an interesting and amusing conversationalist and full of humour. He was very intelligent and able to adapt himself to any company in which he was found. He was reputed to have an ungovernable temper but it is probable that his exhibitions of rage were, in some cases, assumed for effect.

The writer saw him every day during the last fortnight before his death and heard him relate several of his experiences, in order, said he, that the true versions, instead of the garbled accounts current might be known. He related these actions without attempting to gloss over their rascality, and with a sort of distorted humour, generally taking credit for having been more moderate than he might have been. As, for example, having robbed Jack Gunn at Tapiteuea of 10 tons of copra, he said: "But I left him a case of 15 bottles of J. D. K. Z. Gin. Not everyone would have done that, but I knew he would need consolation for the copra!"

Again, when relating how he cheated the Frenchman [sic] Gustave Lechart at Kusaie out of his little schooner **Hirondelle**, and, when reproached by Lechart knocked him down, he said: "I might have done much worse. He called me a Yankee Pirate!"

It was, however, evident that notwithstanding this apparent boastfulness in relating his acts of robbing and trickery, he felt embittered at the position in which he found himself without means, or credit, or reputation (except a very bad one) for, said he, after detailing one of the exploits upon which he prided himself most: "But what use has it all been? Here I am on my beam-ends when my beard is grey."

Hayes declared that while in the Pacific he had never had occasion to use firearms, and it is a fact well-known to his contemporaries that he never carried a pistol. He would knock a man down with a blow of his mighty fist, or with a belaying pin, or a handspike, but, so far as the writer knows, he never took life. He once said: "Firearms ma the small man a match for the big man but the latter should be able to do without them. I am," said he, "the 'Big Man.'" He also said: "When I cannot knock a man out with my hands, I knock him down with a handspike or belaying pin. If he gets up then I run, but I have never run yet!" This was when he was talking of his experiences as second mate in Western Ocean packets in the 50s. There is where he got the name of "Bully Hayes."

He never ill treated natives, nor members of his crew except in case of disobedience to orders, and he was consequently liked both by natives and white crews. He drank as

a rule very sparingly. He used to say that a man who lived by his wits should not drink! Though largely self-educated, he had read much, strange to say on religious matters, and would discuss dogmas with missionaries as he did with Rev. James Chalmers when he was passenger on the **Rona** in 1867. Mr. Chalmers once told me that during the three weeks he was on board **Rona** the conduct and language of Hayes was unexceptionable [unobjectionable?], yet when Hayes was in one of his rages his blasphemous and obscene language shocked even the oldest shell-backs. One of his former mates, Mr. McCarthy, told me that he had been really afraid when he heard Hayes on one occasion, during a thunderstorm, daring the Almighty to strike the vessel with lightning, and [he] would not sail with him again on that account.

He was hospitable and kindly to those in distress and generous, but quite unscrupulous in his methods of acquiring goods, produce, or money.

Hayes was neither Pirate nor Buccaneer; he was an Ocean confidence man and a swindler and thief. He avoided generally robbery by violence for, as he said himself, it was not good policy!

His name has been made a peg on which to hang all sorts of tales of trickery and violence, most of them exaggerated and many quite false. But the true history of his exploits and adventures would be more entertaining than the current stories about them, most of which are incorrectly related and some absurd.

One last word, he was a fine sailor of the old school. His favourite distraction while at sea was making man ropes with turksheads and fancy rope work for wheel ropes, awning ropes, etc. on the fine work on which he pided himself. It was a pleasure to see him handle the **Leonora** in narrow waters.

He had a mental kink which made him a "crook."¹ If he had been honest his abilities would have ensured him a prominent position in business.

*Que sea su Juez Dios!*¹

J. L. Young

Meramie, Warren, N.S.W., 7th April, 1926.

— O —

1 Ed. note: Spanish phrase meaning: May God be his judge!

Ships commanded by Bully Hayes

W. H. Hayes was master of the following vessels in the order named:

- 1854 Bark **Canton**, at Singapore.
- 1855 Bark **Otranto**, at Swatow [China].
- 1856 Bark **Santuborg**, at Singapore, formerly **Canton**, and changed her name to **W. C. Bradley** and sold her in Melbourne.
- 1857 Bark **Estrella del Norte**, at Adelaide.
- 1858 Ship **Orestes**, 658 tons, at Melbourne.¹
- 1859 Brigantine **Ellenita**, at San Francisco. She foundered 100 miles north of Samoa, Oct. 16, 1859.
- 1860 Barque **Launceston**, Sydney to Java.
- 1862 Barque **Cincinnati**, Sydney.
- 1864 Schooner **Black Diamond**, Sydney to Auckland.
- 1864 Cutter **Wave**, Lyttelton.
- 1865 Schooner **Shamrock**, Lyttelton to Fiji.
- 1866 Schooner **Shamrock**, Lyttelton to Tongatabu.
- 1866 Brigantine **Rona**, 150 tons, Rarotonga to Hokitika, with oranges and hogs.
- 1867 Took Rev. James Chalmers from Niue, where he had been wrecked in **John Williams** to Rarotonga in the **Rona**.
- 1868 Took 150 natives from Niue to Tahiti under contract to John Brander—the first imported labour to Tahiti.
- 1869 On 22 March, **Rona** left Huahine for San Francisco with oranges and coconuts. Brigantine **Samoa**, also owned by Hayes, left Huahine the same day for Apia, Samoa.
- 1869 On 2 May, **Rona** foundered and 12 days afterwards her two boats containing 21 persons reached Rakahanga and next day Manihiki where he found the crew of **Samoa** which had been wrecked by running ashore in the night of April 1st. Hayes built a boat out of wreck of **Samoa** 36' x 13' x 6' and reached Apia, on August 20, 1869
- 1869 Oct. Hayes left Apia in Schooner **Atlantic** for Manihiki and kidnapped natives.
- 1870 Feb. Tried in H.B.M. Consular Court at Apia and found guilty of kidnapping natives but quietly departed on April 1st, 1870 in Brigantine **Pioneer** (formerly **Water Lily**), Captain Benjamin Pease. Pease had bought vessel from Glover, Dow & Co. of Shanghai on credit, but could not pay for her. Hayes paid Glover, Dow & Co. \$400 for her, cash. He got her cheap as the firm was insolvent. He changed her name to **Leonora** after his twin daughter. The **Leonora** was 218 tons.

¹ Ed. note: Which he sailed to Vancouver Island, then he made his way otherwise to San Francisco.

- 1872 Feb. **Leonora** at Apia. Hayes underwent 3 days trial before Capt. Meade of U.S.S. **Narragansett** on charges of kidnapping, etc. and was acquitted. "No arms found on vessels."
- 29/3/71 **Leonora**, Saigon to Hong Kong, put into Bangkok in distress, partly dismasted.
- [1871-74: Operating in Micronesian waters]
- 15/3/74 **Leonora** wrecked at Harbour, South end of Kusaie (Strong's Island) [Kosrae].
- 27/8/74 Hayes left Kusaie in a boat with one man, Harry Mulholland, for Ponape, met there the whaling Bark **Arctic**, Capt. Whitney, and reached Guam in her Feb. 28, 1875, finding there the little schooner **Arabia** which he had chartered two years before from a Mohammedan at Singapore (but, of course, had never been paid any charter money!). This schooner of 40 tons had been awaiting Hayes at Yap since the middle of 1874 and as he did not turn up the Master, Phil. Burrill, and a half-Spanish, half-English woman known as "The Madam"¹ had taken possession of the little vessel, the first for his wages and the second for 500 dollars which Hayes owed her for money lent in 1873. They had come to Guam to try and hear news of Hayes from the whale ships passing through from Honolulu and Ponape by Guam on their way to the Arctic. Hayes at once took possession,² satisfied Burrill and "The Madam" that they would be paid, and through "The Madam" who was a native of Guam, arranged to aid 4 political prisoners (Carlists) to escape (one doctor, one priest and two lawyers). These paid 500 dollars each and were to pay 500 dollars more each on being landed at any port where steamers called—in all 4000 dollars [i.e. pesos], which was taken on board in the night in gold. (I heard all this in 1879 at Guam when I was the lessee of the Islands of Agrigan, Pagan and Anatajan from the Spanish Authorities).

On April 8, 1875, Hayes left Guam in schooner **Arabia** and stood off to sea but returned after dark to Fasonan Cove North of the town and took on board the 4 escapees and the 4000 dollars. Having the money on board, Hayes did not want to be troubled with the 4 Spaniards and lay all night under the pretence that there was no wind. Early next morning he tried to persuade the escapees to go ashore with him to bathe in a fresh-water pool, thus hoping to get rid of them by leaving them ashore, but they refused. Then, apparently to carry out his "bluff," Hayes went ashore in his pyjamas and on landing was seized by soldiers who lay in wait. The Spaniards on board witnessed this, and producing pistols made the Master, Burrill and "The Madam" make sail for Palau (Pelew Islands) at which place a schooner bound to Singapore was met, on which the 4 took passage. They left \$2000 with Burrill and "The Madam" and took \$2000 with them on the Singapore Schooner. Two of these men since held high posi-

- 1 Ed. note: Barlola Taisague Garrido, the future Mrs. Holcomb. From what Father Ibañez says about this incident (see Doc. 1855P under 1875), this schooner had in the meantime become the property of Joaquín Portusach of Guam.
- 2 Ed. note: Away from Joaquín Portusach, if we must believe Father Ibañez.

tions in Spain.

Hayes was sent to Manila and lay in prison there until April 1876 when he was released, it is said through the influence of a high Spanish Official who was a fellow Freemason and to whom Hayes had promised a half-share in the buried treasure from the **Mary Driver**, the whereabouts of which he said he knew, which was quite untrue!

1876 Hayes left Manila in the Ship **Whittier** for San Francisco as passenger.

1876 On October 7, Hayes left San Francisco for Apia in the Schooner **Lotus**, 13 tons, 42 feet long, a San Francisco Bay Yacht, very fast for her size, steered from a cockpit by an iron tiller. He obtained this little boat from the owner, H. L. Ogden, Commodore of the San Francisco Yacht Club, nominally on charter but actually it is said to get rid of him for he was an old-time acquaintance of the owner and a dangerous and embarrassing friend for a businessman to have about him, Hayes' reputation being well-known in San Francisco.

Hayes engaged a Dane named Nielsen (also known as Charles Elsen) as Mate, and an Alsatian named Hecker and his reputed wife as cook and stewardess respectively. Then, when ready for sea, Hayes, in collusion with the woman, sent Hecker ashore on some errand and went to sea without him. Hayes called at Kawaihae on N.W. point of Hawaii and at Manihiki and thence to Apia.

1877 On January 2, having shipped a Hollander named Piet Rietdyk, Hayes left Apia. The **Lotus** sailed at 10 Islands in Gilbert and Marshall Islands and reached Jaluit on March 2, 1877. During his stay, Hayes had several quarrels with Rietdyk and beat him with a rope's end on at least two occasions. Hayes was in a very irritable mood while at Jaluit, having failed to obtain advances from merchants at Jaluit except some provisions for the vessel which were given him to get rid of him, for it was seen that he was desperate.

Hayes left Jaluit at 3 p.m. on March 27, 1877 for Providence Island, 350 miles to the westward where he had planted some coconuts in 1853.¹

...

[The aftermath]

The circumstances of the death of Hayes were reported to the Federal Authorities at Washington. They replied that no action would be taken against his slayers, as he was an outlaw. The owner of the **Lotus** sent down an agent who sold the vessel to A. Capelle & Co. of Jaluit. The writer made a 1200 mile voyage in her to Yap Island in end of 1877. She was subsequently sold to a native Chief in 1879, who in 1880 left Jaluit for Ebon, 90 miles off with 35 natives and a Hawaiian half-caste named Tom Goddard. They missed the Island—there was no-one on board who could navigate. They wandered aimlessly for 42 days and finally found the Island of Faraulep 1000 miles to the West—strange to say, without any loss of life. They caught water from rain, and ate fish. They had got well North for they had a **hail shower**! Then they headed S.W. and found land. By the way, there arose a still unsettled question as to whether their safety

¹ Ed. note: For the story of his death (repeated here) see above.

was to be ascribed to the Christian prayers of Goddard and themselves, or to the incantations performed by the Chief over the head of a dolphin which was presented in due form to the shark God his ancestor! Those who uphold the latter contention pointed out that for 41 days prayers to the white man's God had no results, but that within 24 hours of the offering to the shark God, land was reached. All on board were nominally Christians, but the old Gods came into their own that day! Even Goddard believed in them, his native blood would not be denied! It was declared that a large blue shark lay alongside all the last day.

— 0 —

Additional information about Bully Hayes

Hayes was thrice married:

1. To Mrs. Amelia Littleton at Adelaide in 1857, who died about 1860.
2. To Miss Rona Buckingham at Dunedin(?) in 1862, who was drowned in Croixer Harbour in 1864, together with her year-old child and nurse-girl.
3. To Mary Emily -?- about 1870, the mother of twins, Laurena and Leonora. Laurena married R. C. Bentley of Fiji. Leonora married Dr. Funk of Samoa.

The **Lotus** returned to Jaluit on 2nd April [1877], 6 days after the death of Hayes. An inquiry was held by the white residents and the circumstances of his death reported to Washington. The writer, who was at that time the Manager of a Trading Firm in the Carolines and Marianas, employed Rietdyk as a trader on Islands in the Caroline Group and had many conversations with him during 1877-78-79. He always repeated the story of the death of Hayes without sensible variation as told in the foregoing. Rietdyk was rather small and slight man of about 30 years of age. He was, I think, part Belgian and part Hollander.

J. L. Young.

Document 1870B

The bark Aurora, Captain Barnes

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 310, 311; Log Inv. 495 (part 2).

Note: For part 1 of this long whaling voyage, with a different captain and first mate, see Doc. 1867L.

Extract from the logbook kept by First Mate W. H. Koon

...

Wednesday Jan. 12th [1870]

... At 2 p.m., passed Perote [Beru]. Saw 1 canoe. At dark, sighted a Bark steering to the NE... Stumpy sick with the clapp and pox... Lat. 00°12' S. Long. [blank]

...

Friday Jan. 14th

... At 3 p.m., passed Ocean [Banaba] Island, 20 miles North of it... Latter part, off Pleasant [Nauru] Island trading for necessaries.

Saturday Jan. 15th

... At 5 p.m., kept off WSW with a light wind. Traded for 23 hogs, 3000 coconuts, 3 loatbloads of wood and some fowl...

...

Tuesday Jan. 18th

... At 9 a.m., saw sperm whales. Lowered and caught 3 [20 bbls each]. Lord Howe's Island in sight.¹

...

Saturday Jan. 22nd

... At 6 p.m., sighted Lor Howe's Island bearing N 15 miles distant... Latter part, the natives came off to the ship with fowls and coconuts.

...

Wednesday March 23rd

... Ocean Island in sight bearing NNW 10 miles... Latter part... the natives came off with fowl and broom stuff, the land 12 miles off. Lat. 1°02' S]. Long. 169°40' [E].

¹ Ed. note: The ship's position, being in the neighborhood of 5° to 6° South, and 160° E., identifies it with Ontong Java in the Solomon Islands, and island said to have originally been colonized by Gilbertese drifters.

...

Friday March 25th

... 2 sails in sight. Steering NW... Latter part, stopped at Pleasant Island.

Saturday March 26th

... At 4 p.m., made sail from Pleasant Island, steering NW. PURchased 55 hogs. For trade, 25 bum guns and 3 boxes of bread... Lat. 47' N. Long. 165°45' [E].

...

Tuesday March 29th

... At noon, passed McAskill's [Pingelap] Island. The current running to the NE; the ship set 60 miles since leaving Pleasant Island.

Wednesday March 30th

... At 6 p.m., sighted Wellington's [Mokil] Island bearing SSW 10 miles...

...

Thursday April 7th

... Latter part, off Sypan. At 12 a.m., came to anchor in 8 fathoms of water. Broke out and got ready for wood. Washed ship on the outside. So ends this day of 36 hours to commence a harbor log.

Friday April 8th

... Employed painting ship and sending up a new jib stay. Setting up the lower rigging.

Saturday April 9th

... Smoked ship.

Sunday April 10th

... Employed getting wood and potatoes, 11 cords of wood and 60 bbls of potatoes.

Monday [April] 11th

This day finished getting off wood and other stuff. Now got 20 cords of wood and 8 doz. iron poles, 5 bbls corn, 80 bbls of potatoes, 50 bunches of bananas...

Tuesday April 12th

At 2 p.m., got under way and stood out to sea... At 1 a.m., passed Anataxan... At noon, off Saraguan [Sarigan]... Lat. 16°50' [N]. Long. 146°15' [E].

Wednesday April 13th

... Heading to the Northward. At dark, Farallon de Torres [Guguan] bearing N by E 10 miles dist... At 7 a.m., passed Pagan. Lat. 18°36' [N]. Long. 145°30' [E].

Thursday April 14th

... At 4 p.m., passed Gregan [Agrigan]... At 7 a.m., passed Guy Rock [Uracas] bearing N1/2W. Lat. 21°08' [N]. Long. 146°42' [E].

...
[After another season in the Arctic, the bark reached New Bedford on 28 April 1871. She was sold to Salem that year.]

Document 1870C

The bark John Howland, Captain Whelden—Narrative of Mrs. Whelden

Source: Log 460 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum: transcript of a ms. book by Mrs. Clara Kingman Whelden entitled: 169Life at Sea and Port with Pen Pictures of the Arctic.—Descriptive Letters of Clare Kingman Whelden during Seven Years Cruising on the Seas with Her Husband, Alexander Whelden, Captain of the Whaling Bark 'John Howland,' 1864 to 1870."

Extract from Mrs. Whelden's letters

...
Saypan Harbor, Ladrone Islands,
February 2nd, 1870

...
We have been here about one week. I should like to give you some idea of the place, and how we are situated but fear my efforts may be inadequate to the task. We have the bright shining sun all the time, which is most delightful after our stormy passage. The weather is warm enough to make hay, and reminds me of our bright July days at home, without their occasional showers and thunder. We have brought to us every day the productions of the island, and are flooded with green corn and watermelons¹⁹⁷luxuries for sea-faring people in their ocean homes. Lemons grow here in their perfection and so little cared for that they are nearly nothing for them. We have not had a chance to buy any as our wants have been amply supplied by gifts. We keep a standing jug of lemonade and drink nothing else. The Ladrone Islands belong to Spain and have for over two hundred years, and generation after generation finds them about the same. One of the islands is leased to an Irishman¹ for the cultivation of cane, arrowroot, sweet potatoes, cotton and corn. He has a Spanish wife, otherwise he would not be permitted to live among them. He, and the Governor of the island have imported a lot of Caroline Island natives. They were so wild and savage when they went after them that they feared for their safety, but they finally became docile and now perform much of the drudgery, and labor of the plantations. When this gentleman leased the islands he owned a vessel which, at one time, with a cargo and his wife aboard, en-

¹ Ed. note: George Johnston.

countered one of those fearful typhoons and was a total loss, but he and his wife escaped in the easy part of the gale.

The destruction resulting from one of these typhoons is still visible in the fallen, broken and bent trees. I inquired what the people did when the fierce winds blew down the trees, and was told that they dig down near the roots of the iron-wood tree and cling to it. The last typhoon lasted three days. Since the loss of his vessel, the Irishman is obliged to stay on the island and often see his produce go to waste for want of a market.

[Carolinians described]

The [local] Spanish element regard themselves as highly cultivated, and look upon these foreign natives as savages. A number of them are here today gathering lean meat from a whale, and in their naked condition remind me of pictures we often see. We have no dealings with them; as this is not their island home, and they own nothing, not even their time, being in bondage. The men are larger than natives generally are, and their faces are not so bad as their appearance would indicate. They tie their hair on the very top of their head leaving the ends to fly or curl according to the nature of the hair. Imagine this, and the little scarf worn for the sake of decency, and you have the picture.

I have been on shore once. The village is nothing more than a little settlement with no houses nor streets, and only a few huts of natives and the place where the Governor [rather Mayor] lives, which is more like a shed, or place for a cow, than a dwelling- place for man. It has a grass roof and a plank floor, and tobacco leaves were hanging from the roof to dry, and pigeons flying in and out. It was furnished with one table and two long benches, and one odd box-like chair. The Governor's wife is of Spanish descent, lighter than her husband. She was dressed in white garments, washed and ironed so beautifully which, in a place like that, you could not help noticing at once. I saw no beds, but saw pillos clean and white beautifully trimmed and placed upon a beam supporting the roof, from all of which I inferred they slept on the floor, and on the benches. Everything seemed neat inside, but very shed-like in outward appearance. Their cooking was done over a fire at the base of a pile of stones.

I visited the church which was a long, narrow, dark stone structure, built to resist the typhoons, and was strongly braced from the outside. There was not a seat inside, and the images which decorated the interior were of the cheapest and most repulsive kind one would care to look at. The Priests come once a year and perform the religious ceremonies all at once, even to the prayers for those long dead. He takes away with him all the money, and charges very high for the pardon of sins, and the priestly duties that the people are made to believe they must have.

With all this, it is not strange that the Ladrões remain as they were two hundred years ago. If our Government owned these islands, I do not believe the cotton would go to waste for the want of a machine, nor the fine lemons decay for want of a market. The natives take the heart of the cocoanut tree [flowers] to make a fermented drink, but the typhoons have destroyed many of the trees, so at present there are but few compared with what there otherwise would have been. I have learned to look upon the co-

coanut as one of the best gifts of these sunny islands. I am wishing the whales might be numerous about the reefs, as it is a pleasure to be anchored during such pleasant weather.

We left Honolulu soon after Christmas and went immediately into rough water and heavy rains, and during our passage from the Sandwich Islands to Strong's [Kosrae] Island we had more rain than before. Everything became damp and steamed, mildewed and moulded; not a book nor a shoe escaped a mouldy coating. The ship bilged; if you do not know what that means, I will say, that the ship sweats,—and this moisture during one night would turn black, giving the ship a most woe-begone appearance in the morning. The doors of the cabin and all about its sides, looked as if some one had dashed dye-stuff upon them during the night. The humidity was like unto our wretched deg-days, the disagreeableness of which was intensified by the fact that we could not have the windows open overhead because of the rain pouring down, nor on the side owing to the rolling in of the sea. All this, after having two months on land, and in a real house dry and comfortable, made it doubly disagreeable.

After three weeks, such as described, the sun came out, the breeze died away, and we lay with motionless sails upon the fleaming sea. The sun hung over the mast-head and poured down a warm tropical langour, which seemed to melt the very marrow in one's bones. For hours we lay becalmed, when a light ripple stole along from the horizon, and we saw the footsteps of the welcome breeze long before we felt it. Gradually increasing, it bore us smoothly and noiselessly along, and at sunset we saw the wooded hills of Strong's Island.

The night was filled with the glory of the full moon—a golden tropical radiance, nearly as lustrous, and far more soft and balmy, than the light of day—a mystic, enamored bridal of the sea and sky. The breeze was so gentle as to be felt, and no more; the ship slid as silently through the water as if her keel was muffled in silk; and the sense of repose in motion was so sweet, so grateful to my travel-wearied senses, that I remained on deck till late in the evening, steeped in a batch of pure indolent happiness.

The next morning was equally as delightful. From dawn we went slowly loitering in view of the lovely islands that gem those remote seas, until we at last anchored at Strong's Island. Nothing can be more beautiful than their cones of never-fading verdure, draped to the very edge of the waves, except where some retreating cove shows its beach of sand. The light, lozy clouds, suffused with a crimson flush of heat, that floated slowly through the upper heavens, cast shifting shadows upon the masses of foliage, and deepened, here and there, the dark-purple hue of the sea.

When the Pilot came out to tow us into port, his first information, that the **Morning Star**, was lost, startled us, as we knew she was expected at Honolulu with Missionaries, and not knowing where or how she was lost, we were deeply concerned, but soon the wreck appeared in sight, and we learned that she was lost when leaving the place we were about to enter.¹ The harbor where we anchored was very small, and we dropped

1 Ed. note: The one on the south side of the island. Wreck occurred in October 1869.

anchor very near the land. It did not seem as if there could be room enough for the ship to swing around. This near view of the island confirms my first impressions of it from a distance. It is beautiful, very heavily wooded; the dense forests begin at the water's edge and continue to the tops of the mountains.

Strong's Island is often mentioned in the missionary papers, and is the home of Mr. and Mrs. Snow, now in America. Their work and influence is very perceptible here. I heard one of the women sing, "I have a Father in the promised land," in their own language, and another to the tune of "John Brown." I also saw a group of women sewing at the native preacher's. I became quite interested in this preacher's wife who had lived with Mrs. Snow.

When on shore, one day, she asked me to show her how to cut a dress like my own. She had some new calico which Captain had exchanged with the minister for a pig. It was dark before the work was done, and as I could not have an opportunity to go on shore again, we invited her to come to the ship in the morning. About daylight, the next morning, the steward informed us that her boat was coming. Very soon thereafter we were at work, and about that time the King arrived. (He was in the habit of coming, or sending every morning, for his breakfast.) He was not the most agreeable of Monarchs. He had been served so much, and required so much homage from his subjects, that his ways were morose and selfish, and his voice that of the most severe command. His first arrival at our ship was while we were on shore. He found [that] his subjects had been taking copper from the **Morning Star's** wreck and bringing it to our ship to sell. He said the minister had stolen it. As a wreck, he said it was all his. We did not blame the minister, nor think he had done anything wrong. The **Morning Star** was wrecked on his shore side of the island, and though the vessel had lain there three months, the King had never looked after it. Several of the natives had a small quantity of the copper, and the minister's wife had modern crockery and tin-ware enough to furnish a pantry, all of which looked so strange in a grass hut with a bamboo floor and no furniture.

Such was the fate of the Sunday School vessel in which so many of the children took stock. There will, no doubt, be another one built, as the Pacific must have the civilizing influences of one of these little messengers of peace.

The King does not allow any one of his subjects, not even his brother, to stand in his presence. It is wonderful to see how they will drop down on the floor or ground whenever in his presence, no matter how wet or dirty the place may be. When they walk past him they must bend their backs and hold their heads very low, and when they carry any of his bundles, things which he is to use, they must follow him on their knees.

In the morning above-mentioned when the King came to our ship, he was surprised to see one of his subjects in the cabin, and the poor woman equally surprised to see her King. She writhed and twisted, but did not drop below the sofa. She hung her head till breakfast was ready. The king took his usual place at the table, but was much displeased when we invited her to join us, and was sullen and morose ever after, refusing to talk, except through a servant.

Such dignity and absolute monarchy I never saw before. In appearance he is inferior to others of the island. His features resemble the African more than the Malay. When Captain saw him at home, he wore the "native little," (meaning nothing.) But when he came to the ship he had on an old-style linen coat and pants, and underneath a heavy blue sailor's shirt, the effect of which was truly comical.

The work of a Missionary is very encouraging, as seen in these natives, particularly the younger ones over whom they have had a direct influence. We cannot expect them to make Kings, but if they have so far influenced the King as to make him willing to let them teach on the island, then a good work has begun.

The King is very favorable toward the Missionary, and as his subjects are so obedient to, and stand in awe of him, the Missionary could do but little if he were to oppose them. Though he is old and disagreeable, and not liable to change much, I feel like giving him due credit for not interfering.

While at this island we drank nothing but cocoanut water, dispensing with both tea and coffee. It was here I learned to value the cocoanut. We took the nut, before the meat was set, when it would contain nearly a pint of water, which was always cool, and always clean.

[From Saipan, the bark went on to the Bonin Islands, but not until they had visited the Volcano, or Iwo, Islands, where Mrs. Whelden wrote another letter, dated 12 March 1870.]

March 12th, 1870.

As was feared, our whaling did not amount to much in the vicinity of the Ladrone Islands. After trying three weeks, and watching for the spouting monsters, we left for the Volcano Islands, about one week's sail North West of the Ladrone Islands. We found it better here, and have taken only one hundred and eighty barrels.

These islands are at present uninhabited. Smoke and steam rise constantly from them, and a smell of sulphur pervades the air. The hills are bare and bleak in aspect, and no place could be more forlorn. I found myself looking upon the smoky, sulphurous, desolated place with a cold, passionless appreciation unconnected with the slightest regret at leaving it, or the least wish to behold it again. We did not anchor but laid off and on for a few days, and then raised our sails to the breeze which carried us to the Sulphur Islands, where we were more successful in finding whales and left after making three hundred barrels of oil.

...
We are sailing for Japan, and I am anticipating much in the sight of that once forbidden country. I shall have all my letters ready for mailing on arrival at Yokohama, where we shall probably remain a month.

April 4th

P.S. We left Sulphur Islands two weeks ago and anchored yesterday in Yeddo [Tokyo] Bay, Japan, Our passage here was rough. All that I may have to say about the city of Yokohama I shall leave for my next letter.¹

¹ Ed. note: She next wrote from the Japan Hotel in Yokohama (managed by Ammericans) on 30 April 1870.

Documents 1870D

The Royal Navy Flying Squadron of six ships, under the command of Admiral Hornby, crossed Micronesia, via Kosrae

Introductory note.

A number of logbooks or narratives were produced by the officers on board some of these ships. The original Flying Squadron was made up of the following ships:

- The steam frigate **Liverpool**, as flagship;
- The steam frigate **Liffley**;
- The steam frigate **Endymion**;
- The steam frigate **Bristol**, later replaced by the corvette **Phoebe**;
- The corvette **Scylla**; and
- The corvette **Barrosa**.

The ships followed the following route after leaving England: Madeira, Bahia, Rio, Montevideo, Cape of Good Hope, Malbourne, Sydney, Hobart Town, New Zealand, the Kosrae, the Northern Marianas, Yokohama, Honolulu, etc.

The logbooks and narratives known to exist are as follows:

- HMS Liverpool—The official logbook (see below);
- HMS Liverpool—The narrative of William(?) Haynes;
- HMS Liverpool—The letters and photos of William H. Henderson (in the National Maritime Museum, UK, ms. HEN/1/6.(7).1/10);
- HMS Liverpool—The diary of Surgeon F. Buckle (in the Wellcome Inst. Hist. of Medicine, U.K.);
- HMS Liffey—The logbook of William H. May (in the NMM ms. MAY/5);
- HMS Liffey—The logbook of Francis S. Jackson (in the National Library, Canberra, ms. 5254);
- HMS Endymion—The logbook of P. J. D. Hawker (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, ms. 768);¹
- HMS Phoebe—The logbook of Midshipman W. R. Creswell: Creswell, W. R. *Close to the Wind: the Early Memoirs, 1866-79*, of Admiral Sir William Cresswell (Lon-

¹ Ed. note: There are other logs in PRO London, not copied by the AJCP.

don, 1965);

—HMS *Phoebe*—The logbook of Midshipman G. T. Wingfield (in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, ms. 765);

—HMS *Phoebe*—The logbook of the Royal Marine bandsman, William Haynes: William Haynes. *My Log—A Journal of Proceedings of the Flying Squadron* (Devonport, 1871);¹

—HMS *Barrosa*—The narrative of J. A. T. Bruce: J. A. T. Bruce. *Cruise Round the World with the Flying Squadron* (1871).

The so-called anonymous logbook, said to have been kept by J. T. A. Bruce and Henry Cavendish

The cruise Round the World of The Flying Squadron, 1869- 1870, Under the Command of Rear-Admiral G. T. Phipps Hornby (London, Potter, 1871).

...

From New Zealand to Japan.

Wednesday, Feb. 9th [1870].—The squadron weighed from Auckland, blowing fresh from the North-Eastward, right up the harbour, which necessitated a dead beat out, *Liffey* being first aweigh at 1 p.m., and successfully getting outside the harbour...

...

The the squadron proceeded on its way close hauled, with a moderate breeze from NNW, cloudy weather, and a good deal of rain, which shifted on the 13th to the SW, bringing clear weather with it...

...

From the 2nd of March in 12° S, 179° E, until the 8th, in 8° S, 176° E, we experienced a succession of light and variable winds, with the weather very hot, damp, and depressing, the air between decks being over 80°, and the water 84°, in the afternoon of which day, it falling a dead calm...

So steam was got up by *Liverpool*, *Endymion* and *Liffey* towing *Barrosa*, *Scylla*, and *Phoebe*, with the assistance of science, we wended our way through a sea of glass until the morning of the 10th, in lat. 5°30' S, long. 173° E, when sail was made to the North-Easterly Trade, and at 8 a.m. of the 11th entered a strong belt of the Westerly Equatorial Current, the temperature of the sea decreasing, the breeze freshening a little; at 9 a.m. on the morning of the 12th, cast off the ships in tow, and proceeded under sail, with a light NE wind abeam, two-and-a-half knots current to the westward. Nine a.m. of the 15th, in 3° N. lat., 166° E long., passed through a violent current-ripple, the temperature of the sea rising from 79-1/4° to 80- 3/4°; and in the forenoon of the fol-

1 Ed. note: There are also the journals of Charles J. Norcock, RN, 1863-1875, in the National Library, Canberra, ms. 5897.

lowing day [16 March] passed close to the eastward of Ualan [Kosrae] Island, eager eyes being turned to the Promised Land, as supplies were running short, and we were told that the island was flowing with milk and honey, but it was of no avail. Though the good things of life were near and plentiful, forward was still the motto, and we carried the North-East Trade until the 24th, in lat. 19° N., long. 145° E., passing the day before, close to the westward of the Island of Ascunzion [Asuncion], one of the northernmost of the Ladrone Group, consisting only of an extinct volcano rising abruptly from the sea, almost perpendicularly, to the northward and eastward, where the wind and sea, in collusion together, had had the effect, the one of blowing the lava in its active days to the southern side caused that to be a gentle slope, and the other everlasting warring against the northeastern shore, had worn it away until the crater almost overhung its base.

The following day the breeze went round to the SSE, and on the 20th became unsteady, the following day being calm, after which the easterly wind sprang up again, with very damp weather and a dense mist around the horizon, and until April 3rd, in 29° N., 136° E., when it began to veer, and the next day was south-westerly, with a cloudy sky and drizzle, turning into heavy rain, the wind shifting suddenly to the NW on the evening of the 5th, blowing a moderate gale. At 2 a.m. on the 6th sighted Kosu Sima (an island outside Yeddo [Tokyo] Bay), and then hauled up for the entrance...

Documents 1870E

The wreck of the *Renown* at Palau, and rescue by HMS *Rinaldo*

E1. The narrative of Captain Robinson of HMS *Rinaldo*

Source: Nautical Magazine 1870, pp. 386-387.

Extract from a letter of proceedings of Commander Robinson, of H.M.S. *Rinaldo* (dated April 15):—

I beg to report the return of the *Rinaldo* to Hong Kong with the master and crew of the late British barque *Renown*, who were taken off the Pellew Islands on the 2nd instant. Finding that the crew of the *Renown*, during the 53 days they had been on the island, had been treated with the greatest possible kindness and hospitality, I expressed to the King the satisfaction with which H.M.'s government would receive the intelligence, and in return I made him a present of some articles of clothing, etc., on which the natives appear to set much value. The islanders were liberal in their presents to the ship's company of fish and other fresh provisions, and I could have obtained a larger supply had my stay been longer. At 10.30 a.m. on the 3rd of April, after having received the King of Corror and his chiefs on board, and having formally thanked them for their hospitality and delivered to them the present referred to, I proceeded to sea by the channel through the Western Reefs.

...

E2. Notice of arrival of HMS *Rinaldo* at Manila

Sources: AHN Ultramar 5211, Exp. 2, Revista Mercantil, Manila 11 April 1870 and Letter dated 12 April 1870

Entry for 9 April

From the Palaos Islands, in 5 days, the propeller-driven British Naval corvette *Rinaldo*, carrying 7 guns and powered by a 200-HP engine.

Extract from a letter by Carlos M. de la Torre, dated 12 April

On the 9th of this month, there also came in from the Palaos Islands, the English steam warship Reynaldo [sic] carrying 7 guns and powered by 200 HP under the command of Lieutenant T. C. B. Robinson, which has sailed from this port today for his destination.

...¹

1 Ed. note: The logbook of Captain Robinson and the 1870-72 journal of the Surgeon John Buckley are in PRO London. The latter was microfilmed as AJCP M708.

Documents 1870F

USS Jamestown visited Micronesia in 1870

F1. The need for a navy patrol through Micronesia

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, January 6, 1969.

Why has the American Government never sent a Man-of-War to Cruise in Micronesia?

Vessels of war go where they are ordered, but for some reason the American Government has never sent a vessel of war to cruise from 170° E. latitude [sic] westward, or from 10° to 20° south and north latitude, embracing that region known as Micronesia, or including the Caroline Islands.¹ Upon many of those islands the inhabitants never saw the American flag displayed from one of our national vessels. The inhabitants on Ascension, however, once saw the Confederate flag of Jeff. Davis displayed on board the **Shenandoah**, when she visited that island in the spring of 1865 and burnt four American whaleships. American whaleships, the **Morning Star** and trading vessels are constantly cruising among those islands, and visiting their ports. During the late cruise of the **Morning Star**, she came to anchor about twenty-five times in the various harbors of Micronesia. Whalers have for more than a quarter of a century been accustomed repeatedly to visit Strong's island and Ascension. That part of the ocean is alive with trading vessels, and yet our national vessels keep as clear of that part of the ocean as if the Government was *afraid* to send a vessel thither. Repeatedly have naval commanders called upon us for information upon that part of the world. Our Ministers Resident have been sending forward information to the State Department at Washington. American citizens have been murdered in those seas, and their vessels cut off. American merchants, traders and missionaries have been for years calling upon the American Government to send a vessel of war to cruise and survey in that part of the ocean, but the call has been unheeded, and yet our national vessels have been lying in the ports of San Francisco and Honolulu, *doing what?—yes, what?*

1 Ed. note: The U.S. Government knew that the islands belonged to Spain.

F2. Arrival at Honolulu of the USS Jamestown

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, May 1, 1870.

Note: The Jamestown was a U.S. Sloop of War 1st Class, launched in 1843, carrying 20 guns, length 157'6", beam 35'. She was still afloat in 1932 (90 years after her launch), according to Chapelle.

The United States sloop-of-war **Jamestown** proceeds to Micronesia to look after American interests in those quarters—going first to Tarawa to land her passengers, Mr. and Mrs. Bingham; thence to Apaiang, both islands of the Gilbert Group; thence to Ebon, and other parts of the Marshall Islands; and to Strong's and Ascension of the Caroline Group. Her objects are to obtain redress for grievances and wrongs lately committed on American citizens and property by the savages of several of those islands, and to place affairs generally on a more proper and solid footing for the future. No exploration or survey of Micronesia is intended to be made, except incidentally. Capt. Truxton [sic] has also been requested by the Hawaiian Government to investigate into the circumstances connected with the murderous attack on the Rev. Mr. Mahoe, and to give his countenance and protection to Hawaiian subjects residing on any of the islands of Micronesia.

F3. The cruise of the USS Jamestown

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, September 1870.

Arrival of the U.S. Ship Jamestown.

This vessel returned to port on the 12th ult. [Aug. '70], from a cruise among the Micronesian Islands, whither she sailed on the 30th of April. Captain Truxton has kindly furnished the *Advertiser* with the following full report of his cruise.

Left Honolulu, April 30th. Arrived at the Island of Tarawa, Gilbert group, May 15th. On the 20th landed Mr. and Mrs. Bingham at the Island of Apaiang. May 23d, sailed for, and on the 24th, arrived at Butaritari; 26th sailed from Butaritari, and on the 28th arrived at the Mulgrave Islands, remained six days at anchor in the lagoon. On the 4th of June, sailed, and on the 5th arrived off the Island of Mejuro, landed the mail for the mission, found two North German vessels at anchor in the lagoon.

June 11th, made Strong's Island, on the 12th, communicated with the shore, found **Anne Porter** at anchor; June 14th, hove-to off Wellington, or Duperrey Islands; all quiet at both places. June 17th, anchored in Jamestown [Langar] harbor, Island of Ponape; at Ponape fifteen days, during which time circumnavigated the island in steam launch and boats. While here, the brig **Anne Porter** arrived from Strong's Island, and schooner **Malolo** from Ponatic harbor, both bound to Shanghae. Supplied the **Malolo** with provisions, and sent a number of Chinamen and Europeans in her, and the **Anne Porter** to Shanghae, they being all in the employ of one Capt. Benjamin Pease, and left destitute by his non-appearance. Also supplied Pease's trading station at Ponatic with provisions, as the agent was in great want. Capt. Coe, the representative of

Capt. Pease, died some few weeks before our arrival at Ponape. Pease had robbed the wreck of the **Morning Star**, and burned up what he could not carry away.

July 2d, sailed for Honolulu. July 4th, lat. 12°02' north, long. 157°53' east, boarded the North German bark **Marie**, Captain Kutcher, of Bremen, from Port Townsend May 20th, and Honolulu June 15th, for Port Louis, Mauritius, all well. August 4th lat. 31°07' north, long. 158°49' west, boarded American bark **Ethan Allen**, Capt. Snow, from Honolulu, July 27, for San Francisco; had been becalmed five days, left her with a good breeze from the south.

From the Island of Ponape had the trades about ENE to 28° north lat., 158° east long., where we lost them; from which point had calms and light winds prevailing from the southward and eastward, to lat. 28° north, long. 154° west, where we again took the trades. Had much fine weather during the passage back.

Left the missionaries at all points visited in good spirits, feeling perfectly secure in their persons, and much encouraged in their labors by the progress they are making among the natives. Settled all the troubles between the natives of Apaiang and Tarawa, also all the missionary difficulties—the rebels of Tarawa signing an agreement to pay 50 casks of oil for mission property destroyed on Apiang.

The following is a list of the officers of the **Jamestown**:

Commander.—Wm. Truxtun, Commanding.

Lieut. Com.—C. L. Huntington, Executive Officer.

Master.—William Welsh.

Master.—Asa Walker, Navigating Officer.

Ensigns.—Andrew Dunlap, W. M. Cowgill, J. D. Adams, W. McMechan.

Surgeons.—W. M. Woods, E. D. Payne.

Asst. Surgeon.—E. C. Thatcher.

P. A. Paymaster.—Geo. R. Watkins.

Lieut. Marines.—H. C. Cochrane.

Boatswain.—Andrew Milne.

Gunner.—E. A. McDonald.

Carpenter.—S. N. Whitehouse.

Sail-maker.—Gilbert D. Macy.

Captain's Clerk.—C. W. Sinclair.

Paymaster's Clerk.—L. A. Morris.

Mates.—F. C. Elliot, C. G. Nolton, S. Millard, W. Dougherty.

F4. Agreement signed by the Sokehs and Net tribes, Pohnpei, in 1870

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, November 1, 1870.

Note: The agreement was later signed by the leaders of the U, Metalanim and Kiti tribes.

Treaty with the United States and Inhabitants of Ponape, or Ascension.

Know all the rulers of the earth, that we the King and High Chiefs of the Island of Ponape, do bind ourselves, our heirs, and lawful successors, from this time and forever, to protect the lives and property of all persons who may be shipwrecked on the shores of any part of our territories, and to give them all possible aid and comfort till they are able to leave for their homes, or such other places as they may elect. And further: That such shipwrecked persons shall in no way be restrained of their liberty or freedom while within the limits of our territories, unless for the prevention of crime by such shipwrecked persons. And further: That having voluntarily received missionaries, they shall be allowed perfect freedom in preaching and teaching of their doctrines; nor shall any of our people be forbidden or withheld by any person within the limits of our territories from attending such preaching and teaching. And further, that any of our people who now are, or hereafter may become Christians, shall not be interfered with in their new religious opinions or belief. And further: Any foreigners who may hereafter acquire land in our territories by lawful purchase, shall, on the payment of the sum mutually agreed upon, be furnished with a deed descriptive of the land so purchased, which deed shall secure said purchaser, his heirs, assigns and executors forever in the quiet and peaceable possession of the land. And further: That all foreigners residing or trading within the limits of our territories shall be safe and secure in the possession of their property and the pursuit of their lawful business; nor shall any person within our dominion entice any seaman to desert from his vessel or harbor or conceal said seaman after such desertion, under a fine of (50) fifty dollars.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our several hands and seals this eighteenth day of June, 1870, on board the United States ship Jamestown.

F5. Statement of John Smith against Captain Pease

Sources: Dispatches of U.S. Consul in Shanghai, China Feb. 23-Oct. 7, 1871. Record Group 69, National Archives, MCF M112, roll 12. As quoted by an article by Mary Browning in the Guam Recorder, 1978.

Having been a passenger and employee on board the Brig **Water Lily** (with) Capt. Benjamin Pease at various times for about (10) ten months. Was on board said Brig **Water Lily** in August 1869, when Capt. Pease landed (3) three armed boats crews at Mulgrave Islands, and robbed the oil station of one George F. Hazard, an American citizen of the following articles, viz: (5) five casks of oil, some empty casks, (19) nineteen Pigs, and (7) seven Ducks. And further that To my certain knowledge the said Pease has robbed the oil station of Capt. Eury, an Englishman at the Mulgrave Islands; and the station of one Capelle, a German, on the Island of Namwreck.

F6. Statement of James Walsh against Captain Pease

Sources: Same as for F5 above.

I, James Walsh left Shanghai, China, Chief Officer of American Brig **Water Lily**, B. Pease, Master, May 25th 1868, on a voyage to Goam or Ports in the South Pacific Ocean, not exceeding six months. Instead of going to Goam came here to Ascension and then cruised through the North Pacific Group. During the cruise, Capt. Pease's cruelty in murdering natives and robbing Stations did not satisfy me as Chief Officer, which caused some words between Capt. Pease and myself. He then ordered me to my room, saying that he was King of these Islands; that there were no consuls nor magistrates here. I went to my duty again, and Pease put me on shore at Magarow [Majuro] Island, in the Group, to look after a wreck that he took from a man that was looking after it for the Insurance Company, stating that he would be to my assistance in eight or ten days, leaving me and a sailor with 15 lbs. bread, 8 half boxes of sardines. No food to be got of Natives during my time there. I was drove away & my house burnt, that I was living in; same and wreck did not belong to Capt. Pease. Then I took passage in a schooner that happened to land there, and went to Ebon, then took passage to Ascension Island, in search of Capt. Pease in a whale ship & found Pease here, & stated my case to him. He said I could not go to China in his ship, as I was put ashore I must stay; saying that he would not take me to Shanghai to get him in trouble for he was in trouble enough already. He then forced me on shore here, where I have been compelled to stay on account of sickness & other reasons which I can explain to whom it may concern. Now with sickness and destitute... as I am, after selling all my clothing, bedding, books, instruments, for food and medicines, I now feel necessary for me to apply to you for a passage to a Consul Port, so that I can get justice, or to Shanghai, where the owners of the said **Water Lily** belongs; for I have received no discharge nor wages since I signed the articles before the United States Consul General in Shanghai May 25th 1868. Hoping this will meet your kind approbation...

(signed) James Walsh.

F7. Statement of E. A. Pitman against Captain Pease

Sources: Same as for F5 above.

Being an American Citizen, now in command of the Schooner **Malolo**, under the Hawaiian flag, not being able to receive redress otherwise I appeal to you, and will state the following circumstances of my case:—

I left Shanghai as Chief Officer of the Brig **Pioneer**,¹ under the command of Capt. B. Pease; served in that capacity eight months, since which time have been in charge of the above mentioned schooner **Malolo** and having made a cruise of five months

1 Ed. note: Alias **Water Lily**. He had replaced Walsh.

through the Micronesian Islands I have come to the belief that, from what I can hear and do believe, that there will be no justice to myself or people employed by Glover Dow & Co. unless I am present in person in Shanghai. There is on this Island nineteen Chinese and two other foreigners anxious to go to Shanghai for their own satisfaction, and are quite willing to go there in the **Malolo**. If you think I am right by taking them I am willing to do so, but shall need your assistance in supplying the vessel with the following provisions, viz: One Bbl Beef, One Bbl Pork, Two Blbs Bread...

(Signed) E. A. Pitman.

F8. Statement of the Nanakin and Chiefs of the Kiti Tribe

Sources: Same as for F5 above.

We the undersigned Nanakin and Chiefs of Roan Kiti do hereby certify that a certain plot of land known as the 'Mission Premises', at the mouth of the Roan Kiti River was in the year 1852 donated by our predecessor, the former Nanakin, to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and that for the sixteen years last past said Board has held full and undisputed possession of said land, and that we do from this date confirm said Mission Board in its full and lawful possession of said land; hereby promising to protect said Board from the aggressions of any and all persons whatsoever trespassing on said Mission Lands.

Given this twenty fourth day of June A.D. 1870 on board the U.S. Steam Sloop **Jamestown** at Roan Kiti Harbor, Island of Ponape.¹

F9. Statement of John J. Mahlmann

Sources: Same as for F5 above.

Owing to the prolonged absence of Capt. Benjamin Pease, Manager of the under-mentioned Shanghai Firm of which Glover Dow & Co. are agents at Shanghai, I have completely run out of provisions and for buying native food I have only enough trade on hand to keep me and the companies servants (of which there are 28 in number) for a few days longer. You will readily see my distress and I beg of you, if at all possible, to spare me 2 Bbls of Flour, 2 Bbls Bread and a little Tea, which would last me *perhaps* until Capt. Pease or a vessel from Shanghai arrives. I have orders on Messrs. Glover, Dow & Co. for \$1000 and if required I will give you an order on them for the amount you charge...

(Signed) John James Mahlmann.

1 Ed. note: It was on board the steam launch of the sailing ship Jamestown, that circled the island. Said sloop had remained in the northern harbor.

F10. Report of Commander Truxtun to Glover Dow & Co.

Sources: Same as for F5 above.

For several months past I have been cruising with this ship among the Gilbert, Marshall and Caroline Islands. I feel it due to you to inform you that at every point, almost without exception, complaints from the Native Kings, Chiefs and whites residing among them have been made to me regarding the offenses, cruelty and want of good faith of your Managing Agent, Benj. Pease, Master of Brig **Pioneer**.

It is unnecessary for me to enter into details, the more so as several persons are about proceeding to Shanghai to seek redress,¹ when doubtless, the truth will be made known; suffice it to say the name of Pease is infamous in Micronesia.

In this Island large quantities of timber lie rotting on the shores. I am told it was all paid for before it was cut. A number of Chinese, whose terms of service expired six months since, are suffering for food. Since the death of Capt Coe, one Mallman [sic]... has assumed charge of your affairs. I find him without provisions. An American citizen named Adams under contract for service at some Island to the Westward has never been landed there, but was left here, and is without food or the necessaries of life; the wants of these persons I have relieved as far as possible.

For (16) sixteen years the Missionaries have held free and undisputed possession of a plot of land till the advent of Pease, who, by threats and the free distribution of spirits, induced the Nanakin to sell him the privilege of cutting wood; to which Pease with other foreigners have added the right to build houses of trade and residence. I have directed the buildings to be removed. I enclose you the Nanakin's agreement to protect the mission.

It is testified before me that Pease sails at will under the Hawaiian, English and American Flags, carrying at times seven (7) guns, with a crew made up of Malays, Group natives, and abandoned whites.

So far I have not succeeded in falling in with Capt. Pease, who certainly is entitled to a hearing. I am satisfied, however, he is culpably mismanaging your affairs, and causing you great pecuniary loss.

F11. Statement of Alvin Bowen

Sources: Same as for F5 above.

Was second officer on board the American Brig **Water Lily**, Benj. Pease, Master, during the latter part of the year 1868, during which time we cruised among the Marshall Islands for [coconut] oil; the Brig had mounted the following armament: two 12 pounders, two 6 pounders, five 2 pounders, with two small swivels over the stern; had

1 Ed. note: The Anne Porter was about to sail for Shanghai under the command of Capt. Davie. The Malolo was soon to follow her, with a load of lumber and the Chinese laborers, but she was wrecked upon departure.

a crew of forty two (42) men; she carried muskets and cutlasses enough to arm each man. I was present in or about October 1868 when Pease robbed the oil station of Capt. Eury, an Englishman at Tarawa of the Gilbert Group, of (17) seventeen casks of oil; treats his crew with great brutality; feeds them badly.

F12. Statement of Henry Gardner

Sources: Same as for F5 above.

During the year 1868 was interpreter to Capt. Benj. Pease on board the American Brig **Water Lily**, for the Kings Mill Group; was present at the robbing of Capt. Eury's station on the Island of Hall and Tarawa. During 1869 was present at the robbery of the oil stations of one Capelle, a German in the Island of Namorick and also on the Island of Arno; also the robbery of a station in Mille Islands—the ownership of which I am not certain.¹

Have known Pease since 1867, he generally sails in armed vessels, sails under the Hawaiian, English and American flags; think Pease would not hesitate to rob any trading station. Have heard him threaten to run down Capelle's trading vessel if he fell in with her; also that he would blow the vessel of Briggs (his former Mate) out of the water if he came out from Honolulu; wanted to rob a schooner belonging to the King of Apamama in 1868; but could not get the consent of his crew. In 1869 he suggested to his mate that it would pay better to go slaving (in the King's Mill Group); mate would not agree. Was on board the **Water Lily** when Capt. Pease removed the agent in charge of a wreck on Majuro Island, and placed James Walsh from his own vessel in charge, at the same time removing such articles as he could. He also told the King of Strong's Island that if he did not make oil for him he (Pease) would bring an armed force and take possession of his island.

[Similar statements were made by William Lawit Adams, William Theon Etter, and John Robinson.]

F13. Confirmation of 1852 land grant to Protestant Mission at Ronkiti

Source: Same as for F5 above.

We, the undersigned, Nankin and chiefs of Roan Kiti, do hereby certify that a certain plot of land known as the "mission premises" at the mouth of the Roan Kiti River was, in the year 1852, donated by our predecessor, the former Nanakin, to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and that for sixteen years last past said board said board has held full and undisputed possession of said land, and that we

¹ Ed. note: It belonged to Capt. Hazard.

do from this date confirm said mission board in its full and lawful possession of said lands, hereby promising to protect said board from the aggressions of any and all persons whatsoever trespassing on said mission lands.

Given this 24th day of June, A.D. 1870, on board the United States steam sloop Jamestown, at Roan Kiti Harbor, Island of Ponape.

Nanakin en Kiti—his X mark

Uajai en Kiti—his X mark

Noj Kiti—his X mark

Lepen Teleur—his X mark

Nanaatan en Palon—his X mark

Signed in my presence,

W. T. Truxtun, Commander, United States Navy

E. T. Doane.

Documents 1870G

The chartered ship **Shanghae** brought troops to Guam and took back exiles

G1. The **Shanghae** was a Spanish ship

Source: AHN Ultramar 5211, exp. 2, Revista Mercantil, Manila, 1870.

Entry for 15 January 1870

Ships from the high sea.

...

From Hong Kong, in 8 days, the Spanish bark **Shanghae**, of 264 tons, under ballast: [consigned to] A. Franco & Co.

...

Entry for 18 May 1870

Ships being loaded.

...

For Hong Kong, the Spanish bark **Shanghae**: A. Franco & Co.

...

Entry for 19 June 1870

For Hong Kong, the Spanish bark **Shanghae** with 23 "picos" of quicksilver, 4 "picos" of old copper, 50 "picos" of hemp cables, 3,500 "picos" of "sibucao" and 60,000 tobaccos: A. Franco & Co.

...

[The **Shanghae** was back in the port of Manila on 8 July, according to the Revista Mercantil of 11 August 1870]

...

Entry for 16 August 1870

For the Mariana Islands, Spanish bark **Shanghae** under ballast: A. Franco & Co.

...

Entry for 13 November 1870

From the Mariana Islands, in 25 days, Spanish bark **Shanghae**, of 264 tons, with products from its point of origin.

...

G2. List of the people exiled to the Marianas

Source: AHN Ultramar 5211, Exp. n° 3.

Ministry of War

Proceeding from the Council of Ministers. List of the individuals who, having been sentenced to the death penalty in the last insurrections, have had their sentences commuted to exile to the Mariana Islands:

Category	Name	Penalty to which he had been sentenced
Civilian	Don Francisco Puiggnu	To death by choking collar as a consequence of the crimes committed in Valls during the republican insurrection.
Ex-Colonel of the Army	Don Bartolomé Pozas y Soler	To the firing squad for being implicated in the same insurrection.
Civilian	Rafael Miracle y Pellicer	To death by choking collar as a consequence of the republican insurrection.
Ex-Brigadier	Don Juan Polo y Muñoz	To death for leadership of the Carlist insurrection.
Civilian	Don Joaquin Elio, Marqués de las Hormazas	To death for complicity in the Carlist conspiracy discovered in Pamplona.
Civilian	Mariano Larrumbe	Idem.
Ex-2nd Lieut.	Don José Aparregui	Idem.
Ex-Sergeant	Simón Santamaria	Idem.
Ex-Corporal	Nicasio Mateo	Idem.
Ex-Corporal	Raimundo Pueyo	Idem.
Ex-Canon	Don Antonio Milla	To death for leadership in the Carlist insurrection.
Ex-2nd Lieut.	Don Tomás Fidalgo Gutierrez	Idem.
	Madrid, 15 January 1870.—Prim. ¹	

G3. Letter, dated Manila 11 August 1870

Source: AHN Ultramar 5211, Exp. n° 3.

Your Excellency:

The eleven exiles to the Mariana Islands by order of His Highness the Regent of the Kingdom have, as I had the honor to inform Y.E. in my letter N° 355 of 28 July last, arrived at this Capital aboard the frigate **Reina de los Cielos**. They will leave for their destination aboard the Spanish bark **Shanghae** that serves as mail ship and will depart

¹ Ed. note: General Juan Prim who had led the rebellion that toppled Queen Isabella II in 1868. He was later assassinated, on 30 December 1870.

on the 15th instant for the Mariana Islands.

I let Y.E. know about this for your intelligence.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila 11 August 1870.

Your Excellency.

[To] His Excellency the Minister of Overseas.

[These exiles, with the exception of the Marquis of Hormazas who had fled, were later granted an amnesty by the Regent, on 9 August 1870, which was published in the Gazette the next day. Those of the former exiles who swore allegiance to the Constitution were allowed to take passage from the Philippines back to Spain and had their travel expenses paid for by the Government.]

G4. Letter to the Governor of the Marianas, dated Manila 2 December 1870

Superior Civil Government of the Philippines.—

His Excellency the Minister of Overseas, in a telegraphic despatch dated 30 September last, was pleased to entrust this Superior Government with the rapid return of the political exiles who had been given an amnesty. As there was no warship available to go after them, a deal has been made with the owners of the mail ship, the Spanish bark **Shanghae**, and I have decided that the ship scheduled for next February would leave on the 10th of this month. As a consequence and upon a review of the penal background records and the certificate of condemnation of the political exiles who are presently in those Islands, Your Lordship shall apply the decree of pardon that I am sending to you under separate cover, effecting thus the return to this Capital aboard said bark **Shanghae** of those listed thereon, if there is no better opportunity for them to return [directly] to Europe by another means that they might choose.

Please acknowledge the receipt of this communication and advise me of the arrangements that you have adopted for its execution by the first occasion.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

Manila, 2 December 1870.

G5. Exiles sent back to Manila

Political and Military Government of the Marianas—Administration Branch,
Nº 223.

Your Excellency:

To comply with the order that Y.E. gave me in your superior communication of 2 Decelber last, received by the bark **Shanghae** on the 5th instant, I have arranged for the return aboard the same ship to that Capital of the political exiles who have been given an amnesty, whose names are given on the attached list.

Having appeared before this town the English [rather Hawaiian] ship **Onward**, the

ex-Colonel Bartolomé Pozas and Mr. Rafael Miracle have chosen to sail directly to Europe via Hong Kong, and they boarded her on the 10th instant with passports issued by this Government in accordance with the instructions of Y.E. in the above-mentioned communication and in compliance with it. I have the honor to return to Y.E. the ten corresponding certificates of condemnation of the above-named political exiles, since pardoned.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 23 February 1871.

Your Excellency.

Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco Moscoso, Governor.

[To] His Excellency the Superior Civil Governor of the Philippines.

List of the political exiles who have been pardoned and are returning to Manila aboard the bark Shanghae:

Category	Name
Ex-Brigadier	Don Juan Polo.
Ex-Commander	Don Daniel F. Maza.
Ex-Second Lieutenant	Don José Aperregui.
Idem	Don Tomás Fidalgo.
Ex-Sergeant	Simon Santa Maria.
Ex-Corporal	Nicasio Mateo.
Idem	Reimundo Pueyo.
Ex-Canon	Don Antonio Milla.
Civilian	Don Mariano Larrumbe.

Agaña, 23 February 1871.

Francisco Moscoso.

Document 1870H

Loss of the barque Dashing Wave at Wake Island

Sources: Article in the Fiji Times; reproduced in The Friend, Honolulu, April, 1871.

Loss of the Barque "Dashing Wave."—Fearful Sufferings of the Crew

We have to record one of the most miraculous escapes from death at sea in many forms that have ever been made public. The bark **Dashing Wave**, a successful China tea clipper, is down as missing in the Sydney Morning Herald. Captain Vandervord was the master of the vessel and from him we learn the following particulars:—

He left Foochow on July 29 [1870] bound for Sydney; and on the night of August 31, the weather being thick and squally coming down at intervals, Captain Vandervord took in the main top-gallant sail at 10 P.M., and went below to lie on the sofa in the cabin; at half-past 10 he went on deck again and was just in time to see a small island right ahead; he shouted to the man at the wheel to put the helm down, and the vessel had nearly come round when her keel touched on the reef which surrounds the island. Half an hour after taking the bottom the copper came over the weather-side in sheets, and the foremast sunk 18 inches; the mainmast was cut away, but the ship began to break up fast.

The island proved to be Wake Island, small and uninhabited, surrounded by a reef, rendering it impossible to land if there is any wind blowing at all. Captain Vandervord says it is 10 miles out of the position given in the chart, 10°30' N., 167° E. The crew took to the long boat, and Captain Vandervord secured a chart and nautical instruments, but strange to say no compass was saved; a case of colonial wine, a bag and a half of bread and two buckets were put in the boat, but no water; and for 31 days the thirteen men were in the open boat without seeing land or a ship, or receiving any assistance whatever. They left the wreck at 10 the morning after, and with sail made of blankets sewn together, and fixed to an oar, began their weary journey in search of some inhabited land. Their sufferings may be imagined. For the first five days they had not a drop of water, and the captain served out one bottle of Cawarra daily between the thirteen; that saved their lives; after that time they had rain and caught water, but except at the time it was actually raining a half pint of water each only a day was served out

and a handful of bread. To the credit of the men and their commander there was no insubordination, no attempt to obtain more than their share of the scanty provisions and precious water; silently but resigned they passed day after day, the sun pouring down on their unsheltered heads. Every day Captain Vandervord got the boat's position by means of his instruments, but when the weather was dull, of course, they went in all directions for want of a compass, and especially, on cloudy nights; it was the master's intention to make for the Kingsmill [Gilbert] group, but the current was against them, and then a course was steered for Ascension [Pohnpei] Island, and had any of the party been able to row they might have reached it, but weak as they were, all they could do was to keep their boat before the wind with the blanket sail.

After 30 days of suffering, their mouths parched, tongues swollen, wet with grateful showers, scorched by a tropical sun, fully undergoing Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner's" sufferings:

"Water, water everywhere,
And a'l the boards did shrink;
Water, water everywhere,
Not any drop to drink,
And every tongue through utter drought
Was withered at the root,
We could not speak no more than if
We had been choaked with soot."

They sighted Strong's (Ualan) [Kosrae] Island, the easternmost of the Caroline group. Here the castaways saw a canoe outside taking produce from one part of the island to another, and had they been able to get some provisions, Captain Vandervord would have kept on, and tried to make one of the islands of the Marshall or Gilbert groups adjacent. The boat refused to trade with them, and they went inside and were received by the King with the uttermost hospitality; he took the captain and mate to live with him, and assigned quarters to the men in the town. After some days Captain Vandervord and part of the crew took the boat and tried to reach Kingsmill, and were fitted out by the King with sails, mast, and provisions of every kind, but met with a gale and had to return to Strong's Island. Altogether 30 days were spent on the island, when the **Oriti** put in short of provisions, and they came on in that vessel and arrived [at Fiji] on Thursday at midnight. Captain Vandervord desires to acknowledge the kindness of Captain Beatson to himself and his unfortunate crew.

Fiji Times, January 7 [1871].

Notes 1870I

Language statistics and Recollects in the Marianas

II. Relative importance of languages spoken in the Philippines and Marianas, circa 1870

Source: Anon. Apuntes interesantes sobre las islas Filipinas que pueden ser Ötiles para hacer las reformas convenientes para el país y para la nación, escrita por un español de larga experiencia en el país y amante del progreso (Madrid, Imprenta de El Pueblo, 1870).

Note: The title of the above book means: "Interesting notes regarding the Philippine Islands that can be useful to make appropriate reforms in the country, and for the nation—written by a Spaniard with long experience in the country and a friend of progress."

Dialects, and where spoken.

- Carolinian: In the two towns on the Island of Saipan, in the Mariana Islands;
- Coyuvo*:¹ In 16 towns in the Marianas;
- Chamorro: In the rest of the same Islands.

Table of the importance of the Filipino dialects:

Dialect	Inhabitants
Visayan	2,024,409
Tagalog	1,216,508
Cebuano	385,866
Ilocano	354,378
...	
<i>Coyuvo</i>	12,999
Chamorro	5,360
Carolinian	500 ²

-
- 1 Ed. note: I think that *Coyuvo* was a kind of Pidgin Spanish, mixed with Pampangueño, the language of the original soldiers sent to the Marianas.
 - 2 Ed. note: Obviously, the population of the Marianas being what it was, most Chamorros spoke *Coyuvo* as well.

I2. Recollects in the Mariana Islands

Source: Anon. Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino (Manila, 1879).

Note: It is mentioned in this book that, on account of sickness of two old priests, the Recollects did not serve in the Marianas during the five-year period, 1814 to 1819; the void was filled by diocesan priests. This confirms the fact that Fr. Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo was a Filipino diocesan priest; he did arrive at Guam in 1814.

Extract from this book

...
At the present time, there are seven Spanish priests of the Recollect Order who cater to the spiritual needs of their parishioners.

The main Island, for all purposes, is that of Guam, where can be found the city of Agaña and the largest number of inhabitants in the whole country. There are a good-sized church and a parish house, and the College of San Juan de Letran...

The town of Agat, whose patron saint is St. Rose of Lima, is situated on the west coast of the same Island, and also has a Curate.

The town of Merizo, whose patron saint is St. Diman, is on the west coast of the Island, and also has a regular minister.

The town of Umata, whose patron saint is St. Dionisio Areopagite, is situated on the southwest coast of that same Island, and has a its own Curate.

On the east coast is found the town of Inarajan, whose patron saint is St. Joseph, and it is distant three leagues from Merizo by the south coast.

To the north of the Island of Guam, at a distance of 16 leagues, the Island of Rota is to be found. Its patron saint is St. Francisco of Borja, and there is a Recollect priest residing there, for all the functions of a regulat parish.

There is also a regular minister at the Island of Saipan, which is inhabited mostly by people originally from the Carolines, and contains fertile lands on account of the damp forests, but there are no rivers.

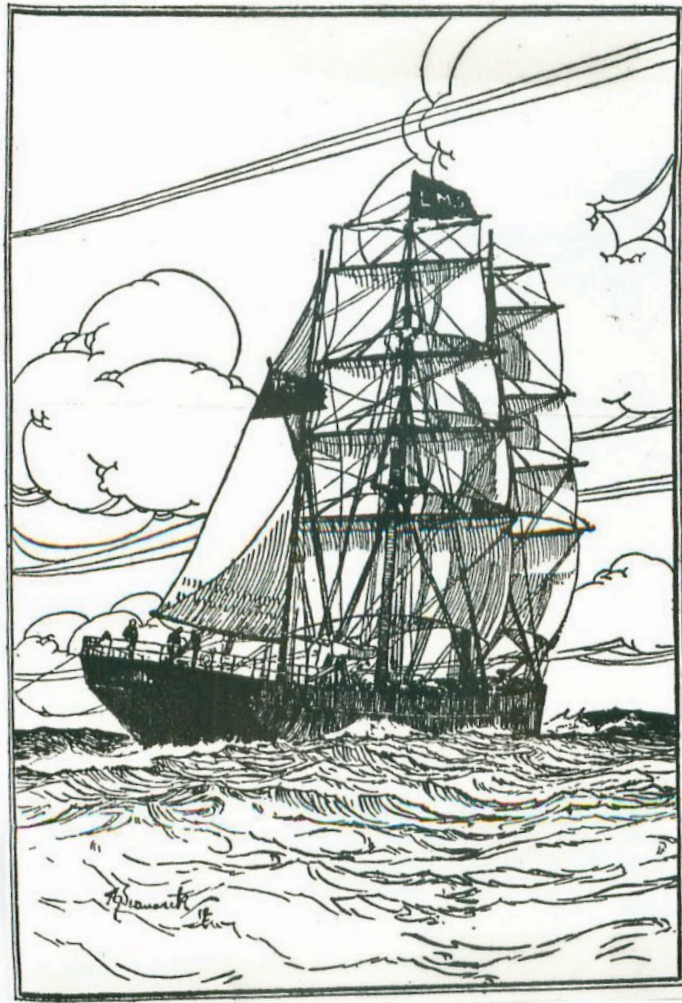
The climate of all those islands is excellent, the land full of verdure and with an abundance of fruits and vegetables, and the other productions are the same or similar to those of the Philippines. On account of the healthy influence of the CAtholic religion, the natives are marked with an affable and kindly character, with simple customs and obedient to the authorities.

...
The priests now serving there [in 1878] are:
—Father Francisco Resano del Corazon de Jesus, Curate of Agaña, by interim—27 years old.
—Father Isidoro Liberal de los Santisimos Corazones, Curate of Agat, Permanent—51 years old.
—Father Mariano Martinez del Carmen, Curate of Merizo and of Umata, Permanent—32 years old.
—Father Ramon Orrit del Pilar, Curate of Inarajan. by interim—42 years old.

—Father Miguel Ortubia de la Concepción, Curate of Rota, by interim—34 years old.

—Father José Lamban del Pilar, Curate of Saipan, by interim—29 years old.¹

¹ Ed. note: There is no mention of Father Palomo, because he was not a Recollect priest, but a diocesan, and permanent, priest.



The third John Williams.

Documents 1870J

The missionary barque John Williams III brought Samoan teachers to the Gilbert Islands

Source: Rev. Samuel James Whitmee. A Missionary Cruise in the South Pacific: Being The Report of a Voyage amongst the Tokelau, Ellice, and Gilbert Islands, in the Missionary Barque "John Williams," during 1870 (Sydney, Joseph Cook, 1871).

J1. Extract from Rev. Whitmee's report

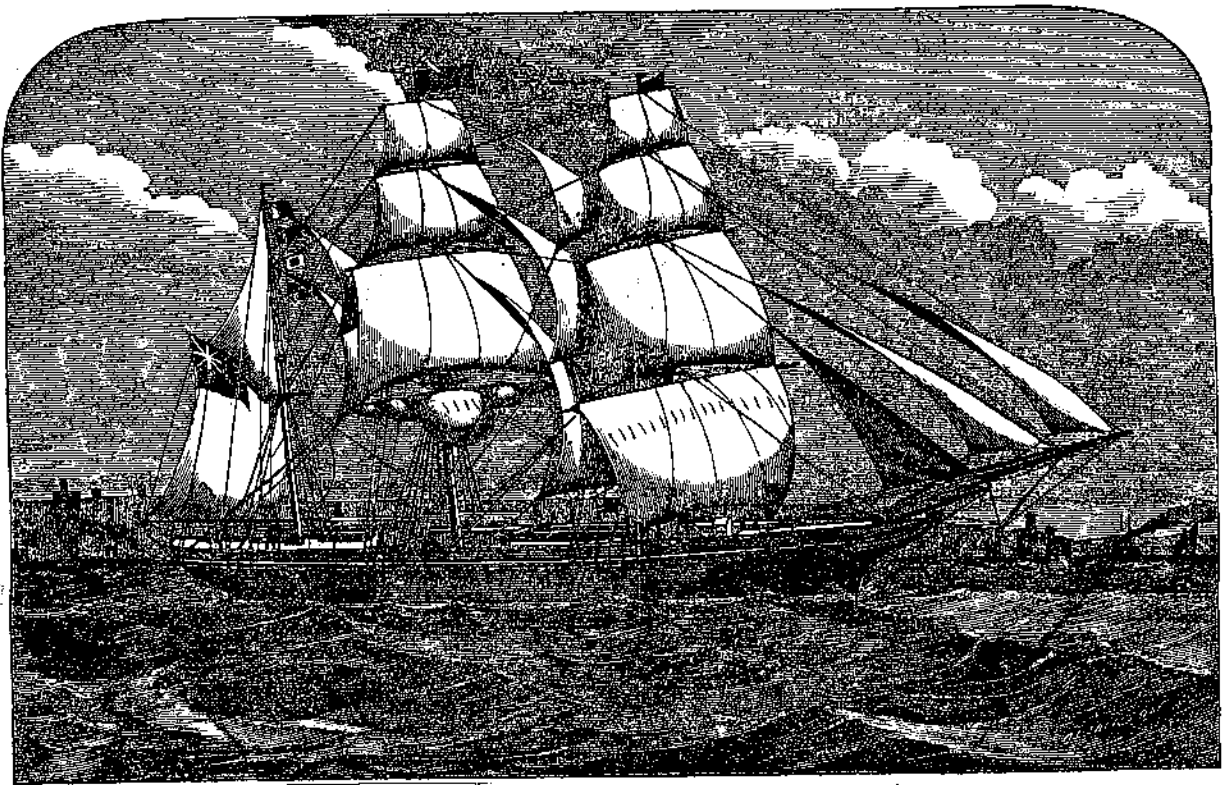
Preface.

During the cruise, a record of which is given in the following pages, the Writer kept a journal, in order to present a report of the voyage to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, under whose auspices the Mission is conducted, and also to the members of the Samoan Mission, by whom he was deputed to visit the Islands. Before the cruise was finished, it was suggested that the report, if printed, would be interesting to others besides those for whom it was specially intended. In consequence of this suggestion, these pages were compiled from the Writer's journal, to answer the double purpose of giving a report to those who are responsible for the working of the mission, and information to the Christian public who are interested in missions to the heathen.

...
Sydney, Dec. 24th, 1870.

A Missionary Cruise in the South Pacific.

In the year 1866 the Rev. H. Nisbet and the Writer were appointed by the Missionaries of the London Missionary Society in Samoa, to visit the out-stations connected with that mission in the Tokelau and Ellice [Tuvalu] groups of Islands. Two islands of the Tokelau group had been occupied since 1861, when teachers were first placed on them. Five islands of the Ellice group had also been visited by the Rev. A. W. Murray in 1865, when he succeeded in locating teachers on three of them. The inhabitants of the other two islands then visited also wished to have teachers, but Mr. Murray had none left. So he gave the people a promise that teachers should be sent from Samoa as soon as possible. In accordance with that promise two were sent in the following year



The barque John Williams.

by the Missionary brigantine **Dayspring**, and were gladly received by the expectant people.

The loss of the new **John Williams** [II] at Niue early in 1867 prevented Mr. Nisbet and myself from carrying out our appointment; but later in the year the Rev. A. W. Murray embraced an opportunity offered him of again paying a brief visit to the Ellice group in a trading vessel. Subsequently to that visit the teachers labouring in these islands have been left entirely to their own resources, often in perplexity for want of missionary counsel, and sometimes in difficulty for want of supplies; and no further efforts have been since made to carry the light to the islands still in darkness.

We waited anxiously for the arrival of the present **John Williams** [III], and were not a little grieved, when she reached Samoa last year [1869], to find no time allotted to a visit of our out-stations or to an extension of our mission. But this year [1870] sixty days of the ship's time having been allotted to the Samoan Mission, the Writer was re-appointed by his brother missionaries to proceed in her and make the best use he could of the time allowed for the cruise. As these sixty days were understood to include the whole time to be spent in the Samoan group and our out-stations—20 days of which were taken up in the port of Apia discharging cargo, getting water, and painting the ship—it was evident that the time at my disposal would be little enough...

...

Gilbert, or Kingsmill, Group.

This group of islands lies between the parallels of about 4° N. and 2°36' S. lat., and 172° to 178° E. long. There are, I believe, sixteen islands in the group, nine to the north, and seven to the south of the equator. The American missionaries of the Sandwich Island Mission have occupied some of the northern islands since 1857, when the Rev. Mr. Bingham and a Hawaiian were stationed on Apaiang, or Charlotte Island. Mr. Bingham laboured for seven years on that island, mastered the language, and translated into it the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John, and the Epistle to the Ephesians; besides preparing a small Hymn book and several School books. The Sandwich Island missionaries would gladly have occupied the whole group, but the paucity of native missionaries available for that work led them to propose to the Samoan Mission, that we should commence in the southern islands, and progress regularly northward, and that they should continue their regular advance southward, without regard to the equator, till the two Missions meet.

At the time this proposal was made to us by the Rev. Dr. Gulick, the Corresponding Secretary to the Hawaiian Board of Missions, he also made us the following offer of books for the use of the Gilbert islanders—"Should you at any time need any of our books for your stations, we will gladly furnish them at cost price. And be assured that we will in every way be very happy to assist in all your efforts to extend the boundaries of light in this ocean."

When I left Samoa, I had a discretionary power given me by my brother missionaries to go wherever the time of the vessel, and other circumstances would allow, in

order to commence mission work on new islands. My first intention was to try and reach Pleasant [Nauru] Island which lies considerably to the west, and which is reported to be a fine island with 4000 or 5000 inhabitants. But when I met with Sunday, the Gilbert Islander, on Quiros' Island, and he begged to be taken to his home "with a missionary to live on his island," I changed my plans, and determined to make an attempt to reach the Gilbert group.

When we reached Nui,¹ and found there two natives of Tamana, another island of the Gilbert group, who had embraced Christianity, and were waiting for the **John Williams** to go back to their homes and tell their countrymen of Christ, my belief that a providential opening had been made for the Gospel to that group was confirmed. We accordingly made sail and stood for the Gilbert Islands on Saturday, October 15th, with strong faith and glad hearts, thankful that we were now going to another people of another tongue, to carry to them the Gospel of God's grace. The very winds and weather seemed to favour our work. A fine breeze carried us across the space separating the two groups at ten miles an hour, and the breeze continued for several days, enabling us to call at a new island every day, till we were back gain in the Ellice group; and this in a region where we expected nothing but calms. About midnight on Sunday, Captain Fowler believed we were near the first island, so we shortened sail, and waited for the day. AT daybreak we found ourselves within sight of

ARORAE (Hurd Island) in lat. 2°36' S., and long. 177° E. This island is from three to four miles long. At one end it is not more than half a mile across, at the other end it appeared from the ship to be a mile and a half broad. I was told there is a small lagoon at the wider end, but I had no time to visit it. From the number of houses, which are almost continuous for two and a half or three miles, one would suppose the population to be very great, but we only saw about four hundred, although we walked nearly the whole length over which the villages extended. The small number of people in comparison with the number of houses was soon accounted for: they had been taken away by, what the natives themselves described as, "the men stealing vessels." We could not find out the number who had been "stolen;" but some said, there wre "many taken, and few remaining." When we landed, we found the people armed with knives and hatchets, while one man shouldered an old firelock, and had a revolver stuck in his belt. Our vessel was at first supposed to be a "man stealing ship," and the poor creatures had determined to defend themselves against their *civilized* assailants. As we were approaching the shore in our boat a canoe met us, and we informed the men of the object of our visit. One of them had been to a Christian island, and knew there was no harm to fear from a missionary ship; so the canoe preceded our boat to the shore, and carried the news of our peaceful and friendly intentions.

On reaching the beach we were met by a number of men perfectly naked. The man with the fire-arms, and two or three others, were the only men who had a particle of

1 Ed. note: Nui, or Eeg, Island, a part of Tuvalu where people speak Gilbertese.

clothing upon them, except that, in a few instances, a hat of home manufacture and of very good quality, seemed amply sufficient, in their owners' estimation, for use or decency. The women and girls all wore short girdles made of leaves. The people amongst whom we landed received us gladly. They readily assented to our request that they would receive a teacher, so the boat returned to the ship for Leleifoty and his wife whom I had appointed to remain here. Meanwhile Kirisome (my interpreter) and I walked two miles or more to a large house, where public assemblies are held, in order that we might explain to the whole population the object of our visit. I explained the difference between the **John Williams** and the ships they feared, told them we had come to bring a teacher who would tell them about the one true God who made them, and teach them how to be happy here and hereafter. Three men got up at once to reply. They all spoke together and assented to what I had proposed. It was a most ludicrous sight: three naked men standing in the midst of a naked congregation talking as fast as they possibly could, and accompanying their speeches with the most uncouth antics imaginable, in order to signify their joy. The whole audience gave assent to the utterances of the speakers by sundry gesticulations, and by repeating the end of the sentences after the spokesmen.

It was settled that the teacher should live in a central position on the island, and that all the people should commence next day to build him a house. They also arranged a plan for supplying him regularly with food. The latter arrangement gave me great satisfaction, for the island was suffering from drought at the time of our visit, and consequent shortness of food. The cocoa-nuts and pandanus trees looked very dry and unproductive, and these are the staple articles of consumption. Every thing was settled to my complete satisfaction, and the teacher and his wife entered hopefully upon their work.

Every few yards, as we walked, we came in contact with some evidence of the idolatry of the people in the shape of a stone set up on end, surrounded by a square or circle of large stones four or five feet in diameter. Nearly every house possesses a god of the kind, either inside, or close beside it. Offerings of cocoa-nut and pandanus lay before the upright stone within the enclosure. Most of the people seemed unwilling to talk about their gods, but others said they did not care for them now, they were of no use. I shall have more to say of the heathen worship in the group after I have described my visit to other islands.

TAMANA (Rotch Island) in lat. 2°36' S. and long. 176°7' E., was the next island at which we called. It is not more than two and a half or three miles long and from one to two miles wide. There is no lagoon. The island is well supplied with cocoa-nut palms and pandanus; and although it was suffering from drought when we were there, there seemed to be no lack of food. Good water is procured in abundance by sinking wells in the centre of the island. Many of the people were away working at their plantations when we were there; but I estimated the number of those we saw at about six hundred. All the males were naked, as on Arorae. We found a very bitter feeling existing against "men stealing vessels," and especially against those from Tahiti. As we were approach-

ing the land early in the morning, several fishing canoes came to the ship. The men in one of them saw Sunday on board and at once went ashore and spread a report that the **John Williams** was the "man stealing ship" from Tahiti. At this there was a great stir amongst the people, and they armed themselves with every kind of weapon they could find. Other fishing canoes came near enough to the vessel to be spoken to, and the people in them soon recognized their countrymen whom we had brought from Nui. Hearing their explanation of the reason of our visit, they were speedily satisfied that our intentions were peaceful, and were soon on deck. We went ashore at 7:30 a.m. and found the whole island under arms in consequence of the report of the first canoe which had gone ashore; but explanations were soon made, and we were welcomed. I could not help thinking, that without Kirisome and the Christian natives who had come with him, I should have been placed in very great peril. The people on the island have made up their minds to fight the next time the Tahiti vessel goes to their island. And who could wonder if they were to commit some outrage upon the crews of other vessels which were innocent of all ill intentions? The Tamana people reported to me that less than a year ago a party from a vessel landed on the island, fired upon the natives, killing four of them, and forced a large number (they said over one hundred) into their boats. From what I know of South Sea Island natives I believe nearly all the outrages committed by them upon the crews of vessels, have, directly or indirectly, been the results of cruelty practised by foreigners upon the natives. Why was John Williams massacred on Eromanga? Because the natives were exasperated at the cruelties of sandal-wood traders, and were determined to take vengeance on the first white man they came in contact with. Had I not been accompanied by Christian natives of TAMANA who told the people why I had gone to visit them, I might have paid with my life for the cruelty of these modern slavers.

Soon after we went ashore a meeting was convened in the large house where all public assemblies are held. All appeared very glad to get a teacher: and one reason they gave for their joy was, that they would be protected against "men stealing ships." One man had been on board a whaling vessel some years ago; he was dressed, and spoke broken English. He wished me to send Sunday ashore that they might kill him, because he was one of the party in the Tahiti vessel which shot down their people last year. I told him we were men of peace, our vessel was a ship of peace, and I would not allow Sunday to fall into their power. I also told him that Sunday wanted to be a good man now. He was very sceptical on that point, saying emphatically, "Sunday bad man. He no be good. He *very* bad. No *can* be good." There was no use in arguing with him, so I merely told him I would keep Sunday on board and take him home to Peru [Beru]. He replied, "all right;" but soon added, "You no go Peru with Sunday. Peru man kill Sunday. He kill you too. No, no, you no go eru. Sunday, he kill great many men;" and gathering his hands full of small stones, he continued "he kill so many, Peru man, Onoatoa man, many man." I told him we would be cautious, and he said, "you go Peru; you throw Sunday on reef (accompanying his words with an expressive action) you

back quick to ship, lest Peru man kill you too." As long as we remained on the island he continued to warn me.

During the meeting, this man put a great many highly amusing questions to me. One was what country I was from. When I replied, Britain, he said with evident satisfaction, "very good." This he explained to the assembly, and all eyes were at once fixed on me with an expression of pleasure. I felt on that little island, amidst those naked heathen, that there was a power in the very name of an Englishman; and my regret was that so many of our countrymen are so unworthy of the name they bear, and of the confidence which that name inspires in the breasts of these poor simple islanders. My interrogator then asked, "Victoria your king?" On my replying yes, he said, "very good, *e lelei, e atau*;" (These words are English, SAMOAN, and Tamana for the same thing) and a chorus of voices joined in "*E atau, e atau, e atau*." The principal priest asked, whether they would die if they threw away their gods, and worshipped Jehovah? When Kirisome told him that their gods were powerless and Jehovah was the only true God, he said, "very well we will throw away our gods, they are of no use."

I arranged that Kirisome should remain on the island for a few months, and that he should return to Nui about next May in one of the trading vessels which are amongst the islands at that season. When he leaves, he will commit the work to the native Christians who came with him from Nui, who will carry it on till the arrival of a Samoan teacher by the **John Williams** on her next visit.

As I wished to have the services of Kirisome as interpreter at the other islands, we took him on with us in the vessel, but left his wife and family with the natives who had accompanied them from Nui.

There are three European traders living on Tamana. We saw two of them, and they appeared very glad to have a Christian teacher landed on the island. These two were also glad to receive a Bible each from Captain Fowler. Unfortunately our stock of other books was already exhausted, or they would have been thankful for something to occupy their weary hours in this isolated place.

ONOATOA [sic] (Francis Island) in lat. 1°45' S. and long. 175°44' E. was sighted before dark on the same day (Oct. 19th,) and we were of one end of it early next morning. This is an atoll, with a number of islands partially surrounding a lagoon eight or ten miles across. Besides this large lagoon there are several small shallow lagoons in various parts of the larger islands. Where we landed there was very little soil. The coconut and pandanus trees grow out of the sand, but on other parts there is more soil, and the people said they had plenty of food. When we were there, they had been several months without rain, and the vegetation was very much parched up.

We had been warned not to venture too boldly into the power of the natives of this island. They were reported to be very treacherous to crews of vessels calling. We knew also that our Peru man, Sunday, had been engaged in war with them a few years since, and that he had assisted in taking off natives to Tahiti less than two years ago. I received the following account of the taking off of these natives from Sunday, and I think

his account may be depended on. I tested the truthfulness of it as far as my previous knowledge of the affair would allow me, and found his statements to agree with other independent statements.

[Labor trader at Onotoa, about June 1868]

A vessel which Sunday said was from Fiji, but which I have heard came from Melbourne via Fiji, called at Onotoa, and a great many natives went on board. They were well treated, and soon the deck was crowded. A cask of tobacco was placed on the deck near to the main hatch, which was uncovered. A man was stationed at the tobacco cask throwing the figs amongst the crowd, and all were pressing round to get a share of the spoils. While this was going on, the crew of the vessel stationed themselves on either side of the crowd, and, upon a signal from the master, closed in upon the poor unsuspecting natives, throwing them pell-mell into the hold through the main hatchway. I cannot speak positively as to the number thus entrapped, but Sunday said he believed there were more than a hundred. But hear the sequel. That vessel soon after ran short of provisions, and falling in with a schooner from Tahiti seeking natives, the kidnapped party was put aboard that vessel to be conveyed to Tahiti. While she was off Peru (about forty miles distant) the natives began quarrelling with the crew, and were rapidly getting the better hand over them. Sunday told me, he was aft near the wheel with the mate when the fighting commenced forward, and that the mate, seeing matters becoming desperate, rushed down the companion ladder into the hold, and fired a cask of gunpowder in the fore hold, blowing up the deck. The results are well known. The master and several of the ship's company, besides many natives, either fell in the fight, or were killed by the explosion. The natives who were uninjured jumped overboard and made for the land, which appears to have been three or four miles distant. The mate, Sunday, and some of the crew escaped, and they took the schooner to Tahiti for repairs.

When we approached the island, we saw a number of people watching us from the beach, but for some time no canoe came off, and we were afraid we should have some difficulty in communicating with them. The Samoan teachers were alarmed by the reports we had heard at Tamana, and were anxious that I would not venture to land till we knew what kind of a reception we might meet with. Two of them came to me with a request, that I would allow *them* to go ashore first without any white people in the boat. The reason they gave for this wish was very humiliating to those possessing a white skin. It was, that the natives of Onotoa had reason to fear the whites who had stolen away their fellow islanders, and that, if they saw only Polynesians in the boat, they would most likely allow them to land and explain to them the object of our visit without molestation; whereas they might attack us if they saw a white face. While we were deliberating as to what we should do, a canoe was launched from the beach with three men in it, and we waited till they came up. As soon as they were within hailing distance, Kirisome began to talk to them in their own tongue, and told them the **John Williams** was neither a trader nor a man stealer, but a missionary ship. This gave them a little confidence, and they ventured alongside. They then told us that missionaries were liv-

ing on the island, and we concluded that the American Mission from the Sandwich islands had reached thus far south. But when questioned as to what missionaries were on the island, their replies were evasive and contradictory. It was a long time before we could induce our visitors to come on board, and when they did they trembled with fear. We at length convinced them of our good intentions, and proposed to go ashore with them to see the missionaries. To this they consented, and one of the three came into our boat to pilot us over the reef. As we were going towards the shore, this man confessed that there were no missionaries on the island, but that they had told us there were, because they thought our vessel was a man stealing ship and *we would leave them unmolested, if we knew the island was occupied by missionaries*. I noticed this feeling on other islands, and I am convinced that a desire for protection from the kidnappers is one reason why our teachers were so gladly received on these heathen islands. A report of what missionaries are doing had spread throughout the group, either from the American Mission in the north, or our own Mission in the south; and we had but to prove ourselves *bona fide* missionaries to secure a good reception. Thus, although the doings of the kidnappers made it somewhat difficult for us to gain the confidence of the islanders, they facilitated our work as soon as we had gained their confidence.

When we reached the reef a number of people came to meet us, and they all manifested the greatest joy. We were conducted to the large house of public assembly. Here our request to leave a teacher met with the approval of young and old, and the house in which we were assembled was given as his residence. They wished me to leave three teachers, as there are two other villages on the island, besides the one at which we landed. But I had only two left, and could only leave one this year, with a promise of two more next year for the other villages.

I found we had landed at the smallest village of the three, the one which had suffered most from the depredations of the "men stealing ships," and the only village which was then professedly heathen. The number of people we saw would amount to from two hundred to three hundred, and they say more have been taken away than those who are left. The other two villages are reported to be much larger, and they had both left off the worship of their old gods before our arrival, and were waiting for missionaries. I instructed Sumeo, the teacher whom I left here, to do what he can for the whole island for a year, and wait till the return of the **John Williams** for helpers in the work. Having seen the teacher, his wife, and children, safely ashore amongst the rejoicing people, and commended them to the care of God, we left Onoatoa in the afternoon, and stood for the last island in the group at which we intended to call.

PERU [Beru], in lat. 1°28' S., and long. 176° E., was in sight early the next morning. This is an island several miles long and varying from half a mile to a mile or more wide. I only inspected one end of it during a walk of from two to three miles. It is not an atoll like most of the islands we visited, but there are several shallow lagoons in it, some very small, surrounded by the land, and dry at low tide, others larger and open on one side to the reef which runs round the island. The island itself is formed of successive ridges

of sand, broken coral, and shells. These ridges are most of them from thirty to fifty feet across, and the hollows formed between them are generally from four to six feet in depth. For some distance, at that end of the island which I examined, they run across, and in the middle they run parallel with the sides of the island. The whole extent examined presented the same appearance, and the ridges were so regular that they gave one the idea of being artificially formed. The waves must exert a mighty force during heavy weather to form these extensive ridges. There is little doubt but each ridge is the result of a single storm. I have already referred, in the notice of Atafu in the Tokelau group, to a similar ridge of smaller dimensions which was thrown up during the present year; and I have seen several small islands of broken coral and shells, which were formed on the reefs in SAMOa, during a hurricane of a few hours duration.

[The pandanus fruit]

The productions of Peru are in every respect similar to those of other islands in the group. The natives appear to value the pandanus even more than the cocoa-nut palm. They consume immense quantities of the fruit raw, and the variety which they cultivate in the Gilbert group, (which is much superior to that found in the Ellice Islands, and immeasurably superior to the kind cultivated in Samoa) produces a very palatable fruit. The women prepare a kind of cake by baking the fruit till it becomes soft; they then pound a large number together in a fine mat, and spread the prepared pulp in cakes two or three feet wide by six or eight long, and one-sixth of an inch thick. The whole is then dried in the sun, and made into a roll like an ancient manuscript. This keeps for a length of time, and tastes something like old dates.

[Gilbertese weapons]

I was sorry to find the natives very proficient in the preparation of "toddy" from the cocoa-nut palm. I saw one man on Arorae intoxicated with it; and the evil effects which it produces were very evident in Peru, in the terrible scars which covered the bodies of nearly all the male population, and some of the women. The people informed us that when they are drunk, they make very light of inflicting the most fearful wounds upon their persons with the sharks' teeth knives, (or rather saws) so common amongst them. We saw some men with nearly 20 scars on their bodies, and one man had one long scar extending from his right shoulder in an oblique direction across his back terminating in his left hip. They also wound themselves in this manner under the influence of grief, pain, disappointment, or vexation. We nearly had an exhibition of this folly before our own eyes. I employed my interpreter to barter with cloth, shirts, fishhooks, &c., for some of their sharks' teeth spears and knives. ONE man brought a knife, which my interpreter refused to purchase, on the ground that I had sufficient. The man was ashamed to have his knife rejected in presence of a number of people while those brought by others were taken. He turned aside and was about to draw the knife across the fleshy part of his arm, when the interpreter held his hand, and took the knife.

In making these knives, they form a piece of wood of the cocoa-nut palm into the shape desired, then cut two or more grooves down the sides, into which sharks' teeth, with a fine hole drilled through their centre, are set close together. The teeth are fastened by means of a fine strong string which is passed through the hole in the teeth and wound tightly round the wood. As these teeth are set to incline in opposite directions, like the teeth of a saw, they make fearful wounds, which leave unsightly scars. Another manufacture worthy of being noted is a very singular suit of defensive armour, consisting of corselet, trousers, armlets and cap, all made of cocoa-nut fibre. The corselet is a very fine piece of workmanship.

When we reached Peru early in the morning, we took the precaution to hide Sunday, and waited on board till a canoe came off to us. Two men were in the canoe, and they were evidently suspicious of our intentions towards them. Kirisome, my interpreter, commenced a conversation with them, as soon as they were near enough to hear; and by telling them our's was a missionary ship, they were induced to come alongside. One man was perfectly naked and the other had a small piece of cloth around his loins. The Captain passed a fathom of calico over the side, and made a sign to the naked man to wrap it around himself. As soon as the man, who had an old piece of cloth saw this, he took it off and hid it in the bow of the canoe in order that he might get a new piece. After a little conversation with them, Kirisome asked them if they knew anything about Sunday. They replied, that a ship from Tahiti had been there a few days before and the people on board told them he was dead. He then told them that Sunday was not dead, but that he had been left by the Tahitian vessel at another island where we had found him, and that we had taken compassion on him and brought him back to his home. Kirisome also took care to explain that Sunday wished to reform and had asked for a missionary. Noticing by their countenances, when they received the intelligence, that we had nothing to fear from them, I called Sunday to come out of his hiding place and talk to his countrymen. He was warmly embraced by them, and then we found they were his relatives. He is a bold man, and when I told him he must hide on approaching Peru, he told me he was ashamed to do so, lest he should be thought a coward. He assured me there was nothing to fear, and he was quite willing to risk any danger rather than hide. But when it was explained, that our vessel might be taken for a slaver, and the success of our mission to the island endangered, if he did not keep out of sight till we could communicate with the people, he submitted.

We very soon went ashore with Sunday and the teacher, when we found out there was hope of a good reception. The canoe preceded us, and soon a number of people congregated on the reef to receive us. It was Sunday's village at which we landed, and nearly all the people rushed to embrace him, giving him quite an ovation. We were conducted to a house where we sat down in the midst of the naked islanders to the number of two hundred. Sunday gave an account of our kindness to him in bringing him home, when he had been cast off by the Tahitian vessel, and of all he had seen and heard of religion on board the religion ship, and at the islands we had visited. He also told the people we had brought a teacher for them. He was listened to with breathless inter-

est, and when he asked if they would receive the teacher, they all gave a hearty assent. As Sunday was speaking, Kirisome interpreted his words to me, and I was delighted to find how much he had learned of the Gospel. He urged his countrymen to cast off the worship of their gods, who could neither do them good nor harm, and to worship the one true God who made them, and who preserves them, and bestows upon them all they possess, and who loves them and wishes to do them good.

Amongst other things, he tol them of our fear lest they should attack us, mistaking our vessel for a kidnapper. At this a hearty laugh burst from them all, and they said, "True enough they thought our vessel a "man stealer," and *they* feared us, Ist we should go ashore and fire upon them; but they didn't think *we* should be afraid of them." It appeared to be an excellent joke for them.

After the meeting at the village at which we landed, we were invited to go to another village, between two and three miles distant, in order to meet with more of the natives of the island and learn their will respecting the teacher. We accordingly went thither accompanied by all those who had assembled on our landing. Sunday's brother, one of the principal men on the island and a renowned warrior, joined us, and he was greatly delighted at meeting his brother. When he made his appearance he was naked, and Sunday seemed ashamed that we should see him in that condition. So he went for a leaf girdle, such as the women wear, and put on the old warrior, who seemed much amused that *he* should be required to wear dress of any kind. I question whether he had ever before worn a particle of dress for decency's sake; he may have worn a hat for ornament. As we walked in company with the brothers, a part of their conversation was translated to me by my interpreter. The old man expressed to Sunday the satisfaction which they all felt at his return in so peaceable a manner. He told him that, while he was away, they were continually under apprehension lest he should return again in the TAHITI ship and force away more of their people. But now that he had come back with a missionary, they would live in peace. Sunday replied that he intended to remain with them and learn the new religion; that he had seen enough of the foreigners with whom he went away; and he only assisted them to procure people because he was afraid of them, for they threatened to tie him up if he did not help them to oprocure a cargo.

When we reached the village to which we had been invited, we found a large number of people assembled, and after a little conversation they were unanimous in their wish to have Elisaia, the Samoan teacher, whom I had appointed to labour here, to teach them the religion of the one God. They wanted three teachers to be stationed in three principal villages, but I had only one left, and could only give them the promise of two more next year.

When I said good-bye to Sunday, I asked him to take care of his teacher Elisaia, and help him all he could in his work. To this he replied in English, "Yes: I be missionary too." I fully believe he will; for he is evidently one of those men born to be a leader in whatever sphere he may move. In his heathen days, he has been renowned throughout the southern part of the group as a warrior, and lately as a kidnapper; and if his heart

is changed by Divine grace, I doubt not, but he will be as zealous in the good cause as he has been active in works of wickedness.

I left Peru with my heart full of gratitude to God for the way in which He had led us to the island, and for the success which had attended our visit. I could not but acknowledge the Divine Hand in the events which had led to our coming to the group. Had we been four days earlier in our visit to Quiros' Island, we should not have found Sunday there. Had I known then all I afterwards learned of his character, I certainly should never have thought of taking him home in the missionary ship. But we acted in ignorance, and God ordered all for good.

Peru was the last island in the Gilbert group which we visited. We had information from Tapeteuea, (Drummond Island,) the nearest island to Peru, that the Sandwich Island missionaries were already there. And we concluded that they had also occupied another island to the north of Drummond island, but on the south of the equator, about which we had no information. Only one other island remained, viz., Nukunau (Byron Island,) which lies considerably to the east of Peru. As this was directly to windward of us, and would have been a dead beat, and we had no teacher to leave on it when we reached it, we made no attempt to go there this year. I hope we shall be able to send teachers thither next year; then the whole of the Gilbert group will be occupied, and we shall have to look to other islands for future extension.



[The native Gilbertese religion]

Before concluding my report of this group, I will give a brief summary of the facts, which I learned at the different islands respecting the heathen worship of the natives. As soon as we landed at Arorae we saw evidence of the heathenism of the people. Nearly every house had either a small circle or a small square, fenced off with large stones stuck in the earth. In the centre of this square or circle, a large stone was placed on end, and the floor of the enclosed space was neatly spread with broken coral and fine shells. Before the upright stone the remains of pandanus fruit, pieces of cocoa-nut, and cocoa-nut palm leaves were lying. These were evidently offerings which had been made to the gods. In many cases these shrines were in the centre of the houses, in other cases they were on the outside. When walking in the bush we came across similar squares and circles, but these seemed all to be of larger dimensions. While taking a stroll in Peru, we entered a house in which was one of these shrines, and the upright stone was in this case almost covered with necklaces made from cocoa-nut palm leaves. A sick man, who was in the house, had several of the same kind on his neck. Sunday, seeing me noticing these things, told me they were charms prepared on account of the sickness of the owner of the house. And he at once began telling the sick man, that God alone was able to take away his disease, and these charms were useless.

Notwithstanding the great abundance of shrines and the stones set up, apparently as gods, the gods really worshipped by the people appear to be purely spiritual beings. In fact, the spirits of their ancestors, men of note in their past history, are deified and

worshipped. They have three principal gods, and one of the three is a great god who is superior to the other two. These gods have their dwelling places in the land of spirits, but they come to their shrines to receive the offerings and to listen to the prayers of their worshippers. In addition to these superior gods, there are many inferior gods of families and individuals; and the shrines in private houses are the places where such gods are worshipped. My information was, of course, very imperfect, as it was only collected during brief visits to the islands; but I believe the people regarded the stones, which I have spoken of, as the mere shrines where their gods come to meet with their worshippers, and not as the gods themselves.

On some of the islands there appears to be no order of priesthood. On Peru, on the other hand, their chiefs are priests. I was told there were three principal chiefs on the island, of whom Sunday's brother was one. But when I enquired what authority they exercised, I was told they communicated the will of the gods to the people, and were leaders in all the rites performed in their honour. Degraded though the people were, I was glad to find, they were not so grossly material as to worship blocks of stone as gods, without any idea of superior spiritual existences. It has often occurred to me, that we speak too much of the idols of wood and stone worshipped by heathen nations, as if they were altogether disconnected from the idea of spiritual beings of which these blocks of wood or stone are the material representatives. Our ignorance of the thoughts and feelings of the people leads us to this mistake. I believe, if we understood them better, we should find the idolatry of most heathen nations, not to be so grossly materialistic as we have imagined.

J2. Letter of Rev. Whitmee to Rev. Damon of Honolulu

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, April 1, 1871.

English or Samoan Missionaries sent to the Gilbert Islands.

The Kingsmill, or Gilbert Islands, were first occupied by American and Hawaiian missionaries in 1857. News was received a few days since, in a letter written by the Rev. S. G. Whitmee, a missionary of the London Missionary Society in Sydney, giving the information that Samoan missionaries under the London Missionary Society, had been placed on two of the southern islands of the Gilbert Group. In order to understand the facts in the case, it must be remembered that some of these are north and some south of the line, as follows:

North of the Equator.	
Makin and Butaritari (Pitt's Island)	2,000
Marakei (Matthew's Island)	1,000
Apaiang (Charlotte Island)	3,000
Tarawa (Knox, properly Knoy's Island)	3,000
Maina (Hall's Island)	3,000
Kuria (Woodle Island)	1,500
Aranuka (Henderville's Island)	1,000

Apamama (Simpson's Island)	4,000
South of the Equator.	
Nonouti (Sydenham's Island)	3,000
Taputeuwea (Drummond's Island)	6,000
Peru (Francis Island)	1,500
Nukunau (Byron's Island)	4,000
Onoatoa (Clerk's Island)	3,000
Tamana (Rotcher's [sic] Island)	2,000
Arorai (Hope Island)	1,500

Total population of the group	39,000

This is probably too high, there being perhaps not over 35,000 on the whole group. No accurate census of the whole group has been taken. About two years ago the American missionaries stationed Hawaiians on Drummond's, south of the line, although there was an understanding that the English Society should evangelize south, and Americans north of the equator. At that time it was not supposed the English would wish to occupy any part of the group, and now there is no difficulty, as the Rev. Mr. Whitmee, writing in behalf of the London Missionary Society, approves of what has been done, and sends to Honolulu for books published in the Gilbert Island dialect for the use of their native missionaries from Samoa, and a supply has already been forwarded.

Document 1871A

Elementary school children in Agaña

Source: PNA.

Elementary school—Month of January 1871

Detailed list of the number of children who have attended school at the Royal College of San Justo de Letran in this City during the present month in accordance with the directive of the P.M. Governor of these islands.

City of Agaña:

Children who attended, average of	248
Children who left school	46
Children who entered school	60
Children who pay	[blank]
Children in school on the last day of the month	313

Remarks:

1. Out of a total of 313 children, 53 can read, of these 32 can [also] write and [know] their catechism, and the rest are learning their alphabet and syllables.

2. Out of the 46 who left school, 22 passed to the second class, 2 because they reached 14 years of age, 1 died, and the rest had contagious diseases.

Agaña, 31 January 1871.

Felipe C. León Guerrero

Document 1871B

The bark John Wells, Captain Dean

Source: Log 769 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 690; Log Inv. 2646.

Note: The log-keeper, Nathaniel C. Ransom, appears to have been 3rd Mate, from internal evidence.

Extract from the logbook kept by Nathaniel C. Ransom

...

Sunday 25th [December 1870]

... Pleasant weather. Got a porpoise. My cold remains about the same. It is Christmas again & a rather dry one for me. I hope my Darling Wife will enjoy it a little better than I'm doing. I quit smoking today but do not know how long it will last.

Monday 26th

... At 12 o'clock, off Baker's Island. A boat's crew of kanakas came on board. My cold still hangs on about as bad as ever.

...

Sunday January 1st 1871

... Steering for Hopper [Aranuka] Island. Afternoon, laying off & on said island. An Englishman, Capt. of a trader, came aboard. Got 200 pounds of bread, 4-1/2 barrels beef. Captain went ashore a while. This is New Year's Day. I wonder what my darling is doing about this time.

Monday 2nd

... Steering for Hall's [Maiana] Island. Afternoon, Captain & I went ashore to trade. Got nothing but a few coconuts. A few of the natives came aboard a while... Evening, steering for Ocean [Banaba] Island.

...

Eednesday 4th

... Trying to find Ocean Island but did not make it out...

Thursday 5th

... Forenoon, laying off & on Ocean Island. Old man ashore. Got a few chickens. Afternoon, steering for Pleasant [Nauru] Island, 4 passengers aboard, a white man & 3 squaws belonging to him.

Friday 6th

... Cruising for Pleasant Island in forenoon... Afternoon, found Pleasant Island. Evening, old man ashore, natives aboard. I got a few shells for my darling wife.

Saturday 7th

Pleasant weather. Laying off & on Pleasant Island. Got off a lot of hogs & coconuts to feed themon. Got a few boatloads of wood. Old Man got about 15 barrels coconut oil. I got a mat & some small shells for mty wife.

Sunday 8th

Pleasant weather. Laying off & on Pleasant Island. Old Man got a lot of coconut oil, that's about all.

Monday 9th

... About 12 o'clock, put to sea heading about NNE...

...

Monday 16th

... Forenoon, laying off & on Strong's [Kosrae] Island. Landed 2 passengers from S[andwich] Islands. Shipped a man from said island. Afternoon, put to sea steering to Westward.

Tuesday 17th

... Evening, laying off & on McAskil [Pingelap] Island. Got a lot of chickens & ducks & some turtles.

Wednesday 18th

... Morning, laying off & on McAskil Island. About 10 o'clock a.m., steering to Westward in company with **William Rotch**. Old Man aboard of her. Evening, luffed to under short sail.

Thursday 19th

... Steering for Wellington [Mokil] Island. Afternoon, laying off & on said island. Old Man ashore. I got a few shells for my darling wife. Stood off shore.

Friday 20th

... Morning, laying off & on Wellington Island with two beachcombers aboard. Afternoon, squared away for Ascension [Pohnpei] Island under easy sail. Had one thunder squall.

Saturday 21st

Heavy squalls, forenoon. Laying aback most of the time waiting for it to light up. Afternoon, a little more clear. Steering for Ascension Island. Evening, came to an an-

chor in Lee Harbor, furled sails, etc.

Sunday January 22nd

Rainy all day... Our passenger went aboard of **William Rotch**.

Monday 23rd

... Got a few iron [-wood] poles. I wrote a few lines.

Tuesday 24th

Good weather again today. Broke out all provisions in after hatch, stowed them anew,. Took a raft of casks ashore to get filled with fresh water. I wrote a few lines to my dar Wife.

Wednesday 25th

... 1/2 past 8 a.m., I took my boat & crew with Captain & started for one of the Weather Harbors for the purpose of Captain's doing some trading. About 3 p.m., landed.

Thursday 26th

... MORning, I went over to see Mr. Doane, the Missionary. Captain done a little trading. Afternoon, started for the ship. Evening, got aboard, smoking ship. Had to stay on deck till night.

Friday 27th

Good weather. Got off a raft of water. Ran it in hold. Got a boatload of wood, stowed it away. A lot of dirty squaws aboard as usual. I got a pack of cards off Old Man.

Saturday 28th

Pleasant weather all day. The Mate & I went off pigeon shooting. Got 40. Some of crew ashore.

Sunday 29th

Pleasant weather again today. Got off wood & water. Stowed it in hold. That's about all.

Monday 30th

Got off a lot of wood & a raft of fresh water. Stowed them in hold. I'm feeling somewhat homesick. Tired of living such a life as this.

Tuesday 31st

A rain storm most all day. Scrubbed ship outside. Got off a boatload of wood. Got

a few hogs, etc. I got tobacco.

Wednesday 1st [February] 1871

Pleasant weather all day. Painting ship outside. Got a few hogs. I expect we're about [ready] for sea. I hope so.

Thursday 2nd

Pleasant weather but very hot. Finished painting ship. Got a small raft of fresh water. Cleared up decks. Got ship ready for sea.

Friday 3rd

Fine weather. Morning, I went ashore. Sold my accordeon to King Maniken. About 8 o'clock a.m., got under way. Got anchors on bows, stowed cable below. Afternoon, got 3 boatloads of coconuts to [rather from] a small island to feed hogs on. Evening, squared yards, steering to Westward.

...

Thursday 9th

... Afternoon, came to an anchor off Cypan [Saipan] Island for the purpose of humpbacking. Saw several of the varmints. Lowered 3 boats for the,. Got nothing.

Friday 10th

Pleasant weather. 4 boats humpbacking. Saw very few going fast. Showed no chance to strike. Old Man got a few sweet potatoes off Spanish chaps.

February Saturday 11th

Beautiful weather. 4 boats off. Saw a few whales, very shy. Old Man ashore trading for himself. I went ashore on a small island [i.e. Mañagaha] to get some eggs. Found plenty of them but they were about all live ones. So much today.

Sunday 12nd

Pleasant weather. Old Man ashore trading for himself. 3 boats whaling. 4th Mate got off some sweet potatoes & some lemons.

Monday 13th

Fine weather. Chasing humpbacks, 3 boats of us. Find them very shy & got a few more sweet potatoes. Barque **Minerva**, Capt. Allen, came to an anchor here for the purpose of whaling.

Tuesday 14th

Nice weather again. Chased a few shy humpbacks. Captain Allen aboard all afternoon.

Wednesday 15th

Pleasant weather. I darted at a humpback. Did not get him. Afternoon, got under way in company with Bark **Minerva** bound to Pelose [Palau] Island humpbacking. Steering to S. Westward.

...

Saturday 18th

Fine weather. Old Man on board Bark **Minerva**. Mate of **Minerva** aboard **John Wells**. Fore part, steering SW. Afternoon, course SW by S. Evening, gamming broke up.

Sunday 19th

... Forenoon, passed a chain of islands inhabited by wild umbies¹...

...

Tuesday 21st

... Steering for Pelew Islands... Evening, laying off & on Pelew Islands.

Wednesday 22nd

... MOrning, got all ready to anchor, anchors off bows, etc. when some of the natives of Pelew Islands came aboard. Told us there never was seen a humpback anywhere about or around the Pelew Islands. So, we found ourselves nicely fooled by coming down here. Afternoon, got anchors on bows again. PUt to sea with our fore topmast carried away.

...

Tuesday 28th

... I made some new covers for my line tubs. ONe sail in sight.

...

Saturday 4th [March]

... Afternoon, one of the boatsteereers fell overboard. We lowered a boat, saved him...

...

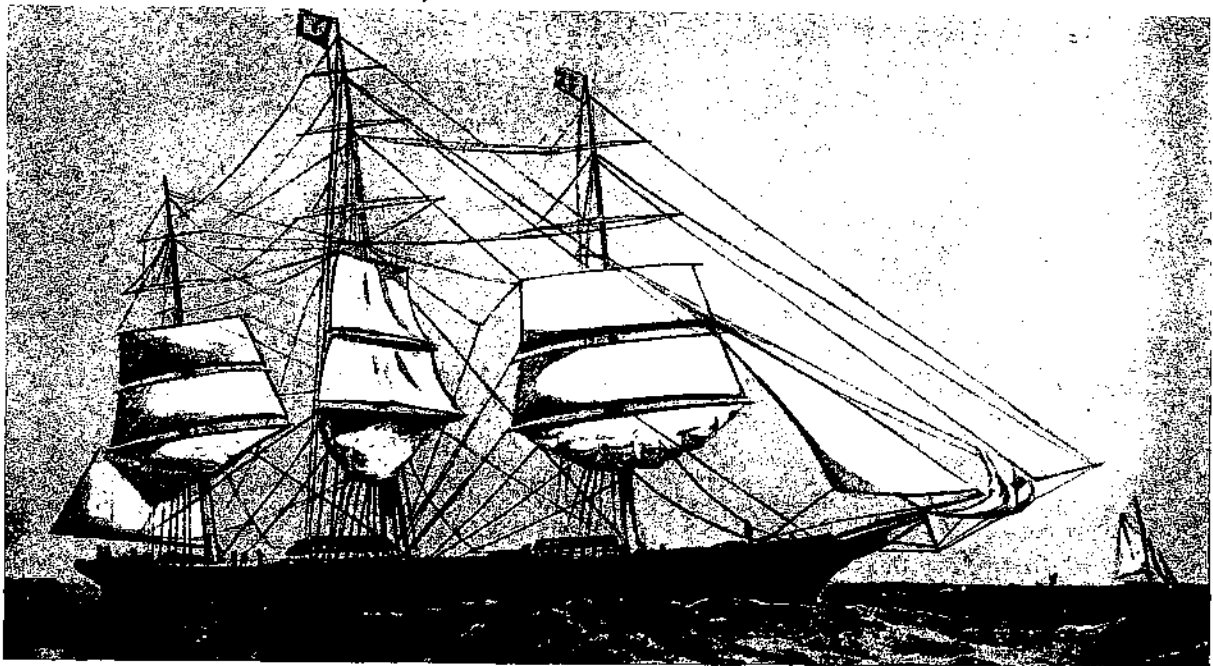
Wednesday 8th

... 2 small islands in sight... [i.e. northern Marianas].

...

[After returning north, the bark went whaling around the Bonins, where they met the whaling ship J. D. Thomson, etc.]

1 Ed. note: Rather umbies, a slang word meaning 'bums.'



Norman Court, Captain Andrew Shewan.

Document 1871C

The clipper **Norman Court** visited Nauru

Source: Andrew Shewman. The Great Days of Sail. Some Reminiscences of a Tea-Clipper Captain (1927).

Note: Andrew Shewman was Chief Mate at the time, in 1871, while his father was captain. He later became captain of this clipper.

Extract from the book

...

Chapter XII Nauru or Pleasant Island

The traverses one made in a sailing-ship were very different from those of steamers nowadays. The winds then, of course, were the deciding factor. Coasts and islands in consequence usually considered very much out of the way were then on the ordinary track of vessels. Since the disappearance of clipper-ships many of them have again sunk into obscurity, but others have proved of commercial value or strategic importance and have taken their place in the world of overseas trade.

In the **Cha-sze** and **Black Prince** I had become acquainted with most of the better- and many of the lesser-known routes of the East Indies and elsewhere, but one of the most out-of-the-way places I visited was in the **Norman Court** in 1871.

That was Nauru or Pleasant Island, lying almost on the Equator in the Pacific, remote and lonely between the island groups known collectively as Micronesia and Melanesia. I was chief mate of the **Norman Court** at the time; we were making a passage from London to Shanghai and racing against the well-known clipper **Sir Lancelot**, which had distinguished itself as having made the record passage home from Foochow to London with new teas in 1869. The **Sir Lancelot** had left London some twelve days before us, also for Shanghai, and as we had no hope of making up this time against such a flyer, our only chance was by taking a different route.

There were three routes (at this season of adverse monsoon) open for China-bound ships from Europe. One was by the Straits of Sunda—with a hard beat to windward up the China Sea. The second was by the Straits of Timor, thence through the Eastern Archipelago (to the north-west of Australia) and into the North Pacific by Gilolo or Dampier Straits, north-west of New Guinea, and thence north by the Loochoo Islands

into the Yellow Sea and Shanghai. This saved the beat to windward, but was a much longer route than the first, and there was a chance of a calm spell about Timor.

The third route was of greater distance still and was not often adopted, though one was reasonably certain of fair winds (and quite enough of them) all the way from the Cape of Good Hope to Shanghai. This route was to circumnavigate Australia, either round the South Cape of Tasmania, thence via Norfolk Island, and, sailing north between the Fijis and New Hebrides in about 170° E., strike to the north-west by Pleasant Island. Having crossed the Equator, one sailed north of the Carolines and, passing through the Ladrões [Marianas], fetched into Shanghai through the Loochoos.

We had adopted the "long trail" and had had good luck...

We had left the Downs on Christmas morning, 1870—our decks covered with snow; it was the year the Germans lay around the forts of Paris—and had a fine run down Channel...

...
We sighted Norfolk Island on the 8th of March, and, as I have said, sighted Pleasant Island on the Equator on the 22nd of March.

We came upon the island suddenly. We had shaped a course for it as it proved that we should be in the latitude of it just about the time when it would be possible to get a good "sight" of the sun for longitude, but in those days one could never be quite sure of the chronometers. WE had no ambition to have intercourse with the natives, as, according to the "Pacific Discovery," these gentlemen did not bear a very good name. They had vague ideas of the sacredness of property. It was very seldom that any ships touched at the island save American whalers, who called occasionally to refresh their crews, keeping good watch and ward the while.

On the day in question I was roused from my forenoon sleep by the firing off of our regulation muskets—evidently the old man was preparing for action—and a boy brought a message for me to shake off dull sloth and get forward to take in the stunsails, as we were about to back the main-yard—to receive the "King of the Cannibal Islands," so the youth asserted.

As responsible officer in charge of some 1,500 tons of valuable cargo—a large portion of which was composed of eatables and drinkables, just the right sauce to accompany the tough old salts composing our crew should they be served up at the royal table—I did not view the captain's preparation with entire composure. But he laughed at my caution and asserted that he had had dealings with South Sea Islanders before I was born.

We were still some three or four miles to the south-westward of the island when our first visitor, in a smart whaleboat, lay right across our track, making it necessary for me to haul down the stunsails and lay the ship to. But I left myself a loophole of safety—by keeping the main-yard well on the square so that the ship's way would not be altogether deadened, and a touch on the wheel would set the clipper going through the water. The whaleboat came alongside, and the steersman, a villainous-looking, red-bearded white man, came on deck. The crew were some six or seven strapping Kana-

kas. They had a few very well-made coir mats, some coco-nuts, etc., for barter, and required in exchange some powder, tobacco and biscuits.

While their leader was below with the old man, bargaining and discussing a “four-finger” of rum, we notices about half a dozen great canoes coming along, each of them being manned by about a dozen paddlers. Before the first canoe came alongside, the “Pirate,” as we called him, was putting his acquisitions into the whaleboat. He seemed very satisfied with them, especially the flask of powder. As a matter of fact, as the captain had not seen the others approaching, the first comer had got the cream of what we could spare, and he seemed in a great hurry to get ashore with it. He had scored owing to his possession of more up-to-date transport. The whaleboat was a little beauty and had been obtained from an American whaler which had touched at the island.

One of the big canoes got alongside as he left, and he passed the time of day with the “boss” thereof, who proved to be another white man, hailing from another village somewhat farther to the west. This “boss” was a man of about sixty, answering to the name of Harris and known among the rest as “King” of Pleasant Island. He also was on the look-out for stores. He himself informed us that his brother had been Mayor of Plymouth, and from others we learnt that he had reached his present kingdom by way of Botany Bay or Norfolk Island. His had been a free passage out from England, the home authorities deeming that the Mother Country would be a happier place without him. However, he had given Norfolk Island the slip on board a whaler and so had reached Nauru. Possibly most of the other white men—of whom there were at least six on shore—had gone through the same experience.

As the red-bearded man in the whaleboat was pulling off, another canoe hked on to our fore-rigging and sheered alongside. I had, as I said, kept the main topsail on the shiver, as I did not feel so confident about the good faith of these savages as my father did, and the ship was then ranging through the water at some four knots or so.

By the way in which the man in charge of the second canoe, a half-caste, was manœuvering, the “Pirate” realized there was some danger to his whaleboat. He roared out some orders in Kanaka, but, whatever they were, they could not be carried out owing to our way through the water. It was not quite clear how it happened, perhaps the head-rope of the canoe got under the bows of the whaleboat, but she heeled over and filled with water. When I looked over the side there she was, floating astern, full to the gunwale, with the crew overside clinging on.

The “Pirate,” with his red beard showing above the boat’s sternpost, was spouting salt water and profanity. When he had recovered breath sufficiently, he shook his fist at the half-caste and roared out: “Hold on, you something son of something else, wait till I get you ashore!” I shivered to think what the poor man’s fate might be: he looked desperately scared, and “Redhead” was a typical bully.

Yet there was some excuse for the “Pirate’s” wrath—his biscuits, flour and flask of powder were all under water. The last would no doubt be the greatest loss. The crew soon managed to get into the whaleboat again. They bore down one side of the boat into the water until the other gunwale was a foot or so above the surface. Then they let

go simultaneously and the boat righted quickly and evenly, and at the same time was freed of about six inches of water. Thereafter they scooped the water out with their hands until one man was able to get into the stern sheets and throw it out. In less than five minutes they had emptied their craft of water as of everything else, and then made sail for home—probably to make ready for revenge.

The half-caste turned out to be King Harris' eldest son—there were about a hundred other princes we were told—and the pair seemed concerned about the "Pirate's" menaces. The first question King Harris asked the captain when he came on board was "What day of the week do you make it?" "Saturday," father replied. "So I told them," rasped the King, "but the silly beggars would have it it was Sunday." They had lost their reckoning and no ship had touched there for some time to put them right.

By this time the deck was fairly full of natives, mostly tall, strapping fellows. They were really fine specimens of humanity, and each man carried a long knife stuck in a belt round the waist. Each one of them had some little thing to barter, and was most anxious to obtain tobacco, old iron and bottles from the crew in exchange for their coco-nuts and trifling curios. I did not like those long knives, though I was somewhat reassured by the presence of two English sailors. They were decent-looking young fellows who had left an Australian barque and stayed on the island, where they had now been settled about eighteen months. They assured me that the natives did not contemplate mischief. I had told off two or three apprentices and others to keep a kind of guard with muskets, and had served out cutlasses to the men, advising them to keep them out of sight, but they were not required, and everything went off smoothly. The only memento I brought away from Nauru was a kind of wooden sword, the cutting part of which consisted of sharks' teeth tied on the blade with coir thread.

We offered the two Englishmen a passage to China should they wish to leave the island. They declined with thanks, saying they were not tired of the life yet. They were both married, very much married, and one of them introduced me to one of his fathers-in-law. These white men lived at different villages, and were convenient to the headmen in trading with whalers and other passing ships. The two sailormen I spoke to said they had nothing to do but amuse themselves, their wives finding all necessary provisions. They said that their side of the island, the south, was at war with the other side, but this did not trouble the white men apparently. The captain was quite delighted with the appearance of the land, and old Harris cordially invited him to come on ashore. Said the former: "Had I my wife with me I think I might have had a stroll ashore," meaning had he been voyaging leisurely, as men do who carry wives with them to sea. But old Harris quite misunderstood him. "Oh, don't let that stop you," said he, and gave as to understand that the more influential of the inhabitants of Nauru had any number of wives to spare.

However, I called our old man's remembrance to the **Sir Lancelot**, and he told old Harris that he would have to say good-bye. There had been one boat alongside manned entirely by "girls." These I sternly forbade to come on board, placing a reluctant guard with a couple of muskets to ensure obedience to my edict. I thought it risky enough to

have some forty or fifty six-foot "Adams" knocking about our deck, but I drew the line at "Eves" with their blandishments to complicate matters. They tried hard to soften my resolution and made faces at me, which, I believe, were intended as love signals, but I hardened my heart.

Then an event happened which made me act promptly. One of our men had had some dispute with a huge native over some bartering. Knives were drawn on both sides, and I think the native got an accidental scratch. The carpenter, who was in charge of the musketry, called my attention to this, and I determined to end the "market" Old Harris was in his boat; so I beckoned the man at the wheel to put the helm up, and very soon the canoes were streaming astern and straining in their head-ropes. I gave all warning and cut away the women's boat first, and also put my knife quickly through the others' ropes. As our sails were filling, most of the Kanakas jumped overboard or into their boats—they did not trouble which—though some hung on board pleading for more bottles, biscuits or tobacco, not seeming to care that their canoes were drifting rapidly astern. The steward brought up a few remaining beer bottles, which were distributed, and the last of our visitors reluctantly left.

The ship was now trimmed on her course and travelling some eight knots. But these men did not worry; they held the biscuits or whatever else it was they had acquired high above their heads with one hand, while with the other they let themselves drop gently from the after bumpkins into the water. Then they gave a stroke to clear themselves of the eddies of the wake, and literally walked away after their canoes. They were breast-high clear of the water, holding their treasures dry, and paddling quite leisurely towards their friends. I did not observe any sharks about, and it is possible the long knives were carried for the benefit of those enemies.

We were just bending on our topmast stunsail when another canoe was sighted coming towards us as we rounded the west point of the island. The men in it waved furiously, and we steered towards them. It turned out to be a very small canoe with two white men in the stern and some livestock in the centre. The captain said: "These two poor devils look miserable; put in the main-yard a bit and let them come alongside."

The occupants of the canoe in their turn came on board. They hailed from a different part of the island to our previous visitors, and were the folk with whom King Harris' subjects were at war. We gave them some stores and hauled their two ugly pigs on board. These latter were striped like tigers. The boatswain called my attention to one of the natives in this boat; I never saw such a huge man in my life. We could not estimate his height as he was crouching low, but he presented a smooth back like the side of a whale. I should say he measured between four and five feet across the shoulders, while his arms and thighs were of prodigious circumference. These two white men looked altogether more miserable than those from the south side of the island, and were evidently settled amongst a poorer tribe.

As soon as we had "Dennis" safely over the rail we filled away, and running up our stunsails (we carried top-gallant and royal on fore and main), ringtail and "Jamie Green," we were once more on the track of the **Sir Lancelot**, having lost some precious

hours and secured two animals which might, by courtesy, be called pigs, but which tasted more like shark. They had evidently been brought up on the sea beach.

We had also obtained a litter of black and white puppies in the course of barter; we were told they would be good "scoff" when stuffed with coco-nut and served up "à la sucking pig." However, as they looked like fox terriers we decided to rear them. They grew into great shambling dogs and arrant cowards, so having let them pass the critical period for roasting, we gave all save one decent burial. The survivor we presented to a Chinese comprador, making him swear by the "hook block" that he would keep it for our sakes until it died of old age, calculating that by that time it would have eaten him out of house and home. But we heard a few days later that the ".Nauru pup" had figured as the principal dish at the obsequies of the said Chinaman's oldest wife. Whether the animal was sacrificed to do honour to the wife, or the wife was made away with to save the dog fleh, I cannot say.

So we left Nauru, for in 1871 no one, least of all King Harris himself, had any idea that Pleasant Island held £100,000,000 worth of phosphate rock.

Document 1871D

The shipwreck of the barque *Corypheus*, Captain Potter, at Ailuk

Source: Otto Eisenhart. "Acht monate unter den eingeborenen auf Ailu (Marschall-Gruppe)" in Aus Allen Weltheilen, vol. 19 (1888), pp. 207-8, 223-6, 250-2.

Notes: The Australian barque Corypheus, Capt. R. G. Rae, was trading between Melbourne and China, until grounded on a reef at Ailuk Atoll in the Marshall Islands in 1871. Most of the crew sailed 3,000 miles in two boats to Rochampton, Queensland, in 1872. The following translation is a loose one, based on that in HRAF (MCF OR-11 in LC), part of which was retained in Translation No. 1101 in the UH Pacific Collection.

The narrative of Otto Eisenhart

Eight Months Among the Natives on Ailu (Marshall Group)

Christmas among Cannibals. Episodes of my Travels.—By a Seaman of South Germany.

We arrived [in Australia] with the English bark *Corypheus*, loaded with a cargo of silk, tea and ivory from Hong Kong. On 23 August 1871, a short time after we had resumed our voyage [back to Hong Kong], as we approached the latitude of 9° north of the equator, the until now favorable wind began to subside, and only a light gentle breeze filled our topsails just enough to enable us to keep some control over the ship. So, there we stayed, until midnight, with the sails hanging loosely from their yards, except for the topsails. After the bell had been struck to change the watch, those who remained awake began to hear a faint whisper that gradually became louder as the breeze was approaching; soon the wind was singing through the rigging. For hours the watch had been on the lookout for such a breeze. The limp sails immediately filled. The *Corypheus* instantly obeyed and began to run before the wind—something that only a good sailer could do, when other ships would be kept 'hove to'....

Captain Potter had stood at his post since the beginning of the storm at midnight, like a general during a battle. The fore topmast had broken under the strain of the rain and wind squall, pulling down the rigging and the sails which in turn made a mess of everything. The Captain shouted: "Damn! The *Corypheus* is made up of sugar candy! Clear up, boys! There's work to do." And the boys worked until the sweat poured down their faces.

Hardly had the confusion been cleared away when the Mate reported that the rudder was damaged and, if kept in use, would certainly break under the colossal strain. Five minutes later the **Corypheus** was driven relentlessly toward land by the wind. Both Captain and crew were aware of the danger and they could be excused if their faces turned pale at the prospect. Unfortunately for us, the islands were shown on the chart only as dots, with vague positions. Suddenly, at about 4:30 a.m., there was a terrible crash, then we sat on a coral reef. This spot was 1/2 mile from the nearest land.

The first thing the Captain did was call the Steward and asked for some rum to be passed around.

...
The ship and cargo were seen to be lost. We could only think about saving our bare lives and there was little enough hope of saving those ...

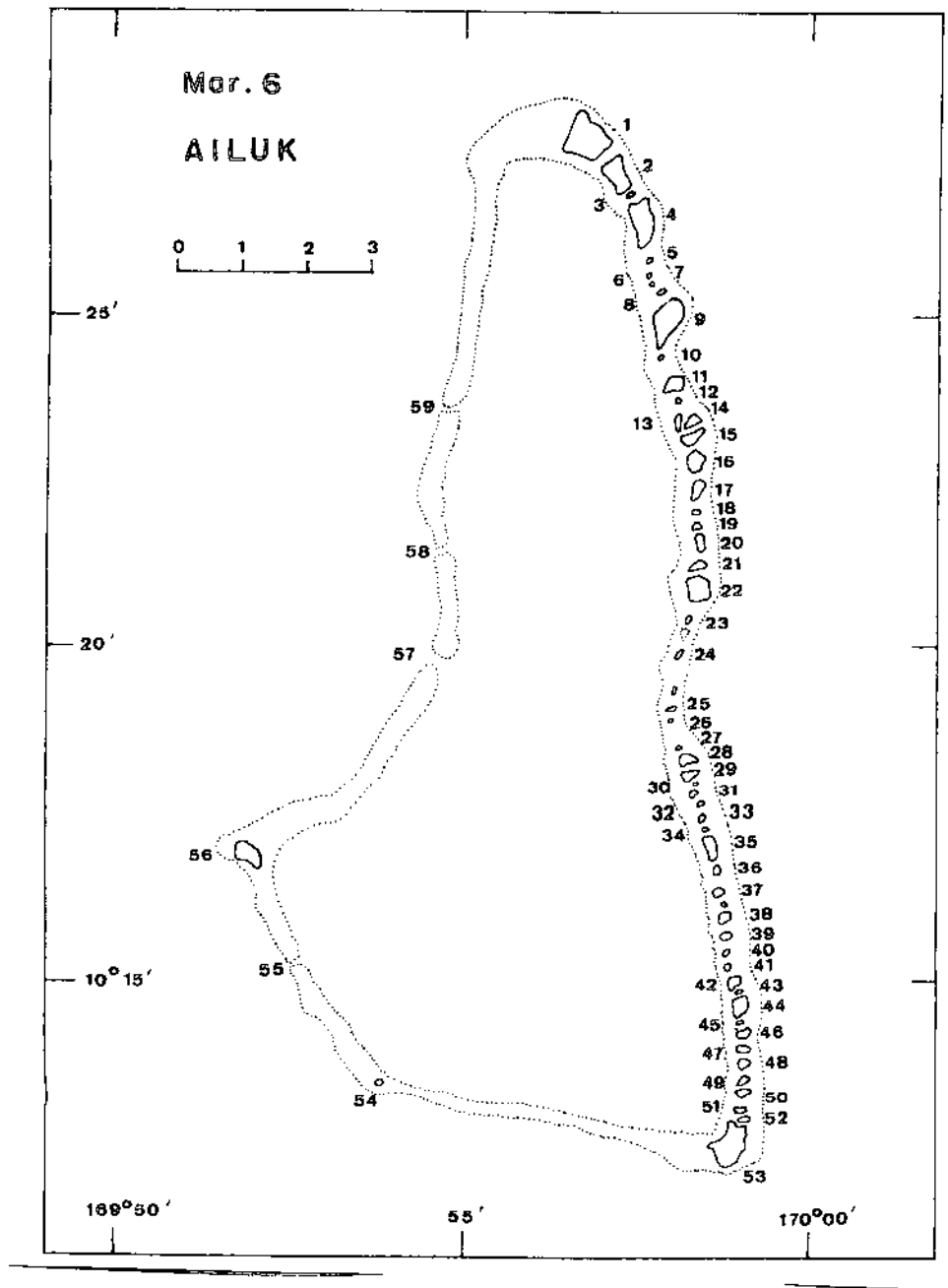
With great danger and effort we took some provisions ashore, enough to last for about six weeks. On a point of land we bilt two tents with the sails and placed the food inside, while we made plans to explore the island.

It was small, desolate, and uninhabited, but we noticed that the other islands, separated from it by narrow channels, were more luxuriant and we assumed that they were probably inhabited. This assumption proved true, for after a few hours we spotted many canoes with sails moving toward our island. The natives had obviously noticed our presence that morning.

The great caution with which they landed and the hesitancy with which they approached us indicated that they had some misgivings. We threw our arms into the air to show that we had no weapons and that our intentions were only friendly. This helped. They came closer with greater confidence, stared at us, then touched our hands and faces, and after they had thus convinced themselves that we were the same as they, and after we had given them gifts, they became confident and remained with us the whole day.

In the evening we sent up some ship's rockets and blue lights which caused panic and terror in the savages. Many fled to their canoes and we could calm them only after some time. They built themselves huts from branches a little distance removed from our tents and spent the night there. Like ourselves they had the foresight to station guards. The next morning they sailed back to their island from which they occasionally came to visit us.

The speech of the natives who belong to the Marshall archipelago is the same. As an old man told me later on, the Ailu group had supposedly been inhabited for only sixty years. A storm caught some inhabitants of the Marshalls on a fishing expedition in their canoes and drove them into the Ailu group where they have since then settled. Tom, our fellow-sufferer who had passed nearly all his life in Polynesian islands, understood only a few words of the native tongue, so that a satisfactory understanding between the islanders and ourselves could be brought about. For the rest we were dependent on the universally known sign language during the first weeks of our stay



on Chief Relong's Island. Only in the third month of our sojourn had three of us learned enough of the speech to conduct fairly fluent intercourse.

We now sat on a small island in the South Seas and had no hope of being rescued by a passing ship, since we could gather from the assertions and behavior of the savages that they had never seen foreigners. We therefore built two boats out of pieces of the wreckage, very frail craft to be sure, since we lacked everything. We finished them in three weeks and then drew lots to decide who should board them, since only 20 men could fit in them, and there were 25 of us. Five had to remain behind, and I found myself among them.

My companions and I were not completely desperate over this situation, as the boats did not exactly inspire confidence; the others only had the advantage that, if death should come, it would end their misery more quickly, whereas we could only wait, until some day we might be eaten by the savages.

When our comrades had sailed away, the savages became more arrogant toward the five of us who remained behind.

The promises that we had made to Chief Relong—an intelligent man—that soon a big ship would land bringing him many rich gifts, convinced him that it would be worthwhile to hold his subjects in check, so that they did not threaten us with any danger. After they paid us several more visits they finally remained away entirely; only Relong came from time to time to inquire if the ship had not yet come. After our assurance that it would soon arrive, he was again pacified.

Little by little, objects from the wreck came floating to the beach, and an assortment of goods accumulated: silk, tea, etc. The latter gave us something warm to drink...

But soon our food was all used up. Days of greatest hunger and most terrible suffering followed. Fish was not always available and often we turned back to our tents discouraged ...

We did not have the skill and art of the natives to exploit the sea to the extent that they did. Furthermore, off the shore there was the danger of shark-infested waters. In order to catch large fish one had to use the spear and with it walk a distance into the sea...

[Hunger, delirium, scurvy attack the men.]

Oh how we longed for Relong who had not appeared for several weeks. He had often invited us to visit his island but we had always declined. We did not trust them and preferred to remain on our lonely island. One day he came but he almost failed to recognize us because we were staggering skeletons. We travelled to Relong's Island with him and lived with the savages, shared their ceremonies, and shared their catches of fish. I won a special friend in the sub-chief Lamatschua, the son-in-law of Relong. He took me into his household and gave me the widest freedom there, taking pleasure when I enjoyed myself with the youngest of his wives, Rina, with whom I was very friendly. I took her along when I went fishing or when I went after cocoanuts. Rina was a slim woman with regular features, self-reliant, and in European clothes she would have made a *charming* appearance ...

We lived the life of the savages on the island but we suffered under their suspicion. The slightest carelessness on our part placed our very lives in danger.

During the first days of our stay on Relong's Island we were often the subject of painful looks.

My fellow-traveller, Fred, who was a trifle corpulent, found these obvious appraisals quite annoying and was moved to withdraw himself each time that they were directed upon him. Our movements and eating habits were sharply watched. The savages expected us to closely follow their customs, a demand that we found quite difficult to meet at first. They were not pleased when we detached ourselves or failed to participate in their social affairs. Everything we did outside of their system aroused prompt suspicion.

The diet of the natives was extremely simple. All kinds of sea worms, snails, crabs, mussels, eels, were roasted on glowing coals and were considered delicacies in the native menu. Some sand-crabs were torn apart while still alive and eaten raw. The Ailu Islander showed himself a gourmand when it came to the flying-fish. He was a connoisseur when it came to dividing the fish, a skill that had to be admired in the native. The head of this fish is regarded as the best part and often this part will be traded for half of the remaining fish. The head is then separated and every bone drawn out. On the whole the islanders live on an astonishingly frugal daily diet. Every third day as a rule they eat a great quantity but in between hardly as much as we feed to a delicate child. The Ailu Islanders can be presented as models of frugality. As for us, this diet was very insufficient. The natives expected us to adhere strictly to their customs and way of life, a demand that caused us great suffering.

In my opinion the soil of the Ailu Islands is in such a condition that cultivation is out of the question. The chief nourishment is derived from the sea. Fish of various kinds and quality and weighing up to 50 Kg could be hauled out of the water. The fishhooks we made from the wire found on the wreck of the **Corypheus**, were quickly duplicated by the savages after one demonstration. Generally they demonstrated great familiarity in making tools. The larger fish, if they came within spearing distance at all, were harpooned from the shore or else from the sailing canoes which, at times, could venture far at sea. Sometimes young sharks were caught with baited hooks and also eaten—something that could tempt only the strongest appetite. A tasty dish was made with the flying-fish, but flying-fish could only be caught on pitch-black nights. The fish appear in schools of hundreds and, in the glow of torches made from a kind of reed, the light attracts them and they are caught with nets made of cocoanut. A third of the usual catch of one to two hundred is usable.

Sea gulls and their eggs make up a small percentage of the menu. Roasted eels were eagerly eaten by the natives. The most substantial nourishment was offered by the turtles and their eggs; when the latter were roasted over glowing coals they provided a true delicacy. Turtles up to 100 Kg in weight are pushed ashore by the tide. They crawl to a dry spot, lay their eggs and bury them in the hot sand. While this is happening, ebb tide

has arrived, and these animals may find themselves as much as a quarter of a mile from the water at low tide. Since they move only slowly, they can be caught easily, and killed.

The large fish and turtles are prepared for eating in a peculiar manner. A hole of about one meter in depth is dug in the sand or soil. This is half filled with dry wood on which several inches of so-called pumice stone is laid. In the center, a free space is left in order to light the wood. When the wood has burnt down the pile of stones is red-hot. It is covered with green stalks on which the object to be baked is then placed. The whole thing is then covered with several inches of leaves, sprinkled with earth and left for a few hours. At the time when it should be ready—a time always correctly gauged by the natives—the meal is communally shared. The chief does the honors and graciously passes out the various pieces in an orderly manner to the sub-chiefs, who then permit their vassals to eat.

Fires were kept burning day night and were only started anew when the savages had absented themselves from the island for some time on a fishing expedition. Fire is made with two kinds of wood, and, depending on the weather, with more or less trouble and skill.

The only starchy food that formed a part of the diet was the arrowroot, a fruit about the size of a small, round, potato. This fruit grows wild, has a smooth exterior and is very bitter to the taste, when eaten raw. It is dug out of the earth like a potato and then grated on a jagged piece of coral. A second person pours fresh water over the apparatus during the grating. The substance is collected in the bottom of a mussel shell and the water, which absorbs the bitterness of the fruit, is drawn off. This procedure is repeated three or four times until the grated mass, similar to flour, has lost its bitter taste. A dough made with the flour is rolled up in green leaves and roasted on glowing coals resulting in a bread that tastes flat and feels greasy.

Aside from the fishing expeditions which occupy most of the time, the men busy themselves with building and improving their canoes, fishing apparatus and weapons. The canoes are made of hollowed tree trunks and can sail up to 18 nautical miles an hour in a good breeze. Their construction is very tiresome and requires extreme patience of the natives. They work in groups, with stone adzes. The wood used has drifted ashore from the sea. The ropes needed for the rigging, as well as the mat sails, are made of cocoanut fibres. Everything is very neatly done, and the end product shows that the natives have a great deal of intelligence—a proof that they could be absorb European culture to the highest degree.

As far as the vegetation of Ailu is concerned, the cocoanut palm is the only tree; the rest were bushes up to four meter high. The only flower is a type of daisy, with which the women and girls decorate their hair. The cocoanut palms are very few in number; and on the average each family had ten. Coconut shells are used as water containers.

The weapons used by the men consist of spears of various types, made of a native species of oak; the shafts are smooth and the tips are fitted with shark teeth. They are dangerous weapons as the men rarely miss their mark.

The houses of the natives lie under cocoanut palms and are largely hidden in the bush. They are round [sic], made of bamboo reeds, and water-tight. About two meters above the floor there is an attic in which food is stored, and here they had stored the presents received from us when we landed on Corypheus Island; these presents were taken out of their wrappings from time to time and admired. The ship biscuits, decorated with ornaments, had been strung and used as necklaces. Every time I saw them, my mouth watered and I had a civilized appetite, so to speak.

The female sex predominated. Individual natives had as many as four wives; none had less than two. Until puberty they go without a stitch of clothing, after that they cover only their hips. The clothing of the men consists of a skirt woven out of grass which is worn around the hips and held fast with a cinch. The clothing of the females consists of a mat which is wound around the body three or four times and reaches to the ankles. This mat is decorated around the edge; it is fastened around the hips. All the clothing mats are manufactured by the women. The native men are slim and muscular, with handsome features; many are tattooed. The care of the hair is important. The gleaming black hair is bound into a knot on the top of the head. If loosened, it could cover the whole back and reach down to the hips. It is actively cared for with combs made of tortoise-shell, whose teeth are fashioned by means of stones. They are used to keep the hair in place. The hair is also made soft with aromatic cocoanut oil. On festive occasions the whole upper body is rubbed with cocoanut oil, to expose the tattoos. Women, however, are not tattooed. The latter braid their attractive thick hair in plaits, as among ourselves, and put them up as they please. Both sexes pride themselves in wearing ear ornaments of tortoise-shell; they are worn in the ear lobes, which are pierced during early youth. The women are slim, with full figures, and many beauties can be found among them. The skin color of the natives is copper-brown.

As to their religion of the natives, ceremonies are completely foreign to them. They worship the sun, moon and the stars, but do not give this worship any expression. They long for the bright moonlit nights. They are not at all fond of dark nights, when they leave their houses to form groups that go after the flying-fish.

They have intercourse only with the inhabitants of another of the Marshall groups, an island approximately 150 nautical miles distant.¹ They visit this group only once a year. For that occasion they wait for good weather; the whole population goes along, only the very aged remaining behind with one chief. During the voyage the course is set by a prominent star which R. Elong, who personally leads the expedition, sharply keeps in view. They are absent for about two months.

An old man told me that he had not eaten human flesh for many years, but that he had done so when he was a young man. When I asked him which parts of the human body were most satisfying, he reached for my upper arm and thigh. Eat heartily, I thought, and a cold shudder ran through my body.

¹ Ed. note: Possibly Arno.

As soon as a native becomes indisposed, no matter for what reason, he is separated from the others and placed in a separate dwelling in the bush. An old medicine woman plays the role of the doctor. She is held responsible for every evil and is, therefore, regarded with considerable awe. A universal prescription of one of these medicine women is a bitter drink brewed of leaves and water. Dick often suffered from stomach cramps and was given some of this medicine; he later insisted that its effect was not to be ridiculed.

The medicine woman also acts as the agent in all traffic between the sick person and the rest of the group who must remain away from the illness makeshift hospital. One day I missed Rina and when I learned from Lamatschua that she was ill I hurried to visit her. In the vicinity of the "hospital" my sudden appearance produced the greatest commotion. The medicine woman allowed me to sit at a distance and so converse with Rina.

When two young people are in love, they always consult the sub-chief under whose authority the couple were born. Every engagement must first have the permission of the high chief Relong. In the ethical relations of married life the savage deserves the highest praise. No envy, quarreling, or jealousy is ever observed among the women. Births are celebrated with a feast. The festivals which were given every evening in our honor after our arrival on Relong's island consisted of dances which were performed by the men. Each evening people of the same age group were sought out. They formed a circle, in the center of which the women and girls sat drawing the oddest sounds from an instrument covered with a fish bladder and shaped like a funnel. The dancers moved to this melody, backward and forward, with the most marvelous bodily movements and grimaces, and accompanying the sounds of the instrument with an ear-splitting song. Relong always expected that we attend and applaud these demonstrations, while we were always glad when the concert was over.

The natives of both sexes are in their element when they are in the water. Children of two years swim like fish and have wonderful endurance. My friend, the sub-chief Lamatschua, had a two-year-old daughter with whom I enjoyed going to the water. She cheerfully ploughed through the waves and made the strangest movements to please me. Miraculously the sharks did not attack the natives as I often saw a native move about cheerfully and surely among a school of sharks, which seem to have had a different idea about us white people. One day, when I was splashing with my comrade Dick in deeper water, which was clear all the way to the ocean floor, a cry of anguish almost made my heart stop. A tremendous shark was steering directly toward us, and we had to show our best swimming form. We reached the shore in extreme agitation.

A favorite pastime of Rina was lobster-fishing. This animal may be hauled out from under coral blocks on clear moonlit nights and Rina was always glad when I accompanied her and held her basket. In gratitude she would allow me to light a fire on the shore to roast and share a lobster which we would accompany with the contents of a cocoanut that Rina herself fetched from a tree. It was a romantic meal under a clear, starry sky, heightened even more by the melodic sounds of the waves, carried to us by a light breeze.

Despite Rina's friendliness I had to be careful not to arouse the jealousy of her master, for in such matters the savages do not understand a joke.

Our comrade Charles foolishly aroused the jealousy of a native. Enraged, he overcame him and killed him by spearing. We wanted to bury his body but this the savages would not allow. An evil spirit lived in Charles and for this reason he could not be admitted into their earth. The body was carried over the reef and buried in the sea for the sharks.

My hour almost struck once. One day a savage gave me a baked fish and I presented him with a ship's flag. Without my knowing it my friend Lamatschua would have liked this for himself. When he saw that I gave it to another he thought himself to be displaced and deceived. In wild rage, he leapt on me and made as if to split my skull with his stone axe. Rina was my guardian angel. She maneuvered herself between us, quieted the man, and when I gave him a piece of silk he became entirely pacified.

...
["Christmas among the cannibals" (seven paragraphs) are omitted.]

...
It was quiet all around, for when it becomes dark, the savages seek their beds. They are filled with great distrust, and embracing the crassest superstitions; they do not dare to leave their huts at night and no-one else is allowed to go out at night, either. If one wants to do so, he must crawl on all fours on the ground.

...
[Four paragraphs omitted.]

...
After we had spent eight months on the island, the hour of salvation finally arrived. One day the savages, whose vision is uncommonly keen, saw a ship on the horizon. A long time passed, and then we, too, could see the ship. We quickly fetched our flags, tied them to sticks cut in the bush, and waved our signals, while running up and down the shore. Even though we knew that our voices could not be heard, we shouted loudly and incessantly.

Then finally! Were we deceived or not? We must have been noticed. Yes, it was true! We were answered from the ship; flags were raised and lowered on two masts.

Overcome with joy we fell into one another's arms. But complete joy is not the lot of mortals. Two arms crept softly around my neck and weeping, Rina begged me not to go away. She who had accompanied me everywhere and helped me in all my work had in the course of time developed a strong liking for me. Even though I did not reciprocate her feelings in the same degree, I was nevertheless truly fond of her. Since the day that she had saved me from Lamatschua's wrath, I had shown her a good deal of attention. When I explained that I had to leave, Rina expressed a desire to go with me and Lamatschua gave me to understand that I could take Rina along, provided that I brought her back to Ailu again. Lamatschua and Relong had always listened in awe when I spoke about our homeland and our way of life. Since Rina had saved my life I

could not refuse her and promised to take her along when I had received permission to do so...

After I had briefly reported our experiences to the captain of the English corvette **Barrosa**, gifts were made ready for R. Elong and the other natives: fishing gear, mirrors, etc. I requested some pretty strings of glass beads for Rina. The captain denied my request for permission to take Rina along, referring to the strict discipline aboard warships. I departed with these presents. The joy the savages expressed when I distributed them is indescribable.

Only one remained sad, Rina, whom I had already told that I could not take her along. Her eyes sparkled with joy when I placed the beads around her slim neck, but she began to weep loudly when I said good-bye.

Deeply moved, I climbed into the boat, and just as we were to depart, Rina, too, sprang into the boat, determined to go with us. All persuasion was of no avail, and only when I promised her to return and then to take her with me did she climb out again. Even when we were far from land, I could still hear her weeping.

...
[Once on board, the rescued men were given pants and shirts to wear. The corvette was in Shanghai when a telegram was received from London, ordering her to go to Ailuk to rescue us. The ship had passed the vicinity of the Solomon Islands and was on the Philippine coast when a man fell overboard. He was Sydney Armstrong, one of his companions at Ailuk. This occurred on Sunday, 10 May 1872. On 15 May, the **Barrosa** sailed into Hong Kong harbor.]

...
Rina, I will forever keep a friendly memory of you.
Otto Eisenhart.

Document 1871E

Voyage to the Marianas, by Judge Alvarez

Source: Juan Alvarez Guerra. Un viaje por Oriente—De Manila a Marianas (Madrid, 1872; reprinted 1883; 2nd ed. 1887 under the title: Viajes por Filipinas—De Manila a Marianas.

Note: Judge Alvarez was sent to Guam to act as Judge in the residencia, or management audit, of former Governor Moscoso.

X.

...
We were bound to the port of Guam, and that is where we wished to be, but... there were still 120 miles to go.

Finally, as everything has an end, and without further incidents worth mentioning, there came the early afternoon of the 17th [August 1871] when a coice was heard from the forecastle: Land ho! Indeed, land could be seen beyond the bowsprit. At first, it could hardly be seen clearly on account of the fog, but later on what had seemed to be a light cloud took up forms, then proper shapes could be discerned, but then... everything became confused again as night fell. We were about 20 miles from Guam, the largest island in the Marianas.

On the morning of the 18th, we found ourselves very near the dangerous reefs that surrounds the small Island of Cabras, the one that is separated from the Island of Guam by a narrow channel with a coral bottom.

The vegetation appeared full of life as it normally does in the tropics. Extensive groves of tall coconut trees, slopes covered with intermingled breadfruit trees, vast fields containing cotton crops, orange and lemon trees could be seen wherever one looked.

The ship¹ shortened sail but remained in deep water outside, waiting for a pilot, but we waited for one hour and a half, and neither the pilot nor the small fort that dominates the entrance to the channel gave signs of life.

In the town, or better said, the City of Agaña, since it is a city by King Philip II (may he rest in peace), no-one could see us, because, in addition to having the Island of Cabras between it and ourselves, there is a distance of about two leagues between the city and the anchorage, which bears the name of St. Louis of Apra, and near which we were and where we had to anchor.

1 Ed. note: María del Rosario, Captain Cabeza de Vaca.

Two small guns aboard the **María Rosario** were fired to alert the sleepy inhabitants of the Marianas; we were answered by a flag being raised at the fort and some boats being made ready at the port. With oars moving and sail raised, a whale-boat soon made her appearance at the mouth of the channel. The flag decorated her stern and military stripes could be discerned. Soon we had the Health Officer on board.

After the physician had made sure there were not one person too many or too few on board, and the Captain of the port had assured himself that there was no-one else hidden on board, there followed the formalities with the pilot, who declined to accept responsibility for our coming to an anchor, and after a few maneuvers, the order was given, "Bottom!" and the anchor was quickly let go and encountered the coral bottom.

We have spent 38 days to get here. We were now in the Marianas. As the saying goes, once in port, everything is forgotten!

XI.

We will divide the history of the Marianas in two parts: in the first part we will cover, though briefly, what they were before their conquest by Spain; in the second, since the time the flag of Castile was raised on their shores.

As far as the first period is concerned, that is, before the conquest, the information is very scarce. Since there is hardly any, we may draw conclusions that are more or less given by local tradition and legends, the only clues that we have for the analytical study of any nation whose past is covered by dark shadows. Such ideas have been transmitted from father to son but have become mixed with superstitions; however, we can get some idea of the past by studying them.

...

[His historical views not being from primary sources are here omitted.]

...

Now that we have passed in review what the Ladrones were yesterday, let us turn to the Marianas of today.

XIV.

The Mariana Archipelago consists of chain of islands, laid out in the great Pacific Ocean. They are lined up from South to North, beginning with the main one, Guam, the residence of the Governor and the other authorities.

Beyond Guam, and covering a space measuring two and a half degrees, there can be found Rota, Aguijan, Tinian, Saipan, Farallon de Medinilla, Anatahan, Sarigan, Farallon de Torres, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagan, Agrigan, Asunción, Urracas and Farallon de Pajaros.¹

1 Ed. note: It is obvious that he was not using the latest data from Captain Sanchez.

The only ones of these that are inhabited are Guam, Rota and Saipan, but the last two are miserable places, not at all to be compared with the first.

The Island of Guam is situated in 13°26' lat. north, and 150°52' long. E. of the meridian of San Fernando. It measures some 32 miles in length, along its largest dimension, SW—NE, but its width varies from four to nine miles, depending on the chosen latitude. Its entire circumference is between 190 and 200 miles.

When looking at the panorama of Guam, one can recognize an isthmus which divides the island into two peninsulas. The city of Agaña, the capital of the Marianas, is located on the sliver of land that unites the two peninsulas.

The coasts of Guam are, for the most part, lines with coral reefs and banks that extend outward from some rocky cliffs. Within such limestone areas there are channels that can be used only by the light whale-boats, the only boats that can follow them without serious danger, but only at certain places, because elsewhere the sea is so rough, and the coast so inhospitable, that they make the use of these limestone channels a very risky endeavor, by the fact that they lead to the edge of the sea where the bottom deepens rapidly, causing the sea to break dangerously.

The noise of the breakers here is not the monotonous and gentle sound produced on the majority of beaches, i.e. a sound that is made as the wave advances and its energy is dissipated little by little over a sandy bed. In Guam, this type of breaker is unknown; there, the noise is like thunder, forceful on account of the great tidal waves that arrive forcefully to impact upon, not a smooth slope, but upon huge coral walls that offer uneven barriers to the incoming wave, breaking it up into an infinite number of parts, that rush through the multitude of holes within the coral field, to create potent sounds that echo from cavity to cavity. During the first nights that a visitor spends at Agaña, he cannot sleep quietly for any length of time.

In spite of the many dangerous shoals that impede coastal navigation at Guam, the experience gained by local pilots has shown that the navigator can find shelter in various places around the island; I must mention that the safest of its ports is called San Luis de Apra and is located on the western side, between the Orote Peninsula and the islet of Cabras. In spite of the great area covered by the port of Apra, I advise the navigator not to go in without a local pilot, for various reasons: one is the fact that it offers little shelter from westerly and norwesterly winds, because it is practically open in those directions; another is the fact that it is covered with numberless banks and heads from the basin, called *caldera* or cauldron, and the beach. If, in addition, one considers the currents produced by the coral channel, he will understand the wisdom of entrusting the ship to someone who knows such things. San Luis de Apra is the port where all the ships arriving at Guam anchor.

Besides this port, there are others, such as those of Agaña, Tepungan, Daví [sic], Jatí, Sajayan, Actayan, Inarajan, Tarofoto and Pago, but they have been abandoned, on account of their small size or the manner at which the sea rolls into them.

Once the ship has been anchored in the port of Apra, it is necessary to go a long distance to reach the beach. Communication between ship and shore is by means of whale-

boats, which, on account of their small draft, are the only boats that can be used to cross the channel between Cabras and Guam Islands—this channel is very colorful. After one has stepped ashore, there remain about five miles to walk until one can reach the city of Agaña. This overland trek is usually made aboard small carts with solid wheels, pulled by young bulls, which are also used as mounts, and also any other kind of service as beasts of burden.

There are few places on earth that present such a beautiful scenery as that seen between Piti Point and the first houses of Agaña. As I have already said, there are five miles of it, full of the marvels that the Creator had so kindly provided the earth with. The coconut tree, the areca palm, and other palm trees provide shelter overhead; the wind makes their heads wave back and forth without disturbing their tall, slender trunks. Here and there can be seen the breadfruit trees, the orange trees—sweet and sour, the lemon trees; all present a luxuriant vegetation, leaves of variegated shades of green. The blossoms of the orange and lemon trees emit wonderful perfumes. Here is the poetic *limoncito de China* with abundant fruits; there is the corpulent *ifil*, the tortuous *abgao*, the true willow of the Indies; the *agoho*, with its small pine-cones armed with sharp barbs, the productive *daog* or *palo maria*, the *yoga*, the Guava and the *ate*, with their leaves, their fruits, their flowers all intermingled, and their potent exuberance, their odorous and varied thickets, along with the confused labyrinths of the *ba-cauam*, the uneven and climbing vines of the wild plants, and the slender and flexible branches of the white jasmine.

Overhead, above the huge cover of the prodigious vegetation that extends over an uneven and rough surface, one can contemplate a pure and transparent sky, under whose diaphanous dome beat their wings and sing their love songs a quantity of birds, such as the painted egret, the speedy *dulili*, and the lovely turtle-dove, whose song is interrupted by the ill-omened whistle of the *mamoy* and the strident croaking of the *fanifi*. The white doves, the sea birds in the diversity of their species, the snipes, the thrushes, and the wood-peckers complete the living world of the clouds.

As far as beauty is concerned, that of Guam has its particular characteristics, a stigma all its own: the jagged crag bursts forth with green plants, the sky provides its tepid blanket, the happy birds sing, the flowers spread their perfumes, the babbling brook offers crystalline water, the trees their delicious fruits, and the sky brilliance and beauty.

It has been said that Guam is a special country and it is very true. When compared with the sky and soil of the Grao of Valencia, or the shores of the Guadalquivir, once used as a parody for the Heaven of the Prophet, none can compare to a paradise anchored in the midst of the restless Pacific, isolated from the rest of the world. Yet, a paradise without an Eve, is a paradise that provides enchantment at first, then boredom, and finally, despair.

That is not to say that women do not exist in the Marianas; there are, in fact, many, but frankly speaking, and not excepting Arago's Mariquita and Angela, they are all caricatures of what can be found *overthere*, not the least bit of the specimen that the French writer spent so much time describing when he narrated his stay at the Maria-

nas. At the beginning of this work, I said—and if I did not, I now say so—that if it has any merit, it will be in what I say, which is the truth, and not the product of ridiculous fables, which belong to works of fiction, not travel diaries.

I feel that I cannot describe the same fiery eyes, the same full forms, the same profiles, that fill the pages of the universal traveller in his grandiose and enamored concepts of the Chamorro and Carolinian women, forever ready to satisfy the French writer with the first fruits of their love life, and even their existence, to him. Let us see how the famous traveller had almost transformed the peaceful Chamorras into the sparks that excited the imagination of Cascante, or the dreams of Don Juan, with irresistible filters, their tender talks and their burning ideas, with the difference that the real Don Juan used doors and supports to gain entry, whereas the overseas Don Juan used kerchiefs and scapularies.

Let us read attentively the pages that Arago wrote about the Marianas, and we will realize that everything can be summarized by saying that there was not one Chamorro or Carolinian woman who was not attracted by his handsome face, at first, and then by a scapulary, into offering her own favors. This he did, and he also saw everywhere people consumed by leprosy, rendered useless by the effects of such a disease; he created characters as he went, and accused the natives of God only knows how many other things, until the point of considering them all as an evil on the face of Creation. Such are the pages of Mr. Arago, full of fantasies that were the easier to write the farther they were from reality.

Mr. Arago dares speak of humanity! My God, what passes sometimes for the truth in history!

When shipwrecks did occur, among the numberless sinisters that Guam has been the scene on account of its situation, its inhabitants, and its Governors, have always done much more than required by official charity and the reciprocity implied by the law of nations. Let us read in Mr. Arago's works the story of the shipwreck of his travelling companion, Mrs. Wisio, let us question her and we will see her cry at the mere mention of the benefits she received from the Spanish. The newspapers published in New York, in California and in Japan are good witnesses in favor of Spanish charity. The columns of those newspapers are from time to time full of detailed narratives of moving scenes in which disinterestedness plays a major role.

The shipwrecked people who managed to survive the thousand of miles of danger and privation to reach the Marianas will not only find the succor and consolation that they seek, but will also find hospitality there. The same can be said about other disasters that push people to their hospitable shores.

Never, but never, have the Marianas shut their doors to suffering, nor to withhold consolation to the aggrieved.

This is what we can say in answer to Arago's allegations with respect to humanity! Now then, as far as the vulgarities put in the mouth of Petit,¹ I have to remind the

1 Ed. note: He was the French sailor who accompanied Arago.

readers that, if there are places such as Saipan, there are also places named Gerona and Bailen; if it was easy to deliver justice on the beaches of the Marianas, his countrymen would not find it so easy in places such as Zaragoza, when meeting its inhabitants face to face.

I could say more, much more, about Mr. Arago, who was the object of so many favors and attentions during his stay in the islands, according to trustworthy authorities, and that, in spite of the limited resources available locally.

Ingratitude always follows generosity!

It is time for us to close the *book of travels* and open a chapter on the Marianas. If the reader is not by now convinced that he will always find in Guam consolation and a remedy for every need, let him ask someone who has suffered a need there, and he will get the right answer.

Let us say good-bye to the narrative of Arago and relegate them to the same place as other pages written by his countrymen, and let us go back to our description of the island of Guam.

XV.

As soon as the traveller has crossed the small wooden bridge at Asan, and left behind him the memory of bare rock over which flows the crystalline water of a brook flowing from the nearby hills, water which is diverted into stone-lined tanks, he can spot the first houses of the city of Agaña ahead of him. Its wide main street offers to his view lines of small houses made of board and tile, among which stand out a few made of stone and others of grass and palm leaves.

The overall impression given by the city, which is laid out between the beach and the extensive ridge of green hills that run from North to South [sic], at the foot of which the buildings stop, is one of cleanliness and cheerfulness.

By following the level and wide street that is a continuation of the harbor road, one arrives at the square. Turning right, he finds, one after the other, the Administration building, the Prison, the so-called Palace, or residence of the Governor, the park and the warehouses on the square; they are spacious and solidly buildings. The left-hand side is occupied by small houses and buildings in construction that, we were told, will become the Court-house and the School.

At the head of the square (following the direction that we have taken) is occupied by the church, the cemetery and the parish house and, to fill the remaining gap, the College of San Juan de Letran, with the schools and annexes.

The square of Agaña represents the life of the Marianas; here live suffering, power, religion and knowledge. Overthere, the cross that can be seen among unkempt bushes growing in holy ground, brings to memory the past generations; the dark bars in the windows of the jail point out their idea of public safety versus public vengeance; the bell that tolls for the afternoon prayer, reverberating its copper-tone echoes, indicates through religion the existence of the beyond; the dark-brown bell tower, held together

by lime, reminds us of the frailty of human life, and of the sad truth that we will not escape the tomb, where all memories will be erased forever and even our ashes will disappear into dust and oblivion.

The church, which is next to the cemetery, is modest and not very spacious; it has three small naves, a choir and a recently-built gallery. What constitutes the exterior objects of the cult is scarce; the ornaments are overly decorated and the statues are ugly in their expression and details.

Right next to the church, and in line with the high altar, is the sacristy, where there is a portrait of Father Sanvitores, and another of Brother Bustillo.

As far as buildings are concerned, I do not remember any other than the ones already mentioned, that would deserve notice, except perhaps for some small forts, one on the top of Santa Rosa Hill and at the entrance of the canal; they have nothing special in their construction or equipment, but are good places from which to view the magnificent panorama.

In what is called the watch-tower, there are four soldiers from the garrison on duty; They keep watch on the empty sea, and are also responsible to let the town know the passage of time by striking a bell every hour.

There is an abundance of manpower that makes machinery unnecessary. The *gears* in the clock of Agaña are provided by a very complicated service, and a watchfulness that is precise within *seconds*. Let us analyze this machinery.

The Governor of the Marianas has, that is, is supposed to own a clock; well, at least when I was there, he had one. This clock sounded the hour with its regular beat, the sound of which being faintly heard by a sentinel, a living minuteman, who agitates a bronze hand-bell, which is heard from the watch-tower, which in turn announces it to the whole town. This amounts to say: "Gentlemen, my companion below has just told me that the Governor's clock has just sounded eight o'clock!"

Let us not go into the problems that result when the Governor's housekeeper forgets to wind the *municipal* clock.

The Governor's house, not only regulates the time, but also the movement of the canoes and boats. An explanation is necessary.

One afternoon, when I was taking a walk with my good friend, Father Ibañez, along the line of greenery that extends from the College to the Administration Building, I noticed that the good Father would always glance, when we passed in front of the Governor's house, with some intent, at a hole in the balcony that runs across the building. In one of our rounds, the good Father became impatient; he stopped, and with some annoyance said: "For goodness sake, Don Luís forgot to light up the light-house!" "Thank God," I continued, "I had heard something about this town being called a city; but no matter how I look, I cannot see a light-house tower anywhere." So, I asked the good Father to show where the apparatus was located. "The apparatus," answered my companion with a sour but serious tone, "It is there" and he pointed out the hole in the window. "I don't see anything," I said. "Well, you do not see anything, precisely be-

cause Don Luís did not light up the light-house. By golly, it is nothing more or less than a lamp that is hung there, in that window, which, as you can see, faces the port."

The cigar that was then in my mouth fell down, and I don't know why my shoulders did not fall down at the same time. How can a wavering flame, shining through the spider-webs that cover the glass panels of a lamp be considered a beacon?

Whenever I told the story of the clock and lighthouse of Agaña, in Manila six months later, and in Madrid six months after that, I had to assume a serious demeanor in order to be believed; however, you, dear reader, must know that this is the truth about the Marianas, though you may be incredulous at reading these lines!

Let me continue my description of the Island of Guam.

The town of Agaña, as I have said, is spacious and neat. The fact that it is laid out on a sandy flat below the slopes of a nearby hill has a lot to do with the salubrity of the place; indeed, the hill provides the water that prevents the sand from becoming too dry to create a dusty condition, but not too much to create muddy areas, the result being a compact, though sandy, surface.

At one end of the city, beyond the College, there is a swampy area from which issues the small stream that winds its way along the beach proper and is used by the natives. There is a solid stone bridge over this stream that provides communication between the town and the beach. All the houses in the town have empty spaces between them bounded by cane fences. These fences are for the protection of trees, bushes and, when the owner is active, real miniature gardens, with bowers and grapevines, and the stalks of the watermelons mixed with the golden leaves of the pineapple and the ears of the corn.

The production of vegetables, in the Marianas as well as in the whole Philippine archipelago, could easily be much more developed. A good knowledge combined with a good virgin soil, and an atmosphere, regularly impregnated with humidity and heat, cannot but result in sources of wealth, if rare products were cultivated. Indeed, I have seen this truth demonstrated many times, on a small scale. I have seen plots of land, semi-abandoned, producing a great variety of European plants. It is true that knowledge and experience are required to give better results; it is well known that the first seeds planted give fruits with all their natural characteristics, but in time there is degeneration in locally-produced seeds. A succession of harvests, produced with the seeds of previous ones, end up with the death of the original product, and the birth of another which does not have the same flavor, shape, or size, of the original.

In the gardens of Agaña and in the neighboring towns, such as its wards of Anigua, Asan and Tepungan, I have seen some vegetables being cultivated with good results. The success in the production of small fruit trees is due no doubt to the magnificent conditions of the climate, combined with the nature of the soil itself. The heights of the Island of Guam, thanks to its isolation in the middle of the ocean, attract the clouds, that spill their waters during the frequent squalls that are common at these latitudes. This constant, but short-lasting, pouring of water, combined with the pressure of the heat, cause in the soil a continuous series of absorptions and evaporations, highly de-

sirable for the seed and stalk. This latent humidity that comes from the alternating heat and water cycles, is extremely high, resulting in hygrometric observations that can hardly be believed, because it would normally affect the salubrity of the place; the fact that it does not cause health problems can be explained by the breezes that are felt in the island from coast to coast and make the humidity bearable, independently of the thermometer readings. These readings fluctuate between the extreme of 14° and 33° [C], but generally between 22° and 28°.

The frequent rain showers keep a number of brooks flowing around the island, above all in the southern part which is the lowest. I can mention a few among the more important ones on account of the abundant water flowing over sandy beds, such as those named Asan, Margui, Mazo, Agat, Fiuli [sic], Talasfac, Bili, Paparguan, Dandan and many others, but those that have enough water to be called rivers are those named Tarrafo, Ilic and Pago; indeed, the others, due to their source and water flow exist only to drain the water from the slopes of the mountains throughout the island.

The need of the inhabitants for fresh water is supplied by such water that filters through a mix of limestone, sand and pumice stone, elements that make up the soil of Guam. Water enough in times of drought is provided by wells and tanks, equipped with open stairways carved out of the same limestone that forms the base of the island, as can be proven easily simply by giving a few blows with a pickaxe.

The leaves that continuously fall from the trees add themselves to the clayish mud, resulting in humus that is an excellent fertilizer, similar to the fertile soils of America that have been mixed with guano.

Whatever I could say regarding the vegetation in the tropics would be palid in comparison with reality; one must see it to believe its true splendor; by the way, let me repeat what I told a dear friend in Spain about it. In the vegetation of these regions, I told him, it is where the pagan allegory of the terrible punishment of Prometheus is verified, better said, it is where is amply realized the mythological spring of Canatos, where Juno recovered his virginity; here, I added, the fallen leaf does not become dry and withered; here it is metamorphosed in time, and not for lack of vigor, not into a dry stalk, but into a beautiful twin plant, inheriting its youth, its brilliant colors, its purity and its juice. Such is the vegetation in the Orient.

The extensive beds of leaves that one has continuously under foot reflect the diversity of the trees, plants and bushes, and, at many places on the island give a great abundance of humus which could be exploited readily, if only there were more activity in agriculture than is common at present.

Notwithstanding the excellent vegetation of the Marianas, the lack of tall trees is noticeable; those species that can produce boards of regular sizes are the *ifil* and the *palo maria*; next in scale come the *yoga*, the *yaqun-lago*, the *fago*, the *chopag*, the *puting*, the *pengua*, the *balibago*, and a few others, which produce resins, dyes, ropes, oils, textiles and even poisons that the Carolinians use to make their weapons lethal.

The really important, and useful, trees nowadays are the *rima* and the *dugdug*, both of large sizes; they grow well and indifferently in the cracks of the crags as well as on open ground; they do not require much, if any, care at all.

The fruit of the *rima* which looks like a melon, is healthy food, nutritious, pleasant to the taste, and apt to be preserved for a long time when it is cooked and kept in a dry place. The *rima* is also known by the name of bread-fruit, a name which is not only adequate but correct. The fruit of the *dugdug* is similar to that of the *rima*, but smaller, with a juice that is much sweeter; this makes it less desirable for human consumption when compared with the *rima* that has more floury matter in it and consequently is more nutritious. The trunks of both types provide good building materials for any type of construction.

To continue with the products of the soil, I have to mention the variety of citrus fruits, some of which grow to enormous size, and the same can be said about the cotton plants. The cultivation of cotton in Guam is spreading and the type of cotton seems to me to be first-class. At the time that I am writing this, news from Barcelona and Japan, where samples have been sent, are expected; this may lead to some exportation of this product. The local settlers have told me that there are about one and a half million cotton plants at this time, most of which have been imported from the Sandwich Islands. There has been a great increase in the cultivation of this article in the Marianas since the time of the 1843 report by Governor Gregorio Santa María, when there were only about 70,000 plants.

Corn, rice, mongo beans, indigo, bananas, pineapples, *sibucao*, hemp, tobacco, resins, dyes and sugarcane are other products that demonstrate the agricultural wealth of those Islands. As I have already said, this wealth does not have much potential for development, because it must fight against the disadvantage of distance to foreign markets, the exportation of which is almost non-existent, on account of the high transport charges and the lack of transport.

The soil of Guam, geologically speaking, is not very important; nevertheless, some holes have been dug where coal-bearing seams have been found to be of good quality. I am of the opinion that mining will never amount to much because of the nature of the soil itself; like everything else in the Marianas, it may never go beyond a few small trials.

Among the diversity of animals that are present in the Islands, the most important are the deer; the number of them killed every year is fabulous; their meat is eaten, not only fresh, but also as salt-meat preparations called *tapas* [jerked meat] which constitute a large part of the consumption.

Cows, water buffaloes, goats, wild pigs, as well as the domesticated pigs of two types, the lean and the fat types, are all rather numerous in those regions. There are also wild pigs and deer in very large numbers in the northern islands, mainly in Agrigan and Saipan, where they live in the best of conditions, on account of little hunting and the millions of coconuts that, for lack of exploitation, lie everywhere on the ground, after they fall naturally to the ground, when they reach maturity or as when brought down by

strong winds; there they serve as food for the animals or simply rot in time on the wet ground.

I believe that the Island of Pagan could be the site of a productive exploitation; indeed, the coconut trees there are so numerous that the whole island is covered with a thick coconut forest. This island is uninhabited, the same as all the others that lie as far north as Urracas. I would not be surprised if Saipan would one day produce those wonderful salt-meat products from deer and wild pig, that Pagan would produce thousands of barrels of coconut oil, that Tinian would take advantage of the thousands of its citrus fruit trees, etc.; at present, since very few people have even heard of the very names of these islands, how is it possible that they have heard of their potential for production? The Mariana Islands have been very rarely visited; so much so that a man who claimed to know the archipelago, told me with complete seriousness that there were only three small islets there. When such a man believes himself to be an eminence, has been in the country twenty years,¹ and does not know even the name of one of those Islands, how can the rest be expected to know about the lemons of Tinian, the coconuts of Pagan, and the deer of Saipan?

When I make certain reflections and consider a few eminences, that reminds me of a famous quotation from a sparkling writer; he said this, referring to a friend of his, that the best business that he could do for him, would be to buy him for what he was worth, and then sell him for what he thought he was worth; if such a business transaction were possible, we could set up this business in the Philippines, where such *factories* would produce better than anywhere else.

Let me give you another example, though of a lower sort:

Not so long ago, my spirit of observation led me to the door of a fresh fruit juice business. I sat down, and I had hardly begun sipping my lemonade when I heard the following dialogue between persons who were sitting at a table next to mine:

—Tell me, Don Juan, how are those rehearsals² of yours going?

—So so. I tried to do the *Si de las niñas*,³ but special reasons made me stop. Then I began rehearsing for *Don Simon* and other small zarzuelas⁴ for which I have chosen a woman from Cavite for the lead role.

—Yes? And why a woman from Cavite? said one. Who is she? said another. I suppose that she will be a teacher, said a third.

—I believe so, said Don Juan, making his voice sound important, while making a very pronounced gesture. She can kick her heels, sing carols and knows a few love songs. It is true that she is not pretty, that she has not played before; she may never have worked in her life, and she speaks Spanish very badly; but, what the devil! I have a dame, and above all, gentlemen, and she does not cost me as much as the going rate of 50 pesos per session; she is happy to receive only 25.

1 Ed. note: He refers to other Spaniards in the Philippines.

2 Ed. note: Meaning, tests for casting, I think.

3 Ed. note: The name of a play.

4 Ed. note: Small, because they were one-act musical comedies, instead of three-act ones.

I did not wish to hear more and I did not even wait for my change. Twenty-five pesos to dance and speak Spanish! Twenty-five pesos per evening! That is what this genius of the stage did not earn, that live interpreter of Shakespeare, and of Ventura de la Vega, the famous writer who took along to the grave his *Sullivan* and *El hombre de mundo*, works that were never again played the way Julian Romea did.

Such are the living creatures that walk around these God-forsaken streets, pretending to be scientists and experts.

The reader should pardon me for my passionate digression. Although the Marianas are certainly an integral part of the Philippines and am writing about them in the shade of the shell- windows of their capital.

Let us go back to the Marianas.

The soil of Guam, with reference to animal life, has something special that must be mentioned: it has not one type of serpents. This give complete safety to the native working in the field and renders unnecessary the taking of precautions against reptiles when one is planning a visit there, unlike other countries where there are such reptiles. However, there are red ants and rats, which are very abundant; they are the true enemies of agriculture. Be that as it may, the stories told about the rats of the Marianas are exaggerated, although we must not underestimate their potential for causing serious damage.

Here I must digress a little.

With the rats, we have one more example of things being said about those Islands. When I left for the Marianas, many of my friends, and others who are not, asked me to do them the favor of bringing them back a few horses and *auroras* [rare conch shells], on credit, of course. When I arrived at Guam, I really expected to find horses for sale at the price of a halter, and the *auroras* at the price of a walk on the beach, but reality was different. There were only two horses in existence in the whole island, and they had been brought there at the high price paid in America. As far as the *auroras* were concerned, I was told that if I waited until the month of July,¹ I might get some, although it might cost me perhaps 100 pesos for a couple of them.

That is what they told me in the Marianas, whereas the opposite was believed to be true in Manila, not only regarding the purchase of these beautiful specimens of conchology, called *auroras* [dawns] on account of their pink color, but also regarding many other things, about customs and objects, that turned out to be completely untrue.

XVI.

Among the people who do not know the Mariana Islands, there are propagated some rumors to the effect that, if they were worth anything in times past, they are no longer so, from all points of view—material, moral, or political.

1 Ed. note: They came to Guam from the Carolines.

As for myself, who has visited every corner of the small territory that comprises the Island of Guam—the only one that has any life left, albeit a flimsy and ephemeral—I, who have contemplated the trickling water of the Asan [River], the scenic views from the top of Fort Santa Agueda, I, whose remembrances of the islands are not so intense as to puch me to exaggerate what there is, or vituperate what is not there, I, finally, led as I am by only one norm, that is the plain truth, I am going to emit my opinion, an opinion that is not the fruit of some caprice, but the legitimate conclusion of many hours of study, while consulting letters, books and manuscripts. My opinion is mot more or less the fruit of a judicious examination and analysis, but a synthesis of the history of those Islands.

At the arrival of the first missionaries, we find a population that is thought to have been as many as 100,000 inhabitants.¹ Today, according to the latest statistical figures in front of me, from the clergy and from the government, the population is as follows, for the inhabited islands: Guam, 5,914 inhabitants; Rota, 352; and Saipan, 872, and there is a warning to the effect that the Rotanese are considering moving to Guam and the Saipanese, who are mostly Carolinians who have come there as a result of the vagaries of war, droughts and misery in their own islands, may one day return home and leave Saipan without a population.

There is a curious fact about Rota, that accounts for its poverty, and might explain why they wish to move to Guam. In the last century, the Island of Rota was hit by a very great calamity that threw its inhabitants into deep consternation. In the chruch records of the Island of Rota, and confirmed by the signature of a virtuous Recollect father, there is an account regarding a horrible phenomenon of a maritime nature that swept over the island. The effects of this disaster lasted a long time, during which the inhabitants promised to keep five candles burning before the Virgin, a promise that they have kept religiously and punctiliously until these last few years, when the fury of a typhoon flattened most of the buildings. The poverty of the inhabitants became so great that the promise has not yet been taken up; but they survive, thanks to the productivity of the breadfruit trees and to floury roots that are both nutritious.

The poverty and isolation that affect Saipan and Rota will be the reason for which their population will soon unite with that of the capital.²

It is hard to imagine how islands that had a population of 100,000 inhabitants have seen it decrease until now, when they hold only 7,138.

With respect to the fertility of their soil, I have already stated that it is generally fertile, like most places situated in the tropical zone; but the soil of the Marianas would become productive only after some radical changes in agriculture and a huge investment of money. It is not productive because of the situation of the islands and the dis-

1 Ed. note: Not a very good study of the documents, I may say; in fact, history now shows that the population was about 20,000 in 1668.

2 Ed. note: This prediction never came true; that is to say, the inhabitants of the northern islands were more tenacious than Judge Alvarez had thought, but, of course, he had never met them personally.

tances that separate them from the continents and their trade; the extra fertility of the soil does not compensate for the extra cost of transporting the products, besides the vagaries of the transport itself, loading and unloading, and the damages and losses that usually affect agricultural products.

We have a good example of this at present: an agricultural company was formed at Agaña, with all the elements that would make it a going concern; there was enough money, protection, manpower, tools and a virgin soil as the basis for the enterprise.¹ The shares were sold at a price of 500 pesos each, the company began its operations and, in spite of the large harvest, the net revenue from its sale must have been negative, because I know for sure that the dividends distributed among the shareholders were negative, which caused a loss of value in such shares to the point that there are no bidders for them at any price, that is, the demand is nil.

Some will say: Alright, but the soil can produce high-quality products. True, but it is also true that, much nearer and where there is transportation available, and where we can therefore expect that transactions will become possible, with the demand meeting the supply, there will still be found uncultivated lands, though they be just as productive as those of the Marianas.

The traveller who comes from the Marianas can see for himself, after he has passed the Strait of San Bernardino and all the way to Manila Bay, extensive plantations with a soil as fertile as that of the Marianas and therefore they have to be better investments, because their agricultural value is the same but the net revenue from them, based on their situation, must be much higher.

The soil of the Marianas is productive, I do not deny it, but let us admit that it is not profitable; if only their magnificent citrus trees, their corn fields and their coconut trees were situated a few leagues from a market, but such is not the case, unfortunately.

This concludes the discussion regarding the material productions of the Marianas.

Some would say: Ah! the Mariana Islands, magnificent possessions, of great importance, due to the famous visits there by whaling ships! To such remarks, I will simply answer: have a look at the register of the port of Guam and you will see that, indeed, there used to be as many as 80 and even 100 ships visiting the ports of Guam; but, upon leafing the register a few more pages, one will see that the decrease has been unfortunately severe, so much so that in 1870, only **four** whalers anchored there, and it would have been better if these four ships had not gone into the port of Apra at all, because today's whaler is more of a pirate and corsair than anything else, leaving no money behind and not creating any net revenue; in fact, he takes away the few coins that circulate there, by selling a couple of hundreds of tins of canned food and a few yards of rough sail-cloth.

The question then may be asked: What does it all mean? Well, I answer: It is very simple; take a chart of the Pacific Ocean that shows the stretch between the coasts of

1 Ed. note: He is referring to Mr. Johnston's cotton plantation at Tamuning.

China and the Straits of Malacca, and you will see the consequences of that real, but melancholic, truth.

The fabulous wealth created throughout the United States by the gold mines of California has resulted in the fact that, where there were at first only shacks, and later houses, there are now wide avenues, paved, with wealthy trade marts and commercial traffic, such that even the coast of California can count a few cities, as rich and populous as that of San Francisco.

As soon as the commerce was established between the ports of Japan and those on the American coast, with such ports being well situated, well sheltered inside safe bays, with magnificent and warehouses well stocked with marine supplies and with repair facilities for the frequent damages suffered in Arctic seas, and above all, ports with good and frequent communications, not to mention the facilities for loading, unloading and warehousing, it is obvious that the ships will go there, abandoning the Marianas where they do not meet with such services. Besides, the port of Guam is located five miles from the city, is not very safe on account of the numerous coral patches everywhere, making it unsafe to anchor and stay there. Once you are in St. Louis of Apra—that is the name of the port—you are still at a considerable distance from the settlement, and the only road that links the two places has a few narrow stretches that delay progress. In addition to this, there is a need to establish well-stocked warehouses—something that did not exist either when the whaling ships used to winter there. That is why the transactions then were inadequate, with the buyers vying for too few products, for which they had to pay high prices, given that the seller did not have an ample supply; so, little by little the exchanges dwindled and the ships abandoned the port and began looking elsewhere for ports where they could find a safe anchorage, more abundant supplies, more commerce and better communications.

Today, in the Marianas, there is still the odd vessel that is brought there in the pursuit of the white whales, or *jorobadas* [humpbacks], that come down that way from the cold regions. From time to time, there is also some vessel that make a stop there on their crossing from America to China, as a result of some damage or the lack of food supplies.

Regarding the importance of the islands, from a political point of view, let me simply mention the fact that they are situated far from any strait, so that any ship can making a stopover far from their coasts, or even take on water at other ports in the northern islands that are uninhabited, or in the many island groups that form the Caroline Archipelago; there they will find good and safe ports to anchor in, and can even go anywhere in the islands without any fear, because the Carolinian is not only peaceful in character, but also so serviceable as to offer even his own hut to the visitor, and any of the resources of the forest and whatever else within his reach.

XVII.

The present population of the Mariana Islands, as I said, is only 7,138 inhabitants, divided between Guam, Rota and Saipan. They present a variety of castes and races worthy of study. The Indian, properly so called, can be said to be non-existent, as the largest group is a mixture of Chamorros and Americans, or of Spaniards and Chamorros; among them can be very often seen features that are very accentuated that recall to mind the fact that North Americans used to winter there; indeed, the whalers left the marks of their race behind, and not only that, but also much of their customs and language, so much so that most of the [so-called] Chamorros understand English.

In addition to the English half-breeds, there are a few Englishmen who are married locally and reside there, and there are also Portuguese, Spanish, Filipinos, Frenchmen, Japanese, and Carolinians.

This population, so heterogeneous, to tell the truth, it would be difficult to say how they all manage to live, if we did not know about the fertile soil and the abundance of deer in the forest; their meat, as everything else that represents a need or a superfluous item, must be looked for in the neighborhood; indeed, there, in spite of the lack of a market or commercial store, one can be assured to find a small merchant in everyone, as anyone can barter the surplus of their small items they have, from their manufacture or from their farms, to someone else who lacks them.

With regard to industry, it amounts to only a few trials that compete with the indolence of the native and the lack of currency. Alcohol is distilled, but only for local consumption, given that any exportation based on retail sales can never compete with manufacturing on a large scale and large trade-marts.

The main product of the islands has to be the coconut, which is abundant and varied. I had always looked upon this tree as a great resource, but, frankly, until I studied the life of the savage close at hand, until my visit to the Marianas and until I watched the habits of the Carolinians, I could not really understand the various and multiple applications that the coconut has. It can properly be called the providential tree of life for the savage.

Among the different races of Carolinians, who presently live in the Marianas in their completely primitive state, I am persuaded that they consider the coconut represents for them the necessary and the superfluous, but always in line with the state of the person consuming it. Within the nut itself he finds food and drink; in the shell that surrounds it, tools, utensils for all uses and decorative objects; in the palm leaves, plates for their houses, cords and clothes; in the trunk that sustains it, outriggers and pillars; in the sap that gives it life, medicine, dyes, resins and alcoholic drinks; and, finally, in the fibrous matter of the coir, clothing and ropes of great solidity.

The coconut tree could become the basis for the wealth of the Marianas.

The state budget for the local and arbitrary funding of the Mariana Islands in all aspects amounts to about 17,000 pesetas. The revenue collected locally by the state, to

cover all the local needs, amounts to a sum that varies between 10,000 and 10,500 pesetas.

The Chamorros do not know what it is to pay tribute, but it is a different thing with personal service, which is almost completely redeemable, and as such can be considered the true manner in which they contribute to the communal coffers.

The Chamorro is also obliged to be part of the Battalion of Urban Militia that serves in the Islands, by replacing the latest retiree. I have seen said battalion during their exercises, and have noticed the precision of their movements, and their reputation for being sharp-shooters is deserved, so much so that, in spite of their obsolete flintlock rifles, they go to the firing range trusting in their own ability. They generally do not carry more ammunition than the ball that is already inside the barrel of their rifle; still, they rarely miss their mark. True it is that they are constantly hunting, given the prodigious number of deer, and the exorbitant number of them that is killed every year.

The maintenance of the Mariana Islands costs the Treasury **200,089 pesetas** [per year] which are divided among: costs for personnel and for materiel, cost of the mail service from Manila, and other costs. Between the expenses and revenues, there is a difference of 183,089 pesetas, a deficit that, in my opinion, could be reduced considerably, even made to disappear completely by reducing the expenses to the level of the revenues.

The mail service that is now provided by private interests and costs the Treasury 25,000 pesetas per year, according to the type of contract, is a sum that would be negative, if the basic needs of the Islands were studied, and they are the needs for communication, or transport. Under the guaranty of the local funds, and for terms of rather long durations, there are many North American Companies that would sell a small vessel to the Mariana Islands; this vessel would be used not only for the mail service but also for communication between Guam, Rota, and Saipan.

The permanent availability of a vessel is, for those Islands, not only a saving, but also an essential need, and everyone agrees on this point; indeed, the eventualities and vicissitudes of that land, in relation with the rest of the world, must now be solved within the short space of 40 days, the length of time that the mail ship spends there during the two mail trips. So, when that ship leaves, it is like a key that is turned in the door of that prison; for the inhabitants of the islands, this means that they remain *incomunicado* for 11 out of the 12 months of the year.

If this book were to be turned into one case file regarding the matter at hand, I would demonstrate the evidence, the possibility of obtaining the vessel at no cost to the Treasury, including its maintenance, and only by using an average intelligence in planning its use and the voyages.

Given the small importance of the monetary revenue produced by the Islands, I believe that one could erase from the budget the expenditure for the salaries of the Administrator and Auditor of the Treasury, with these administration and auditing functions of little import being added to those of the Governor. Said Governor, whose rank is that of a Colonel, could be reduced to that of a Captain; now, the Colonel must

have his Adjutant, Major, and other posts that are considered necessary to run a first-class government.

The city of Agaña is classified as a "strong place" [fortified place] or garrison town; hence, the source of high costs for personnel and materiel, that could be reduced, without removing from the settlement the possibility of answering the salutes to foreign flags: our flag could be exhibited on top of the small fort at Agaña.

Since the place is not, in actual fact, a strong place, even if it is called such—a mere arrogant title. There are only a few small walls with a few pieces of artillery, the best of which is no match for the worst type of the modern guns. I do not believe that the expenditures involved are justified by such a title; neither are those for the insignificant number of personnel or for the few pounds of gunpowder used in the rare case when gun salutes are required during the visit of a warship. There would remain the present inventory of guns, gunners, and stores, but there would be a significant decrease in the budget.

Some critics might say: Everything that leads to a reduction of personnel and war materiel is not prudent nowadays when many nations have increased their military manpower and improved their war machines. That would be true, and the fear would be a valid one, if the Island of Guam were a frontier post, or a strategic post. What if the waiting guns were of brass, over strong forts that would give the alarm in case of danger? What would be the effect in Guam? The only answer made would continue to be made by the sound of the waves breaking upon its coral reefs, and the whistling tones of the stiff northeasterly winds that prevail in those regions.

If foreign warships needed a port to anchor in, to repair damages, rest and recruit, or as an advanced point, Guam would not present any obstacle, because to the north and to the south of it, there are safe ports for large squadrons in other, uninhabited, islands; there they could lie at anchor, rest, and await further orders, as well as take on water and refreshments, on account of the large number of wild pigs, oranges, deer, coconuts and other products that are readily available in the islands to the north of Guam, over a distance of 10 degrees of latitude, and also in the Carolines to the south.

Even the ecclesiastical budget could be reduced; indeed, unless I am mistaken, there are five priests in the Island of Guam alone, and its population, as I have said, is only 7,138 souls, including the Carolinians who live in their own villages under their own customs and native religion.

Given the savings that I have already mentioned (and I stand ready to provide more details, if need be); given the creation of a public market where bids and offers would be made in the open, and not, as at present, behind closed doors; given the introduction of the tribute [personal taxes]; and above all, the availability of a means of transport, either a vessel purchased under the terms already mentioned, or some other means, for instance, the State could provide one, or else it could arrange for it to be built locally, as there are present the material elements and the expertise to do that in the Marianas, the effect would surely be, if not the disappearance of the deficit, a significant reduction of the present deficit, so that expenses would match revenue. Money is the

only means to stop the present decadence, whose main cause is the lack of communications. As everywhere else, a better communication is the only key that can open the way toward an improvement in the [mercantile] movements, wealth, and development of nations.

The Chamorro is, in general, indolent, but not more than anywhere else where the needs are known, few, and easy to fill. He needs only to extend his hand to gather the breadfruit; he needs only to move about the *focifio* [weeding tool] to harvest floury roots that are nutritious and healthy. His basic needs are met with these two elements. Any other need come from consideration such as modesty, or vanity, which make him buy a few yards of colored cloth sold to him at a high price, for the purpose of covering his **body**.

The clothes worn by male and female Chamorros are similar to those worn by the natives of the Philippines, except that they are not so luxurious; indeed, the Chamorra does not wear a petticoat, but only a loose skirt, and she fastens her [close-fitting] blouse or *condonga* with a belt. Her sandals are also different; hers are a solid heel-piece. A sort of *chambra* [blouse] with short and wide sleeves, plus the scapulary, rosary and the kerchief complete her dress.

Excess in clothing is unnecessary in the Marianas; there luxury and fashion are gods that receive no cult whatever, not even some incense [i.e. perfume]; the people, men or women, limit themselves to wearing the simplest and as little clothing as possible.

The Chamorro is affable by nature, although there is something left of the former pride of his ancestors. He is more honest than many other men of other nationality, and as long-suffering in what he believes just, as ungovernable in what he does not believe so. He is easy to offend and remain recentful for a long time.

To illustrate the high level of education in the Mariana Islands, it is sufficient to compare them with another population living under the same conditions; here we can ascertain that from 80% to 90% of the people know how to read and write.

This requires an explanation. We have already mentioned that the Jesuit Father Diego Sanvitores, once he had settled the Ladrone Islands, succeeded in exciting the zeal and charity of Queen Mariana de Austria, either through letters, or through the words of Father Nihart. What is certain is that he obtained from that Queen the title of city for the town of Agaña, and a grant of 3,000 pesos per year for the establishment of a college and schools to take care of the education of the inhabitants of those Islands— since called Marianas in her honor—as well as other favors from the wife of King Philip IV. It is thanks to the existence of this pious institution that it still has plentiful funding today. The college of Agaña is known under the name of San Juan de Letran; it is a spacious building. There are also schools in all the other towns, and the headman of those make sure that no youngster skips the modest classes given there. Therefore, schooling in the Marianas can be considered compulsory.

I would fail in my duty of impartiality if I were to forget to mention something else, the mention of those untiring soldiers of the faith. One such soldier in particular, who has dedicated his life to others, who forgets his own needs to console and help anyone

else in need, moral and physical. I refer to the Vicar Forane, who is also the Director of schools for the Marianas: Father Fray Aniceto Ibañez.

The best way for me to illustrate this Father is by saying that he has been marooned on this coral island for the past twenty years. Only a person who has visited the Marianas can appreciate what it means to have been there twenty years.

Next to the untiring zeal of Father Ibañez, the [people of the] Marianas should forever be grateful also to former Governor Felipe de la Corte, for the support he always gave to education. The result, as I have said, is that 90% of the people who have gained the first elements of knowledge.

[Conclusion]

Here comes the end of this modest publication, which I fancy might be the prologue to another, more extensive, work that I intend to publish. There is much, very much, more to do in the Philippines and much remains to be said about the resources of that very rich colony, susceptible to yield bounteous profits. May God wish that this little book incite in others the love of writing. The Archipelago presents an open field of investigation, in all subject matters. Legends, history, and native customs, to mention a few, are inexhaustible themes for the wandering observer.

...

Note 1871F

Drifters from Fais Island

Source: PNA.

Note: In the Philippine National Archives in Manila, there exists a file, in a bundle about the Marianas and Carolines, regarding some shipwrecked people from the Palaos (actually Fais) who were picked up on the East Coast of Luzon (supposedly in 1871). The copies of the main documents are unfortunately almost unreadable. In any case, the letters deal with the administrative problems caused by their repatriation.

Document 1871G

Secret file on Spaniards residing in the Marianas in 1871

Source: PNA.

Evaluation report by Governor Ibañez, dated Agaña 3 September 1871

Secret.—Personnel evaluation report regarding the social conduct, behavior and reputation of the government employees, active and retired, who reside in these Islands.

1. Commander, Captain¹ of Cavalry, and Sergeant-Major **Federico Gutierrez y Vicente**, born in the Philippines.

The said officer is of average ability and when he came to these Islands, he brought with him a married woman with whom he still lives in concubinage, committing the abuse that she cost the Treasury for her passage as if she were his own wife.—

Shortly after his arrival he was reprehended by Governor Francisco Moscoso, because he had ordered by himself an important overhaul of the weapons of the Battalion of Volunteer Militiamen when he should have advised his superior who is the Governor of these Islands. The said Governor later on reprehended him and placed him under house arrest, for inaccuracies that he committed, in various explanations requested of him, and for being extremely slow in reporting when he is called on service matters.—

Among the soldiers of the said Battalion, it is said that Mr. Gutierrez obliges them to bring to his house every week one carboy of coconut oil and a load of wood. It is notoriously public knowledge that he is always inviting people to make him presents, doing it with capricious indications that he might succeed the Governor. He is very partial,

1 Ed. note: Spanish military officers usually had two ranks at once, a substantive (lower) rank which they had been promoted to by their superiors in Spain, and an acting (higher) rank derived from their service condition, in line with their position and salary, a sort of field promotion that was not yet approved officially.

little just, and one cannot entrust matters of justice to him. He feigns subordination but behind his superiors; backs, he does not practice his good rules, infringing much too often Article 1 of the General Orders for officers.—

Through different persons, I have learned that on the evening of the very day of the arrival at this capital of Luis Baza, he went to visit him at home, where he said serious improprieties, in front of the many natives who had come to learn news from Manila.—

2. Commander, Captain of Infantry, **Miguel Requena**, Head of the *Presidio*, or Penitentiary.

He is of little ability, rather rough in his manners, and little respectful before his superiors, and of late he lacks social and military graces.—

He is in charge of the penitentiary in these Islands, in accordance with the Regulations, he is here the only officer in charge of the administrative and financial management. For this reason, the individuals under him do not come forward with complaints, about what is said in public, that is, about the prisoners whom he sends to work outside the penitentiary, he does not give them more than 1 *chupa*¹ of rice per day, also shortchanging the ration of the others; some of them were not being detained, by his orders, and I ordered their return to prison.—

The two above-mentioned Captains, Federico Gutierrez, Sergeant-Major of the garrison, and Manuel [sic] Requena, Commander of the Penitentiary, I have been informed, dedicate themselves to commerce and they do it with little decency.

3. Lieutenant, Second-Lieutenant **Francisco Vargas**, 3rd Adjutant of the garrison.

He is subordinated, comply with his duties well and whenever ordered by his superiors, but he is very hard on his subordinates and cannot contain himself when he punishes by himself, doing it with excess; he has been reprehended for this many times by my predecessor.—

4. Captain, Lieutenant **Dionisio Lopez**, Commander of the Artillery.

This officer is correct in the compliance of his duties, subordinated, and with a good behavior.—

5. Senior Medical Officer **Francisco Carmona**.

He is very subordinated, zealous in the extreme in the compliance of his duties. He holds the best feelings, and consequently he is pleasant and affectionate.

6. Captain of the Standing Company, **José Aguilar**.

He fulfills his duties perfectly well, has a character for the command that he exercises, and he obeys blindly the orders given, has much love for Spain, for his Government, and for his immediate superior, the Governor of these Islands.

7. Lieutenant of the Standing Company, **Justo de la Cruz**.

He has little character but he complies well with what he is ordered to do, has a good conduct and loves Spain.

1 Ed. note: About 375 cc or ml.

8. Second-Lieutenant of the Standing Company, **José Perez y Rivera**.

He is not very intelligent; but he is very correct and obedient in carrying out his orders. He passionately loves the Spanish Government and its delegates. He is involved in all police work and nobody carries out these services better than him when the Governor sends him, as he is in constant pursuit of vagrants and the vicious.

9. First Adjutant of the Standing Company, **Andrés de Castro**.

Without a broad education, he has rather a lot of practice in the exercise of his job; much punctuality, good-will and satisfaction. He is assiduous at work and he never strays from what the Governor orders him to do, being very much trustworthy.

10. Second Adjutant of the Standing Company, **José Herrero**.

He is rather intelligent, complies with his duties correctly, though without the necessary effort, has a large family which he takes care of with special affection, and as the previous ones loves Spain.—

Lately, all the individuals of the Standing Company are very subordinated and profess a great love for the General of the Philippines and the Governor of these Islands.

11. The present Administrator of the Treasury, Mr. **Antonio Fernandez**.

He shows sufficient intelligence in the performance of his job. He is untiring in the management of the interests of the Treasury and its progress. He is very polite and affectionate with all the persons who deal with him. IN conclusion, he is a good element and above all he is very fond of H.M. the King Amadeus I and to his Government.

12. The present Auditor of Finance, Mr. **Mariano Torres**.¹

He complies with his duties, always showing a very great interest. Even though he is affectionate and correct in his dealings, out of sight of those who could report, his self-esteem is not what it should be.

13. Captain of the Port, Mr. **Vicente Calvo**, Second-Lieutenant (Nary) equivalent.

He is very unconstrained, complies well with his duties and behaves perfectly with whomever he deals with, and he is very appreciated in the country where he has been for many years.

14. The former Administrator of the Treasury, Mr. **Luciano Vecin Cardero**.

Having been dismissed from the post in which he served, he has turned to commerce but does nothing with it. It is publicly known that he has borrowed various sums from persons of this City and from Manila, toward whom he has not honored his commitments; for this reason, he is very much oppressed by creditors who pursue him everywhere. On 23 August last, there was a case heard before the Judge of First Instance of the Marianas in which it appeared that he owes 719 pesos to Messrs. Fernandez & Miranda in business in Manila. Sergeant-Major Federico Gutierrez has also presented a document claiming from the said Mr. Vecin the sum of 856 pesos and 31 cents which he has been owing for some time to Mrs. Maxima Guerrero, resident of Manila. He has in addition many claims pending before the present Administrator of the Treasury, on account of actions which he did not do when he was in that post, and some sum which

1 Ed. note: The future Governor of Yap.

he did not put in the cash box. He is of average conduct and he is not loved in the country on account of the little dignity of his behavior as a European Spaniard.

15. The former Auditor of Finance, Mr. **Froilan Blanco**.

As soon as he was dismissed from his post by the superior authorities, he went on to Manila and came back with articles of trade to which he dedicates himself. Soon, he also became a farmer, planting large tracts of land, and this is what occupies him most at present. He is very active and with some intelligence, which could give very good results in some islands, where men of this type are needed.

16. Former Surgeon, Mr. **Vicente Guilló**, who filled the position of Medical Officer.

He came to these Islands by decision of the Superior Government with a salary of 60 pesos per month taken out of various funds. His post having been eliminated at the suggestion of Governor Felipe de la Corte, he went on to Manila, and returned later with articles of trade which he continues to sell. He has established sheds for distilling alcohol and a roof-tile and brick factory. He is of average education, but with more propensity for good than for evil. He is already rather old, has a family and even though he is not well liked in the country, I do not consider his presence in these Islands to be prejudicial.

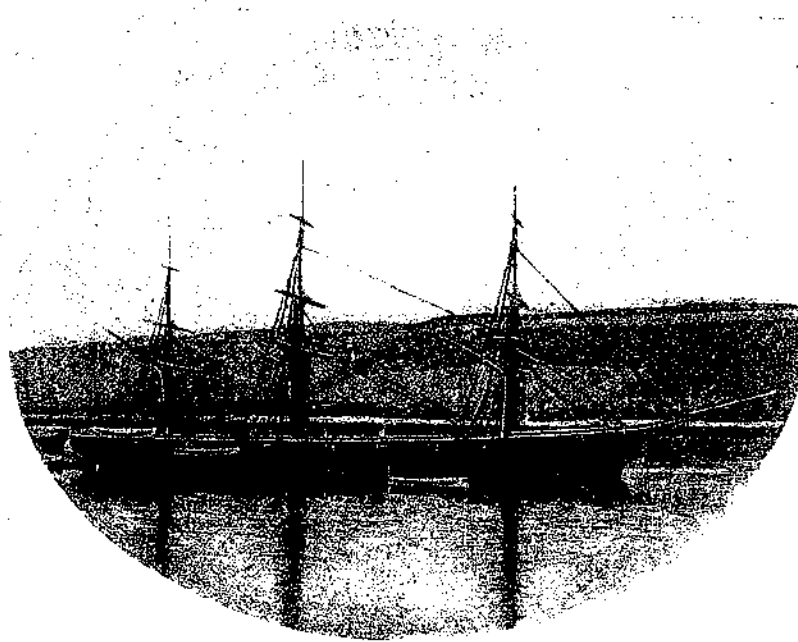
Agaña, 3 September 1871.

Luis de Ibañez

Note: After having finished the above narrative, I have learned from a reliable source that former Auditor of Finance, Mr. **Froilan Blanco** has been owing for some time 6,000 pesos in Manila to the owner of the Luzon Store, that he also owes over 2,000 pesos to a certain religious person, thus making his total debts over 12,000 pesos. In this Court, he has just registered a draft of 100 pesos in favor of Mr. Felipe del Pan, in business in Manila and to whom he tells me he owes over 1,000 pesos.

Same date as above.

Luis de Ibañez



The corvette Vitiáz.

Document 1871H

**The Russian warship Vitiaz, Captain Nasimov,
visited Guam**

Sources: Colonel Luis de Ibáñez y García. Historia de las islas Marianas con su derrotero, y de las Carolinas y Palaos (Granada, 1886); translated by R. Lévesque and published in the Newsletter of the Miklouho-Maclay Society of Australia, Vol. 7, N° 1 (Series 25) February 1986.

Note: Captain Nasimov left news about Miklouho-Maclay, a Russian scientist landed in New Guinea.

**Letter from Captain Paul Nasimov to the Governor of the
Marianas, dated Apra 23 October 1871**

...
When I was putting the finishing touch to the present history, it appeared to me a good idea to report on the arrival at the Marianas of the Russian steam-powered naval vessel which has just circumnavigated the globe and, after taking on wood, water, and food, was on her way to Yokohama to pick up Prince Alejo [Alexander?] who had previously disembarked at New York, travelled overland to San Francisco in California to head for Japan and from there was to go to Manila; that is what actually happened.

The Commander of the said Russian vessel sent me a letter which, copied literally, says the following:

Commander of the warship **Vitiaz**.

Port of St. Louis of Apra (Guam), 23 October 1871. N° 173.

[To] the Governor of the Mariana Islands.

Dear Sir:

Before my arrival at the port of Apra, I was reconnoitering the northeast coast of New Guinea. When I sailed from the coast of New Guinea, I left behind in Astrolabe Bay, at the anchorage named Archduke Constantin, in lat. 5°28'48" South, long. 145°46'31" East, a Russian traveller and naturalist, M. Maclay and two servants, for scientific purposes. However, after having met the natives of that country who are not

disposed to receive any foreigner as settlers, and believing that his life may be in danger, I beg you respectfully to be so kind as to communicate the news to the captains of all the ships that have to pass near the northeast coast of New Guinea, for them to go into Astrolabe Bay and ask for the naturalist and his companions. They are established at the most interior point inside the bay. The bay is entirely safe for navigation, as there are no shoals, reefs nor rocks. The port of Contantin is a good anchorage, with 15 to 20 fathoms. Good fresh water can be had from a river, and wood is abundant everywhere. Navigation is easy and without danger along the coast of New Guinea during the southeast monsoon. Coming from the North, it is best to head for San Matthias Island, then for New Hanover, and from there take the direction of Astrolabe. Sailing more to the South, sailors must follow the land close, specially when passing through the Strait of Alexander II, between the group of low islands and Cape King William on the main island, in order to avoid two reefs that are near the low group and upon which the sea breaks. One must sail at a distance of 5 to 6 miles from the mainland. It is recommended to send news about the traveller M. Maclay to the Imperial Geographic Society in St. Petersburg, Russia. All of Europe knows about his enterprise. Thus, not only the Russian Geographic Society but all those of Europe will be thankful for any news about the said naturalist.

I am, Sir, most respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
Paul Nasimov

It is faithfully translated by the Government Interpreter of these Islands, Joaquín Portusach.¹

The above letter was reproduced in the Manila newspapers and many captains arriving at the Marianas Islands received copies as well.²

1 Ed. note: It is therefore almost certain that the original must have been written in English, as Portusach only knew Portuguese, Spanish, and English. However, as the original was not found in the Manila Archives, it has been translated back into English.

2 Ed. note: Nicolas N. Micluho-Maclay visited Micronesia twice, aboard the **Sea Bird** in 1876 (see Doc. 1876...), and aboard the **Flower of Yarrow** in 1877 (see Doc. 1877...).

Documents 1871I

The 1871-73 term of Governor Ibañez y García

II. Decrees issued by Governor Ibañez in 1871 and 1872

Sources: Agaña archives in 1900; now LC Mss. Division, ref. ...; cited in B&R 53: 402.

Decree dated Agaña 18 August 1871.

Note: This decree, or proclamation, has already been published in the Introduction of the translation of Ibañez' book (see below).

I, Don Luis de Ibañez y García, Knight of the Order of Charles III and of the Royal Military Order of San Hermenegildo, with the shield of that order, Commander of the Royal Order of Isabel la Católica, and decorated with other orders of distinction for bravery i war as a Colonel of Infantry, Political and Military Governor of the Mariana Islands, do declare:

Citizens of the Marianas: Upon taking charge of the government of these Islands, my first duty is to carry out the responsibilities placed upon me by the mother country, through the illustrious Prince of the House of Savoy, Don Amadeo (may God save him). In the smallest village as in the largest city, in the most humble dwelling as in the finest house, wherever waves the holy banner of Castile that the intrepid Magellan brought to these remote regions, there are cries of praise and thanksgiving for the new King [Amadeus I].

...

Decree dated Agaña 20 November 1871.

Note: This decree has already been published in the Guam Recorder.

It has come to my notice that many of the native population move about too frequently from one village to another without permission, and that some persons, fearing permanent registration in one place, remain in another for some days, weeks or longer. This manner of living results in real harm to the province as well as confusion in the moral state of the people. The government is therefore resolved to end this anomalous condition and I have considered it convenient to establish the following rules:

Art. 1—It shall be prohibited, as a general rule, for any person of any age to absent himself for more than twenty-four hours from the village in which he is registered, without special permission, under penalty of a fine of five pesos, or ten days in jail with labor on public works.

Art. 2—The *Gobernadorcillo* of any village will be fined the same amount for every person apprehended in his village who has not in his possession a special license.

Art. 3—The *Gobernadorcillo* or ministers of justice who apprehend such persons must deliver them immediately to this Government, with statement of their names, and the villages in which they are registered.

Art. 4—The *Gobernadorcillos* shall be permitted to extend the period of such licenses to people within their districts for a period not to exceed six months, in which case they shall present proper evidence of need for such extension.

Art. 5—The *Gobernadorcillos* will keep books in which licenses are recorded, in order to be able thus to settle disputes which may arise.

Art. 6—The *Gobernadorcillo* of this city is forbidden to give special permission or passes to the members of the Battalion of Militia, Company of Artillery, Palace Guard, or Prison Guard, who should apply to their senior officers for said permission.

Whenever the Government considers it proper to do so, it will send persons of confidence to the villages to ascertain in what manner these orders are being carried out.

These orders are to be considered effective one week from the time of their receipt in the villages, and as superseding all previous orders on this subject. A copy will be displayed in a public place in each village for three consecutive days.

Given in the Palace of the City of Agaña, 20 November 1871.

Luis de Ibañez

12. History of the Marianas, by Governor Ibañez, published in Spain in 1886

Source: Coronel de Infantería, D. Luis de Ibañez y García. Historia de las Islas Marianas con su Derrotero, y de las Carolinas y Palaos... (Granada, Sabatel, 1886).

Note: This book has already been translated by Marjorie G. Driver and published as MARC Educational Series N^o. 12, in 1992.

 Document 1871J

The schooner Neva, alias Emily, Captain Pitman

Source: Ms. 1868M in the Peabody Museum, Salem, bound with the logbook of the Malolo (see Doc. 1868H); PMB 220.

Note: There are indications that this schooner was really the Hirondele, stolen from Frenchman Gustave Lechart at Kosrae (see Doc. 1868I). As far as the log-keepers are concerned, at first it was the unnamed First Mate, who was replaced on 12 April 1872 by John S. Powless, who was to take over the schooner later, when Captain Pitman left her at Honolulu.

Extracts from the logbook

Thursday 19th October 1871

Came on board. Took charge of the schooner. Came on board from Brig **Leonora** the following persons for crew of schooner: Charles Roberts, Manilla Peter, Wahoo John, Old Penna.

...

[The rest of the log appears to be kept by the Mate, Mr. Powless. First position given, on 23rd October, is north of Kosrae:]

Lat. 6°32' N., Long. 164°18' East.

...

Monday 12th November 1871

This day commences with stormy weather blowing strong from the Eastward followed by heavy squalls and continual rain, etc. Schooner running the land up and down in search of the Harbor of Millie [Nili]. At 2 p.m. getting the sun, made it out to be the island of Armo. At 3:15 wore schooner around and steered S by E for Millie. At 5:30 p.m. took in foresail and stowed the flying jib... At 11:45 sighted the **Morning Star**.

Tuesday 14 November

... At 12:45 p.m. saw the schooner **Morning Star**, standing to the Northward. At 1 p.m. **Morning Star** went about and stood on the same tack as ourselves, we supposing her to be bound for Millie.

...

Thursday 16 November 1871

... At 3 p.m. sighted the land ahead bearing E by S dist. about 12 miles. At 4 p.m. wore around head to the Northward... AT 3 a.m. wore around and stood in for the land.

...

Saturday 18 November

... At 10:30 p.m. sighted the land. Wore schooner around and stood to the Northward. AT 12 a.m. wore around again, head to the Southward and Eastward. At 2 a.m. wore around and stood for the land until daylight. At 5:15 wore schooner around and stood in for the land. Tacked ship and headed along the land with a strong breeze from the Eastward.

Sunday 19th November 1871

... At 7:30 a.m. standing in for the land, saw a canoe coming. At 8 a.m. alongside, took natives on board and the canoe on deck. Tacked schooner, and worked along the land. Crew employed repairing foresail. At 4 p.m. passed reef with a light wind. At 4:30 p.m. brought schooner to anchor in the bay of Millie. Furled sails and cleared top decks. Got boat out and put Capt. [Pitman] on shore.

...

Tuesday 21st November

... At 8:30 a.m. hauled boat alongside and pulled Capt. out to the brig. [Leonora].. At 4:30 p.m. Capt. came o board again from the Brig.

...

Wednesday 22nd November

... At 6 a.m. got schooner under weigh [sic] and worked her over to Big Millie and went up alongside the Brig **Leonora** and made fast. Forenoon, cleared out the afterhold and took on board from the brig **Leonora** several cases containing tortoise shells and other small articles.

...

Thursday 23rd November

... At 7:30 a.m. cast schooner off from alongside Brig **Leonora** and worked schooner over to Millie. At 5:30 p.m. came up alongside the Brig and made fast and in rounding to, carried away the jib stay of Schooner and the flying guy of the Brig. Crew employed repairing foresail, etc.

...

Sunday 26th November

... This day landed Charles Roberts from Schooner **Neva** as trading agent on Torewa¹ of the Millie Group.

...

1 Ed. note: The islet of Takewa on the N.W. part of the lagoon.

Monday 27th November

... The crew employed at getting the ship ready for sea... Today 27th November, received trade from the Brig **Leonora** consisting of tobacco, cloth, prints, cutlasses, broad axes and powder, etc. etc. We let go from alongside the Brig at 2 p.m. and came to anchor ahead of her. At 4 p.m. we weighed anchor and got off shore. At 1/2 past 5 p.m. we kept away W by S to clear the island of Naalo [Alu] and Millie. At 6 p.m. hauled up to S by W. At 7 p.m. hauled up SW.

...

Sunday 3rd December 1871

Commences with light breeze from East. Running in toward the land bearing South. Sail in sight, a schooner on the wind heading to the N.E. The brig in sight proves to be the **Leonora**, from Milie bound to Pitts [Butaritari] Island. We closed up with land at 9 a.m. It proves to be the island of Makin...

Monday 4th December

... Land in sight. Got up to the passage at 12 Noon but could not get in through, a strong tide running out. Made a board out and stood in again. We passed through and kept away for the island of Tukarere [Tikurere]. Came to anchor at 3 p.m. in 12 fathoms of water close to the Brig **Leonora**. There is also at anchor the Barque **Lyra** of Sydney, Capt. Burney, also a topsail schooner, Capt. Eury of Sydney...¹

Tuesday 5th December

Noon, received on board Schooner a lot of trade from Brig **Leonora**. Two sugar pans also delivered to Barque **Lyra**, 1,319 lbs of rice. Received from Brig **Leonora** 11 porter casks. Capt. Eury sailed today, port unknown... Received on board George Frederick formerly of the Brig **Leonora**. He is to go to Arno one of the Marshall Group of Islands. Got under way at 9 a.m. bound to Awekuana [Ukiangang], S.W. point of Pitts Island. Let go anchor in 18 fathom water. At 12 M cleared away boat and sent it ashore to buy molasses. Bought 25 gallons, also 50 fowls. Brought aboard ship 15 gallons molasses. We came here thinking we could ship 3 or 4 natives but could not.

Wednesday 6th December

Comes in fine. Got under way from Nuekuana Point at 6 p.m., bound for Millie. Steering West off shore, altered course at 7 p.m. WSW... Crew employed at cleaning pocket pistols for trade, all, one man making a mast coat for main mast. Lat. by obs. 4°26' North. Long. 172°22' East.

...

Saturday 9th December 1871

... At 10 a.m. kept away for the N.E. passage. Found a bar across it but plenty of water on it, from 5 to 15 fathoms. At 12N, passed through and reached the station at

1 Ed. note: Capt. Eury's schooner was named **Spec**.

4:30 p.m. Sent a boat ashore, found all well and doing well. Stored sails & cleaned up decks. Came to anchor in 16 fathoms of water.

Sunday 10th December

... Two white men came aboard, one a trader belonging to Capt. Hayes and the other William J. Lowther, trading for himself... The white men went ashore at 5 p.m.

...

Tuesday 12th December 1871

... At 4 p.m. received 3 muskets from James Lowther in payment for rice... At 8 a.m., a white came on board, a trader of Capt. Hayes. He lives on an island called Naalo [Alu] in Millie Lagoon, also James Lowther, also Kaibuke, a chief of Millie. Crew employed cleaning pistols and mending sails, repairing tank to fill with water.

...

Thursday 14th December 1871

... The schooner **Temata** sailed for Ebon...¹

Friday 15th December

... Called all hands at 5:30 a.m. The Capt. went on shore at 7 p.m., returned at 8:30 a.m.

Saturday 16th December 1871

... At 3 p.m. the King and his suite came on board, the Capt. gave him a present. They had dinner on board. They left at 5:30 p.m.

...

Sunday 17th December 1871

... At 10 a.m., the King came on board to dinner, also Charles Roberts. Raining pretty much all day. Set anchor watch at 8 p.m. At 10 p.m., 2 canoes were coming alongside. We told them not to. They would not hear until there was a shot fired across their outrigger, then they made sail and went off.

Monday 18th December 1871

... The King and several of his chiefs came on board today...

...

Wednesday 10th December 1871

... The King and the Kaibuke are going [as] passengers, all came 25 of their natives. They are going around with the vessel and back to Millie. Received on board 3 pigs to be landed on ARno. Landed at the station 1 bag of rice, 25 lbs of tobacco. Ship all ready for sea. Set anchor watch at 8 p.m. Got under way at 7:30 a.m. All hands on board.

...

1 Ed. note: The Temata (perhaps Jemata) was owned by a German trader, T.R.F. Milne.

Friday 22nd December 1871

... At 6 a.m. raised the land bearing West. Run the land down to the station. At 12N. had a heavy squall of wind & rain. Kept the ship off shore. As soon as the squall was over, we kept on course again akibg sgire,

Saturday 23rd December 1871

Comes in squally, wind S.E. Running the land down for the station. Came to anchor at 5:30 p.m. in 18 fathoms of water. George, the white trader, came on board, also a black man, a trader for Charles Howard of Sydney. Got overboard 2 boats 7 then afast astern. Cleared up decks. At 6 p.m., broke off 14 Porter casks & 3 barels all empty except one. The King and Kaibuke of Millie have gone on shore to visit Lageman, King of ARno. Also the Capt. has gone on shore. Landed at George's a lot [of] trade. Wind S.E. with a heavy swell when the tide turns.

Sunday 24th December 1871

Comes in fine & clear. Wind East. Landed 2 iron tanks of 400 gallons each, also 14 porter casks & 3 barrels & 3 pigs and a lot of deck plank to set the tanks on. Landed at George's 6 muskets, 14 pistols, a lot of cloth, 5 boxes of tobacco. The King of ARno came on board...

Monday 25th December 1871

... At 3 p.m. got under way for Mejjero [Majuro]... At 8 a.m. a canoe came alongside, and Millie natives were going to take the native but the Capt. stopped them. We came up to the station about 12 M. Henry [Harry?] Burlingame came on board, and he said he would pilot us into the lagoon. We hauled the ship to the wind to beat around to the Eastward of the Island.

Tuesday 26th December 1871

... RAised the land at 10:30 a.m. Kept the ship away to S.S.W. for the passage.

Wednesday 23th December 1871

Comes in fine & clear, wind ENE. Ship heading S.W. for the passage. Entered the passage at 2 p.m. Hauled her on the wind, beat her up to her anchorage at the East end of the lagoon. Came to anchor at 7:40 p.m. in 26 fathoms of water, 45 fathoms of chain out. Cleared the boat so the Millie natives could go ashore. Set anchor watch at 9 p.m. Fine all night. Got under way at 6 a.m. to beat farther up the lagoon to where the King & Kaibuki and other chiefs are stopping. CAME to anchor at 11:30 a.m. in 21 fathoms of water with 40 fathoms of chain out. Sent the boat ashore to bring the chiefs aboard. Loamatoa came up to see his child which the King of Millie has had in charge a long time. Loamatoa had his wife and mother with him on board.

Thursday 28th December 1871

... Henry Burlingame was set on shore at 6 p.m. He is gone after Kaibuke of Mejjero. He came on board at 7 a.m. but the Kaibuke did not come. He is to come when the King come...

Friday 29th December 1871

... No chiefs have come on board as yet except Loamotoa. He came on board at 7 a.m. The Capt. went on shore to see about selling one of the boats for cocoanuts. He wants 80,000 which the King of Mejjero says he will give. Ike, a trader belonging to Kaapela [Capelle] of Ebon, came [on] board. He bought 50 lbs of rice... The native going back and forth a trading... Henry Burlingame came on board this morning. At 7 a.m. the boat was sent on shore to get some of the cocoanuts on the boat, got 2500, all we can get this 'time] until the schooner returns. Got under way at 9 a.m., bound to the N.W. end.

Saturday 30th December 1871

... Laying off & on at Henry Burlingame's place. The Captain has gone on shore... Got out of the agoon at 12M. Kept away for the N.W. end of the island.

Sunday 31st December 1871

... We kept away for Millie, course SE1/2E, wind ENE... At 2:30 a.m. sighted land at 5:45 a.m. Entered the passage at 6:30 a.m. Came to anchor at 7:15 a.m. in about 12 fathoms of water, 30 fathoms of chain out. The King has gone on shore, also Kaibuki.

Tacawa [Takowa], Monday, 1st January 1872

... Everything alright at station except a litter of young pigs have died since we left for the Eastward. They died through starvation. They had so much to do, they could 'snot

feed them. They have made 130 gallons of oil in one month. The King and Kaibuke have left the ship, also most of the rest of the natives... The Capt. went on shore at 9 a.m...

Tuesday 2nd January 1872

... The Capt. came on board at 4 p.m... The natives, a part of the ship's company, are at work cleaning tomahawks & axes which are for trade.

Wednesday 3rd January 1872

... Cleaned 7 Doz. tomahawks & 5 axes. At 5:30 a.m. called all hands to get the ship ready to get under way for Millie proper. Got under way at 7 a.m., wind East, course S by W, distance 10 miles. Came to anchor at 9 a.m. in 5 fathoms of water with 20 fathoms of chain out. At 11:15 a.m. hauled the boat alongside for the CAPT. to go ashore.

Thursday 4th January 1872

... The Captain came on board at 7:30 p.m. .. The Capt. went on shore at 9:30 a.m...

Friday 5th January 1872

... Capt. came on board at 1:30 p.m... A brig in sight to the leeward of Millie. It is the **Leonora**, Capta. Hayes. Capt. Pitman went out to try to get on board but could not, returned at 6:30 p.m. It has lulled sown a good deal. We shall get under way in the morning, if possible, for the head station... At 4 a.m. called all hands to get under way, which we did at 5 a.m. with a good breeze from the Eastward. We came to anchor at 8:15 a.m. in 11 fathoms of water.

Saturday 6th January 1872

Comes in fine with a breeze from the Eastward. Received from Brig a lot of muskets, swords and bayonets. Delivered to the Brig 4 bags of rice, 4 small boxes of tobacco & a lot of thin planks. Sent a boat's crew to fill water for the Brig. Filled 4 Porter casks. Capt. Hayes came on board at 6:30 a.m. and several whites, passengers in the Brig for Samoa, & the King of Millie came on board to visit the ship.

Sunday 7th January 1872

Comes in fine with wind from the Eastward. Capt. Pitman has gone on board the Brig. Received from the Brig 8 whale spades for trade. The crew busy cleaning muskets, 2 men mending the foresail. Took the native crew and filled 1 Porter cask with water for the Brig. Frank Benson, a trader of CApt. Hayes came on board to visit the Capt... Weighed anchor to accompany the Brig to ARno. We got it at 6 a.m., made sail... Came on board as passengers James Gasten and wife.

...

Wednesday 10th January 1872

... We came to anchor at 5:30 p.m. in 8 fathoms of water, the Brig laying off & on, got one boat out and the Capt. went on board the Brig... At 8 a.m., the schooner dragged her anchor... we stood off shore, wind SSE.

Thursday 11th January 1872

Laying off & on all night, it being too rough to raft oil... Came to anchor again at 9 a.m., the bight being very smooth. Lowered two boats, went in and got off 34 Porter casks in two rafts. In hoisting them in, one of them broke adrift. Sent a boat after it. The rest on board. Hove the anchor up & made sail to go and find the boats & cask of oil. We picked the boats up at 7 p.m.

Friday 12th January 1872

Picked the boats up at 7 p.m. then kept away for Millie, course SSE... Sighted land at 7:15 a.m. bearing South. Entered the passage at 9:30 a.m. CAME to anchor at 11 a.m., 15 fathoms of water... broke out 17 casks of oil, bucket them and sent them ashore to

the station, so they can look out for them until Capt. Hayes return from SAmoa...

Saturday 13th January 1872

... Capt. Pitman has gone on shore with the raft of oil, also a white man who is passenger in the schooner. The Capt. returned at 5 p.m... Got under way at 6 p.m. for Jeajea¹ to S.E. end of the lagoon. Came to anchor at 7 p.m. in 22 fathoms of water with 50 fathoms of chain. Got under way at 6 a.m. for the S.E. end of lagoon.

Sunday 14th January 1872

... Came to anchor at 7 p.m... One of the native crew was hurt by the gibbing of the foreboom. He was letting go; the boom gave when the belaying cleat gave away, catching him across the back, and belly.

Monday 15th January 1872

... Came to anchor at 3:50 p.m. in 16 fathoms, close to the island of Jeajeaie at the S.E. end of the lagoon... At 5:30 p.m. sent a boat ashore with the King who has been passenger with us, also Lebollim, a high chief on Millie...

Tuesday 16th January 1872

... The Capt. came aboard 3:30 p.m. when he bought 1000 cocoanuts from a native from an island to the windward. At 6 p.m. the King brought 1,300 cocoanuts...

Wednesday 17th January 1872

Comes in fine, wind E.S.E. Still buying nuts 'from] the natives... Called all hands at 5:30 a.m. Bought 500 nuts & then got under way for another island to get more nuts. Weighed anchor at 10 a.m. & came to anchor at 11:30 a.m...

Thursday 18th January 1872

.. Commended taking in nuts at 1 p.m. During the afternoon, bought 6000 nuts... Took 2000 nuts during the morning.

Friday 19th January 1872

... Busy taking cocoanuts... The King came on board to visit the CApt... The Capt. went on shore at 12 M. He came on board again at 1 p.m... One boat went after cocoanuts 1,130. The boat went again & brought 1,160. Bought up to 12 M: 3,729.

...

Tuesday 23rd January 1872

... Got all ready for sea... At 4:30 a.m. took in the boats, made sail, hove the anchor up at 7 a.m. Bound for Tekawa the head station. Came to anchor at 11:30 a.m... At 12:30 M, got out both boats, rafted 15 pieces timber and took it ashore...

1 Ed. note: A place name on the islet of Enajet, Mar 15-53 in Bryan's Place Names.

Friday, 26th January 1872

... The Capt. is some better this morning. Sickness, accute rheumatism.

...

Tuesday 30th January 1872

... Hauled 2 boats alongside, put into them 3000 cocoanuts for James Lowther in exchange for oil. Sent a boat in with all hands to work at the house. Sold to James Lowther altogether 9000 cocoanuts.

Thursday 1st February 1872

... Busy landing cocoanuts at the station & at work at the house...

...

Saturday 10th February 1872

... Shiped one hand by name Nantouca, a native of Abemama, one of the Gilberts Group.

Sunday 11th February 1872

... At 9 a.m., the Capt. and James Hasting took a canoe and went over to Millie proper. John, a trader belonging to Capt. Hayes came on board to see the CApt. George Fredericks, one of the crew, gone to Noalua [Alu] to buy breadfruit for the schooner.

...

Tuesday 13th February 1872

... The Kaibiki, a chief of Millie, came on board with the Capt. to receive the pay for the pig which belonged to the King. The CApt. gave a musket. The pig weighed about 150 lbs. Also, Lebelleon, another chief came on board to see the Capt... The Capt. went on shore to see about setting men to work scraping cocoanuts to make oil with James Lowther to oversee it, the making of the oil.

Wednesday 15th February 1872

... George returned on board at 1 p.m., he brought 10 breadfruits. He could have got more but would not give the price asked as the tobacco belonged to the Capt... At 9 a.m., sent the men in to work at the house.

...

Thursday 22nd February 1872

... AT 3 p.m. sail ho! Came in. It proves to be the **Temeta** of Ebon, Capt. Brown. He anchored off Arunik.¹ They have a loader there...

Friday 23rd February 1872

... The schooner **Tenata** returned from Millie proper. She has been there for oil which the King has been trading, for there were 8 casks. The King will not take any more trade from the **Temata**. The Kaibuke of Ebon came, passenger in the **Temata**.

1 Ed. note: Must be a place name on Mili proper (see next entry).

He is on a visit to the King of the island. Capt. Pitman went on board of the **Temata** to try and buy some provisions. When he returned, he had about 10 lbs of flour. He could not buy anything else...

Saturday 24th February 1872

... The **Temata** sailed today at 2 p.m. bound to Mejjero...

Sunday 25th February 1872

... The CApt. had some tobacco stolen from him and he has heard that one of the crew has done it. The Capt. has gone on shore to find it out. He searched the men's chests but could not see anything of it.

Monday 26th February 1872

... Killed the pig which the CApt. bought off James Lowther. Sent a piece into the station as they are short of provisions as well as ourselves. We are hoping the Brig will be here soon as her time is nearly up. She has been gone 6 weeks and 5 days today.¹ The Capt. has found out who stole the tobacco. It was the Cook. The Capt. has charged him \$25.00 for it...

Tuesday 27th February 1872

... James Lowther has got 11 tubs of oil run out since the day he started making oil at the station...

...

Saturday 9th March 1872

... Still at work at the house... Finished thatching the house at 6 p.m.

Sunday 10th March 1872

... The Capt. came on board at 6 p.m. He has been buying couts. He bought 3000 and he is to get 2000 more to pay for a chest. The Brig **Leonora** has been gone 2 months up to today. Hope she will not be more than 2 weeks longer.

Monday 11th Marh 1872

Comes in fine, wind East. Jack, one of Capt. Hayes' traders, came up from Naalo today. He landed at the station. He wants more Japan casks [rather tubs?]. The CApt. gave him 8, they are to put oil into, also to tread oil in. Fine. At 6 p.m., Jack came on board to see the CApt. He bought some tobacco, 12-1/2 pounds. He started for home at 7:30 p.m. Set anchor watch at 8 p.m. Fine all night. Called all hands at 5:30 a.m. set the men to scrubbing the outside of the vessel as she looks bad from the iron rust. Com-menced to floor the house.

...

1 Ed. note: Capt. Hayes was delayed at Apia by his trial aboard the USS Narangansett.

Wendesday 13th March 1872

... John Helsop, Capt. Hayes' trader, has come up to see the Capt. He has been robbed of a lot of tobacco. Capt. Pitman & the KING is going down to Naalou to see about it...

Thursday 14th March 1872

... The Capt. returned at 5 p.m. He could not find out who stole the tobacco, but the King says he shall be paid...

...

Monday 18th March 1872

Comes in fine, wind East blowing fresh. The **Leonora**, if in this breeze, will soon be here. She has been gone 9 weeks & 4 days. Been out of rice 4 days. We have to depend on breadfruit such as it is, also jackfruit. We have plenty of fish caught by the natives. We get some every day...

...

Tuesday 26th March 1872

... Sent the boat after 3 kegs of oii belonging to the King. The King came on board to be paid. Took 2 D.B. pistols & 70 heads of Negro Head tobacco. The Captain sent the oil on shore to the Station...

...

Monday 1st April 1872

... Capt. took a 'boat] and went over to an island called Bot [Barr] to buy some toddy to make bread with, also to see if he could buy any fish. Returned at 4 p.m. At 5 p.m. John Heslop [sic] came up from Naulou to see the Capt. He has 11 Japan tubs full of oil. He wanted a fish spear. He thinks he has enough nuts to fill another tub...

Tuesday 2nd April 1872

... From report of the natives, there was a vessel in sight on the 29th March. She layed off & on at a small island at the East end of the lagoon. They fired several large guns. No natives went on board as they were afraid of being taken away...¹

...

Wednesday 10th April 1872

... By report of the natives, there were 2 vessels in sight on the 9th, one a Brig and the other a Barque. The Brig was bound to the N.E. and the Bark to the N.W. We hope the Brig is Capt. Hayes...

Thursday 11th April 1872

... Sail ho! At 6 p.m. a sail in sight, a Brig. We think it is the Brig **Leonora** from Samoa. It is too dark to see her plainly. We hoisted our glag and fired 1 gun off... The Brig hove in sight at 5:30 a.m., standing off shore. At 6 a.m., she tacked and stood for

1 Ed. note: By a possible labour trader.

the passage. Kept a fire going all night. The Brig came to anchor at 7 a.m. Hauled the boat alongside and Capt. Pitman went on board. At 9 a.m. Capt. Hayes and a passenger in the Brig came on board the schooner.

Friday 12th April 1872

... The crew busy scraping outside so we can paint her. 1 p.m. the Capt. gone aboard of the Brig... Came on board at 7 a.m. a new Chief Officer, Mr. Polles (Powless) to change at 7:30 a.m.

[New handwriting as of this pont.]

Saturday April 13th 1872

The King of Milley paid a visit to the Brig **Leonore** [sic] and was received as became his able dignity.

...

Wednesday April 17th 1872

... At 5 p.m., the Brig **Leonore** (Capt. Hayes) got under way for Mejuro and got outside the passage at 6 p.m... At 8 p.m., a white man, Charles Roberts, came on board to work...

...

Saturday April 27th /72

... This day we alter the Schooner's name from **Neva** to **Emily**. The change of name was made at Apia, Navigator Is., by Capt. Hayes of Brig **Leonore** before the U.S. Consul. Henceforth, this vessel is to be called the **Emily**...

...

Monday April 29th

... At 9 a.m. arrived the Brig **Leonore**, Capt. Hayes, from Makin.

...

[The schooner was slowly being loaded with coconut oil.]

...

Saturday May 4th 1872

... At 7 a.m. the Brig **Leonore** got under way and proceeded on a cruise among the Group. Capt. Pitman going in the **Leonore** [as pilot]...

..

Monday May 6th 1872

... At 10 a.m., arrived the English steamer **Baragossa** [sic].¹ One of the officers came on board and requested to see the papers of the schooner, which were shown him. They then left, having remained but 10 minutes on board and they then returned to the steamer but shortly after went on shore to the station, make some few inquiries there and then went again on board of the steamer.

1 Ed. note: HMS Corvette Barrosa, Captain L. J. Moore, loking for Capt. Hayes.

Tuesday May 7th, 1872

... At 4 p.m., the English war steamer got up steam and proceeded to Milley proper to the King's place...

Wednesday May 8th /72

... At 7 a.m. the E. war steamer **Baragossa** got under way from Milley and steaming slowly passed out of the S.E. passage at 10:30 a.m...

Thursday May 9th /72

... At 4:30 p.m. arrived Brig **Leonore** from Mejuro. Capt. Pitman returned on board of the Schooner.

...

Saturday May 11th /72

... At 5 jp.m., Brig **Leonore** got under way and proceeded to sea, going to the westward to put men on different stations; 3 white men and one Negro (American) and his son, Left this station to go elsewhere. Capt. Pitman sleeps on shore to guard this station.

...

Monday May 13th /72

... ONE man employed at painting the iron work outside. The remainder, with the Captain at work on shore.

...

Monday May 20th, 1872

... At 9 a.m., hove up, both anchors. Made sail, and proceeded to sea.

Tuesday May 21st 1872

... At 1:30 p.m. passed out of Milley passage, wind very light... We have on board as passengers 5 males, 4 females, 8 natives to work, cook, mate & master, making in all 20.

Wednesday 22nd May 1872

... Our cook Peter¹ has been 24 hours off duty seasick. WE have no cooked food since we came out. The cook has been to sea before the mast in whalers 6 or 7 years, and of our native crew (7 men), only one understands a few words of English or knows the least part of a seaman's duty. The Capt. and self are obliged to be everywhere and do everything all at once. The best part of our running rigging is rotten, but the hull of the Schooner is staunch sound & tight. At 5 a.m. saw the North point of the Island of Arno... Noon, the passage into Arno bearing S by W dist. 10 miles. Calm & hazy.

1 Ed. note: A native of Guam.

Thursday, 23rd May 1872

Light airs & hazy weather. At 4:30 p.m., a light breeze sprang up from North and at 5:30 p.m. anchored in 20 fathom water in the lagoon, close to our station. George, an Italian who is trading for us, came on board in the evening. At 6 p.m., Capt., Mate & one hand employed repairing sails and other damages. The other natives employed at various jobs. The cook, Peter, a few days ago, threw a stick of wood at our pet monkey maliciously and cut the poor animal's face open. I note this in case the cook denies this at any future time. The day the animal was injured was May 19th 1872 at Milley...

Friday May 24th 1872

... Employed at repairing sails and other damages, as we only put in here for that purpose, being bound for the island of Aur, one of this Group, about 60 miles NW from here.

Saturday May 25th /72

... Decks continually crowded with natives. Captain ashore trading...

Sunday May 26th /72

... At 12:30 got under way and ran across the lagoon to the entrance of the passage and anchored in 22 fathom water. Wind blowing dead in the passage...

Monday May 27th /72

... At 10 a.m. arrived the English Brig **E. K. Bateson** of Sydney, an oil trader.

Thursday May 30th

... At 2 p.m., ove upu the anchor and got under way for the islet of Mejuro with a white trader of Mejuro for passenger named Harry Burlingame and a dozen natives of Mejuro. At 3 p.m. passed out of the main passage steering NNE. Throughout the night hauled to the NOrthward and hove to for daylight to enter the passage of Mejuro. At 5 a.m. kept off WSW for the passage, and at 10 a.m. anchored in the lagoon in 5 fma. water, opposite the house of Harry Burlingame.

Saturday June 1st 1872

... At 9 a.m. got under way and commenced to beat up the lagoon to the passage, bound to the island of Aur about 60 miles distant.

Monday June 3rd 1872

... At 1:30 p.m. saw the land of Aur bearing NNE... The marks pointed out by our natives, both Capt. & self are strangers here. Lat. at noon by obs. 8°08' North.

Tuesday June 4th 1872

... At 5 p.m., finding a strong current against us, we bore up for Mejuro steering

against us, we bore up for Mejuro steering S.S.E. At 2 a.m., saw the S.E. end of Mejuro. 15 miles to leeward of the passage...

Wednesday June 5th 1872

Wind NE. The Schooner beating to windward but losing ground...

Thursday June 6th 1872

... 8 p.m. the passage bore S.E. dist. 10 miles. AT 1:30 a.m. bore up and entered Mejuro passage, clear starlight and fine weather, wind NE. At 2 a.m. entered the lagoon and commenced beating to windward up to the anchorage 14 miles from the passage. At noon, still beating up for the anchorage on short tacks.

Friday June 7th 1872

... At 1 p.m. dropped anchor in 24 fms. water opposite the King's house and close to the beach on the weather side of the island. Furled sails and triced up our split wet sails to dry. Deck crowded with natives as soon as the anchor was down...

Saturday June 8th 1872

... During the night (the anchor watch being asleep), a canoe came from shore and stole a Mejuro girl whom the Captain had hired from her parents to work on the station at Milley, the trade for her hire being paid in advance... Such is innocent niggers!!! AT 7 a.m. hove up the anchor and made sail for Milley. The head chief having promised to have 40,000 cocoanuts ready for us in 3 days. When we left here 7 days ago, now we find no signs of any nuts ready. At 9 a.m. cleared the passage, steering W by N out.

...
Monday June 16th 1872

... At 2:30 p.m. saw the land. At 6 p.m. when close in shore, tacked to the Northward, Milley Station bearing East dist. 12 miles, wind NE and light... At 8 a.m. entered the passage into the lagoon and at 10:30 a.m. came to anchor at our old place... TAKen all together, CApt. Pitman & John N. Powless have had a gay time of it.

...
Thursday June 13th 1872

... Capt. on shore every day superintending the making of oil. As the old beach-comber that was supposed to attend to that business has done nothing during our 3 weeks absence.

...
Thursday July 4th 1872

... This day being our National Anniversary, we celebrated it as well as our limited means would admit, trusting, under providence, that the next 4th of July will find us in a civilized country where the star-spangled banner floats, o'er the land of the free! and the home of the brave!

Friday July 5th 1872

... On yesterday evening, when he came on board, Capt. Pitman on going to his chest, which was always left unlocked, missed an American half dollar, the only one he had of that coin in the chest. He had received one that day from a native for trade. On questioning the native in the evening after our return to shore, the native confessed, after some prevarication, that he had it from our cook (Peter of Guam) in return for some favors bestowed by the native's wife on Peter of Guam, Peter, of course, stoutly maintained his innocence, but the proofs were positive, and the Capt. fined Peter in the sum of \$50.00 to be deducted from his wages. This is the second time Peter has been found guilty of theft on board of the Schooner.

...

Sunday July 7th 1872

... Where is Capt. Hayes???

...

Saturday July 13th 1872

... At 3 p.m., saw a schooner inside the lagoon to the Northward. At 7 p.m., Capt. Pitman boarded her and she proved to be the Schooner **Savaii** belonging to Mr. Weber of Samoa, and last from Ebon. The Schooner is a regular dry coconut and oil trader. She brings us no news from the Brig **Leonore**. Latter part of the day, wind SW, something unusual here. The **Savaii** got under way at 10 a.m. and beat up to Nauloo (about 4 miles from here) and anchored.

Sunday July 14th 1872

... Capt. Pitman & self on board German schooner.

...

Friday July 19th 1872

... The north German schooner **Savaii** sailed for some of the Northern isles in the Group...

...

Friday July 26th 1872

... At 9 a.m. the Capt. and two men started for Milley proper in a sailboat to see the King!!! about some oil he is making for us.

Saturday July 27th 1872

... At 9 p.m. Capt. returned from Milley with the boat.

...

Wednesday, Aug. 7th, 1872

... At 1 p.m. saw the N. German Schooner (**Savaii**) on trying to enter the passage against a strong ebb tide, she missed stays twice and nearly got ashore. At 10 a.m. she anchored below us at Nauloo having come through the N.E. passage...

...

Saturday Aug. 10th 1872

... Finished painting, having given the Schooner 2 coats of paint inside & out.

...

Monday Aug. 12th 1872

... We are now about ready for sea as we will soon be starving. For the last four months we have been living on breadfruit and fish, native food. Now the season is past for breadfruit. There is nothing else. We have [had] no beef, flour, bread, sugar, tea, or coffee for the last 100 days, except a little of the latter we begged from a German trader, nor money or trade to purchase any food if any was here. The Brig left us destitute with but 3 green natives for a crew. We do not know where she is, and we must go somewhere to get something to eat...

Tuesday Aug. 13th

... Rafting off oil. At 5 p.m. had it all on board 25 casks from J. Heldop.

...

Thursday Aug. 15th 1872

... At 10 a.m. got all sails bent and proceeded to unmoor with the help of some natives from shore, and at noon got under way with all sail set. Our crew consists as follows: E. A. Pitman, Master; John N. Powless, Mate; Peter of Guam, Cook; Peter of Rotumah, seaman; Tony, a Japanese cooper; Johnny, a native of one of these islands (civilized), 2 large dogs and 3 cats.

Friday Aug. 16th 1872

Friday Aug. 16th 1872

... At 2 p.m. got clear of the passage from the lagoon... At daylight made all sail and tacked to the Northward. At 7 a.m. saw the island of ARno bearing North...

Sunday Aug. 18th 1872

... Schooner running down for the passage into the lagoon of Arno. At 11:30 p.m. spoke the U.S. Steamer **Narragansett**. They did not board us but asked a few questions, and bore away to the Westward... The nam-of-war **Narragansett** on the outside of the lagoon hove to within a mile of us. Capt. went on shore to try to communicate with the Steamer...

...

Wednesday Aug. 21st 1872

... At 7 a.m. hove up the anchor, made sail and proceeded to sea, in a thunder squall from S.W. At 11 a.m. cleared the passage. At noon, Arno passage bore due South dist. 2 miles, weather calm and cloudy. Capt. Pitman, after mature deliberation and consulting with the 1st officer, concluded to shape a course for the Sandwich Islands, as our sails and rigging, both standing, and running, are very old and rotten. By shaping for Honolulu, we will soon have ports under our lee, where in case of accident, we can get

off with less trouble than we could by going South, to say nothing of the difference in the weather. Our sea stock consists of a few pounds of rice, no bread or flour, a little coffee, no sugar, plenty of old coconuts, and a few bundles of preserved Pandanus fruit, rather hard fare for white men, but we have been out of provisions suitable for civilized beings, for so long, that we are partially inured to it.

...

1 Ed. note: A new logbook may have been begun at this point, and left with the new Captain, John N. Powless, at Honolulu, where they arrived on 26 October (see Doc. 1872C). Captain Pitman must have carried the present logbook home to Massachusetts. He reached Marblehead in a few months, and never saw Capt. Hayes again.

Documents 1872A

USS Narragansett, Captain Meade

A1. The Narragansett arrived at Honolulu at the end of December 1871

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, January 1, 1872.

Naval.—

The U.S. steam sloop-of-war **Narragansett** arrived on Saturday evening [23 Dec.] last, 25 days from San Francisco, having made the passage under sail until within about 150 miles of port. She sailed with the Flag Ship **California** [Admiral Winslow], and was in company with her until the fifth day out, after which she experienced southerly squally weather with a great deal of rain until nearing the islands. The **Narragansett** is a fourth-class vessel, carrying five guns and a crew of ninety men, which is not her full complement. She will remain in port for a few weeks, after which, we understand, she will proceed on a cruise among the islands in the South Pacific and thence toward Australia. The following is a list of the officers of the **Narrangansett**:

Captain—Richard W. Meade.

Executive Officer—Lieut. Commander A. H. Wright.

Navigating Officer—Z. L. Tanner.

Lieutenants—I. Yates, G. J. Mitchell, E. D. Taussig.¹

Ensigns—Chas. P. Welch, H. O. Handy.

First Assistant Engineer—J. B. Carpenter.

Passed Assistant Surgeon—E. C. Vermeulen.

Passed Assistant Paymaster—Geo. N. Griffin.

Midshipmen—Geo. A. Calhoun, M. F. Wright, W. F. Ray, F. H. Lefever.

Captain's Clerk—Geo. B. Reiman.

Gunner—J. G. Foster.

Boatswain—Thos. Savage.

¹ Ed. note: This officer was to officially annex Wake and Guam to U.S. possession, in 1899.

A2. The report of Lieutenant Z. L. Tanner

Source: Hydrographic Notice n° 96, Washington, 1873; PMB 275.

Note: It was also published in French in the Annales Hydrographiques 36 (1873), and in Spanish in the Anuario del Depósito Hydrográfico, Part 1, 1874, pp. 339-348.

Synthesis of this report.

It consists only of geographical descriptions of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands and corrections to existing charts. The islands mentioned are: Kukunau, Peru, Onotoa, Tabiteuea, Maiana, Apaiang, Tarawa, Butaritari, Arno, Mili, and Ebon.

A3. Narrative of Gunner J. G. Foster

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, November 1872.

Note: The article is unsigned, but a letter from Rev. Whitney, Doc. 1872M3 in HM25, confirms the authenticity of the author.

Cruise of the U.S.S. Naragansett among the Kingsmill and Marshall Islands.

U.S.S. Narragansett, at Sea,

September 20th, 1872.

My Dear Mr. Damon:

As we are approaching Sydney (126 miles at noon), I seat myself to write you a narrative of our cruise from Honolulu hither.

...

Squarred away for Byron's [Nukunau] Island, where we arrived on the 1st of August. Did not anchor there, but cruised along the coast taking observations and trading for souvenirs with the natives, who were off alongside in their canoes in great numbers. Sent a memorandum ashore by one of them who appeared to be somebody, giving nae of ship, destination, etc. Continued on and made Peru [Beru] Island that night, where we saw a schooner at anchor. Hove ship to for the night, and at daylight stood in and sent a boat aboard the schooner. We were immediately surrounded by canoes with natives to trade off their fruit, etc. We were not at all favorably impressed with the appearance of these natives in any way. They are very inferior apparently in every way to the Samoans; indeed, the Peruvians scarcely compared with Byronians. In the time our boat returned from the schooner, reporting "all right," she being the **K. Grant**, of Auckland, at present in the labor trade between these Islands and Levuka. The only apparent discrepancy in her papers was that they did not limit the number of emigrants to the capacity of the schooner!

Squared away for Drummond's [Tabiteuea], sighting Clark's [Onotoa] on our way, where we arrived the next day (3d), and came to anchor opposite what appeared to us to be the principal village. Our anchor was scarcely down when both sides of our vessel were completely occupied by canoes. We could see but little difference in these people

from their brethren of Peru and Byron. We fancied, however, they were a little superior, on account of the canoes, etc. They were perfectly furious after our tobacco, being a little different (in fact it is) from the common English nigger-head that they get from traders. We were visited by Mr. Kapu, your Hawaiian teacher. It appears he has had rather a hard time of it in his Master's service, but he is nothing daunted, and if driven away from one place, he boldly sets up his Master's standard in another. I had occasion to pay him a visit in the afternoon, partly on duty, partly otherwise.

Our captain, not being morally satisfied with the character of the schooner at Peru, I suppose felt it proper to put these people on their guard by sending him a letter to this effect. Mr. McGrew¹ and I went up there, and indeed it was well he did, for the letter being written in English, Mr. Kapu could not understand a word. They received us very kindly. He has his wife and two little children with him, has a very comfortable house with a good fence around it, and has succeeded I believe in obtaining from the necessary authorities an effective taboo. He, or rather I suppose I should say, they have about ten to fifteen, I should judge, young boys and girls belonging to the influential people of the island, educating them. They are kept altogether inside the enclosure, but they seemed very happy and contented; indeed I don't see how they could otherwise be, for I don't remember ever seeing a person that was better calculated to inspire one with feelings of contentment, etc., than Mrs. Kapu, and I could not help feeling satisfied that here had been a very judicious selection both by Mr. Kapu and the Missionary Society.

...
We left there the next morning; came up to Hall's [Maiana] Island on the 5th, cruised along one side of it, taking observations, etc., and after passing it hove to for the night; made sail at daylight, and shortly after we sighted Apaiang from the masthead. About two o'clock we entered this magnificent lagoon under a full head of steam, with our navigator (Lieutenant Tanner) at the mast-head, and threaded our way among the numerous reefs till we came to anchor off the principal village. Found the trading brig **Lady Alicia** and schooner **Ida**, both of Sydney, at anchor. We were immediately surrounded as usual by canoes, but they brought nothing off to trade with; indeed we fancied they acted rather shy of us. We were visited by young King George, Mr. Aea the missionary, and the interpreter Joe, and shortly after we began to learn the nature of their troubles, to all of which it is said our captain promised them all the assistance in his power, as the sequel will show. We also heard tidings of our quondam friend, Capt. Hayes. It is said that he recently visited Apaiang, where he still has a trading post, and robbed the store of Capt. Randall of a quantity of goods.

...
Mr. Aea brought off a number of women and children to see the ship, which appeared to be a great treat to them.

1 Ed. note: Not listed in the crew list given above; possibly a sailor from the *Morning Star* which was either in company or nearby (see below).

The next day (9th) started fires, and with the King, Mr. Aea and Joe aboard we got under way, and went up to the village to call on this elegant King and people, who have not only refused to pay the **Jamestown** fine for the destruction of Mr. Bingham's property, and threatened to fight any ship that attempts to collect it, but also refuse to vacate Apaiang for their homes on Tarawa, where they belong. Anchored close in shore and sent a boat with an officer and Joe to invite the King aboard to a council, but lo! his valiant Majesty had made himself scarce.

...
A chief came off however in the boat, and by him our captain sent an ultimatum that he had come to collect their installment of the fine, either oil or money, and that they must prepare to vacate Apaiang for their homes on Tarawa, and launch their large canoes forthwith, otherwise they must abide by the consequences. He scrambled over our side into the boat, looking more dead than alive. I rather thought he considered himself lucky in getting off with his head.

...
A chief soon returned to the ship, bringing with him \$30, declaring it was every penny at present in their possession, but full of promises, and promising to vacate on the morrow, begging our captain to accompany them to Tarawa to intercede for them with their King for restoration to favor, etc. In the morning sent Joe ashore to enquire how long it would take them to launch their canoes, and received word that it could be done in about two hours. So about noon, finding that they had made no preparations in the matter, we fired a nine-inch shot over their heads, and sent Joe ashore to tell them that shot was fired to let them know that we could hurt them if we wanted to, but preferred not harming any one, but unless they hurried up, they would learn to their cost that this was no child's play, and hoped for everybody's sake they would get their canoes in the water immediately.

Boat returned, saying that they pleaded too much wind to venture outside with their wives and children. Sent boat to the **Morning Star** with an officer, and the money collected from the natives yesterday. Towards evening, finding that the natives (Tarawaians) had suspended operations, sent in a nine-inch shell screaming over their heads, but with a long fuze, so that it exploded on the other side of the island. Waited a while longer and sent another one in *a little nearer*. We could not see whether any damage was done (we had selected a clear space for aiming), but fancied they moved about a little livelier, and by five o'clock they had five of their largest canoes in the water.

Early next morning sent a boat ashore to communicate, and learned that great haste was being made to vacate immediately, for our last shell had tore away the bow of one canoe, knocked down several trees, and nearly killed one of their men. By ten o'clock seven of their large canoes stood out of the lagoon, loaded down with passengers. Sent boat down to the **Morning Star** with this information, also to direct the King to send up a force of men to occupy the village and property. In the evening the King and two chiefs came aboard and had a "talk" with the captain, and saying his men were com-

ing up to the beach to occupy the village. During the day a boat from Tarawa came aboard, pleading extreme poverty, and utter inability to pay their proportion of the **Jamestown** fine.

...

While these negotiations were in progress at Tarawa we heard again from Capt. Hayes, in the person of a poor forlorn-looking individual, a white man named Prescott, who came aboard of us begging to be taken off the island. His story is that Hayes, who is much indebted to him, put him ashore about four months previous with some bad rice, etc., to trade for him, promising to return for him in two weeks.

...

Hunted around for forty-eight hours on the 16th for an island that was reported in that neighborhood, and actually crossed over it or the place assigned to it; indeed we have run directly over the precise localities assigned to Fayquin, Phœbe and some other islands since leaving Honolulu.

On the 17th we sighted the islands of Pedder and Daniel [Arno Atoll], and on approaching them we sighted and spoke the schooner **Emily**, Capt. Pitman, flying the American flag and owned by Capt. Hayes. He told us he had not seen Hayes since he left him fourteen weeks previous at his station at Milli; that he was now short of provisions, with no money or trade to get any. We coasted around these two islands with a large force aloft taking observations, angles, etc., using up two days in doing it, and the consequence is we have a pretty accurate chart of it, but I believe the results of these observations are that instead of their being two islands, it is but one continuation of the other, and we call it North and South Arno, its native name.

Shaped our course for Milli with the Island of Arrowsmith [Majuro] in sight reaching there the next morning (19th), and anchored inside that great lagoon off the little village that Hayes has his station on. Remained there the next day and supplied Hayes' agent with some bread, for he was entirely destitute.

...

Arrived at Ebon on the 26th. We were met outside the lagoon by a boat from a German trading schooner, then by another having Messrs. Snow and Whitney in it. Stood in to the lagoon with Mr. Tanner at the mast-head, and anchored about a mile and a half from the village, and were immediately taken possession of by the natives. In the afternoon, the captain and a number of officers, including the doctor and myself with the camera, went ashore. #FEd. note: The photos he probably took may one day be found, among the family papers of the Foster family.

The people of Ebon are very much in advance of any of the islanders we had yet seen in every way, and wherever we went and whatever we saw, the influence of the missionary was very manifest. The people—men, women and children—are all more or less clothed, indeed some of them were dressed very nicely and in their trading with us, unlike their brethren of other islands, there was but a very few of them that would trade for tobacco if they could possibly get anything else. We got but very few shells from them, not a single orange cowrie; indeed we have not succeeded in getting one of these

rare shells in our entire cruise. We got some pretty specimens of coral, and some very handsome mats.

All was very well at the Mission. The **Morning Star** had not arrived, but was daily expected, so that our files of [news-] papers were very acceptable, particularly the file of the *Friend* that I had saved, and more particularly the July number. I do think that Mr. and Mrs. Snow are just exactly my beau-ideals of what missionaries ought to be—kind, agreeable, so exceedingly sociable, that they cannot fail of success wherever they are stationed. Mr. and Mrs. Whitney I did not see much of, but have heard them spoken of in very flattering terms. We also soon got on very sociable terms with the Germans. I understand that Mr. Snow goes to Kusaie [Kosrae] in the **Morning Star**.

...

About noon of the 28th we got under way, after spending a very agreeable visit, everybody regretting our inability to stay a few days longer. We got in a splendid sea stock of pigs, chickens, cocoanuts, breadfruit, etc. They were very sorry in not being able to supply us with a still larger stock, but an English frigate, the **Barrosa**, having recently visited there, they had nearly cleaned them out. We had company aboard in leaving—Messrs. Snow and Whitney, and a number of the Germans. ONE of the latter was at our mast-head assisting our navigator to pilot us out of the lagoon. As soon as we got abreast of the German village, the German flag was hauled down, the American flag hoisted in its place and saluted with six guns; then the German flag was hoisted and dipped three times in salutation to us. We have had a very pleasant passage indeed, and instead of being thirty or thirty-five days making this passage as we expected to be, we are here on our twenty-third day. We are now abreast of Port Stephens' light, and expect a Sydney pilot aboard early in the morning.

Yours, etc.

A4. Good Advice to Micronesians by Capt. Meade

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, December 1872.

In our last issue we published a letter relating to the cruise of the United States ship **Narragansett** among the Micronesian Islands. If any of our readers inferred from that letter that when a shot was fired at Apaiang, a native was "hit, hurt or killed," they were mistaken. No one was injured, although a certain chief and his people were frightened in a wholesome manner. From letters received from missionaries and other sources, we infer that Capt. Meade managed in a most judicious manner the affair respecting the indemnity promised by the Gilbert Islanders to Capt. Truxton for the destruction of the property of the Mission. When about to leave the group, Capt. Meade paid over a certain amount of money which he had collected to Capt. Hallett, of the **Morning Star**, accompanied by a letter, from which we are permitted to copy a paragraph:

"August 10, 1852.—I question much if there will be any future trouble here. I have talked to the king and chiefs, and have given them some wholesome advice, which backed by the appearance of so large a ship, has I think produced the full moral effect.

The purport of my advice is this: These people have cocoanut trees on the island to the number of twenty, perhaps thirty thousand. Each tree can be made to produce annually at least \$5 worth of oil, or copra, in trade, and with this large sum instead of buying muskets, powder and shot to kill each other, they should purchase clothing, food and books; teach their children to read and write, keep themselves clean, which the proverb says is next to being godly, and keep the peace between each other; erect school houses and churches, and learn to be useful to themselves and the outside world. That is about the pith of my mission here, and I hope it may have its effect."

A5. Final report on the cruise

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, April 1873.

Note: The report is unsigned, but may be attributed to the Navigating Officer, Lieut. Tanner.

Cruise of the U.S.S. Narragansett, Commander R. W. Meade.

Items of Occurrences During the Cruise of the U.S.S. Narragansett.

We have been in commission 2 years and 78 days.

We have been 404 days at sea and 407 in port, and have sailed 48,700 miles by log.

Our greatest day's run is 224 miles, and our smallest 14-1/2.

Our greatest week's run (seven consecutive days) is 1,426 miles, and our smallest 365.

Our longest passage at sea (Sydney to Callao) is 65 days, and our shortest (Pango Pango to Leone) is 2-1/2 hours.

We have spoken but two vessels at sea during the entire cruise, and our longest interval at sea at one time without seeing a vessel, was (Sydney to Callao) 54 days, and in a track of 7,400 miles.

We have visited 21 places, of 16 different nationalities.

We have been 61 days under steam, and consumed (including cooking and condensing purposes) 814-1/2 tons of coal.

We have had 27 changes in our officers for different reasons.

We have had 22 courts-martial on board, and 123 desertions.

We have consumed 671 rounds of powder and 1,204 rounds of small arm ammunition in target practice.

Our barometer has ranged from 30.36 (New York) to 29.01.

Our thermometer has ranged from 90° [F.] (equator, Atlantic,) to 1° (New York, February 5th, 1871).

We have crossed the equator (Atlantic and Pacific) 7 times.

We have crossed the 180° parallel of longitude (changing our dates) 4 times.

Date (1872)	From	To	Date (1872)
...			
Jan. 27	Honolulu	Pango Pango	Feb. 14.
Feb. 17	Pango Pango	Apia	Feb. 18.
...			

March 13	Pango Pango	Enderbury I.	March 27.
March 29	Enderbury I.	Baker's I.	April 1.
April 1	Baker's I.	Howland's I.	April 2.
April 2	Howland's I.	Honolulu	May 13.
July 8	Honolulu	Christmas I.	July 20.
July 20	Christmas I.	Baker's I.	July 28.
July 28	Baker's I.	Byron's I.	Aug. 1.
Aug. 1	Byron's I.	Peru I.	Aug. 1.
Aug. 2	Peru I.	Drummond's	Aug. 3.
Aug. 4	Drummond's	Apaiang I.	Aug. 6.
Aug. 12	Apaiang I.	Tarawa I.	Aug. 12.
Aug. 12	Tarawa I.	Apaiang I.	Aug. 12.
Aug. 12	Apaiang I.	Arhno I.	Aug. 17.
Aug. 17	Ahrno I.	Surveying	Aug. 18.
Aug. 18	Ahrno I.	Milli I.	Aug. 19.
Aug. 21	Milli I.	Ebon I.	Aug. 26.
Aug. 28	Ebon I.	Sydney, NSW	Sept. 21.
Oct. 29	Sydney, NSW	Callao	Jan. 1, 1873.

Document 1872B

O'Keefe, King of Yap

Source: Articles in the Guam Recorder, February and March 1937.

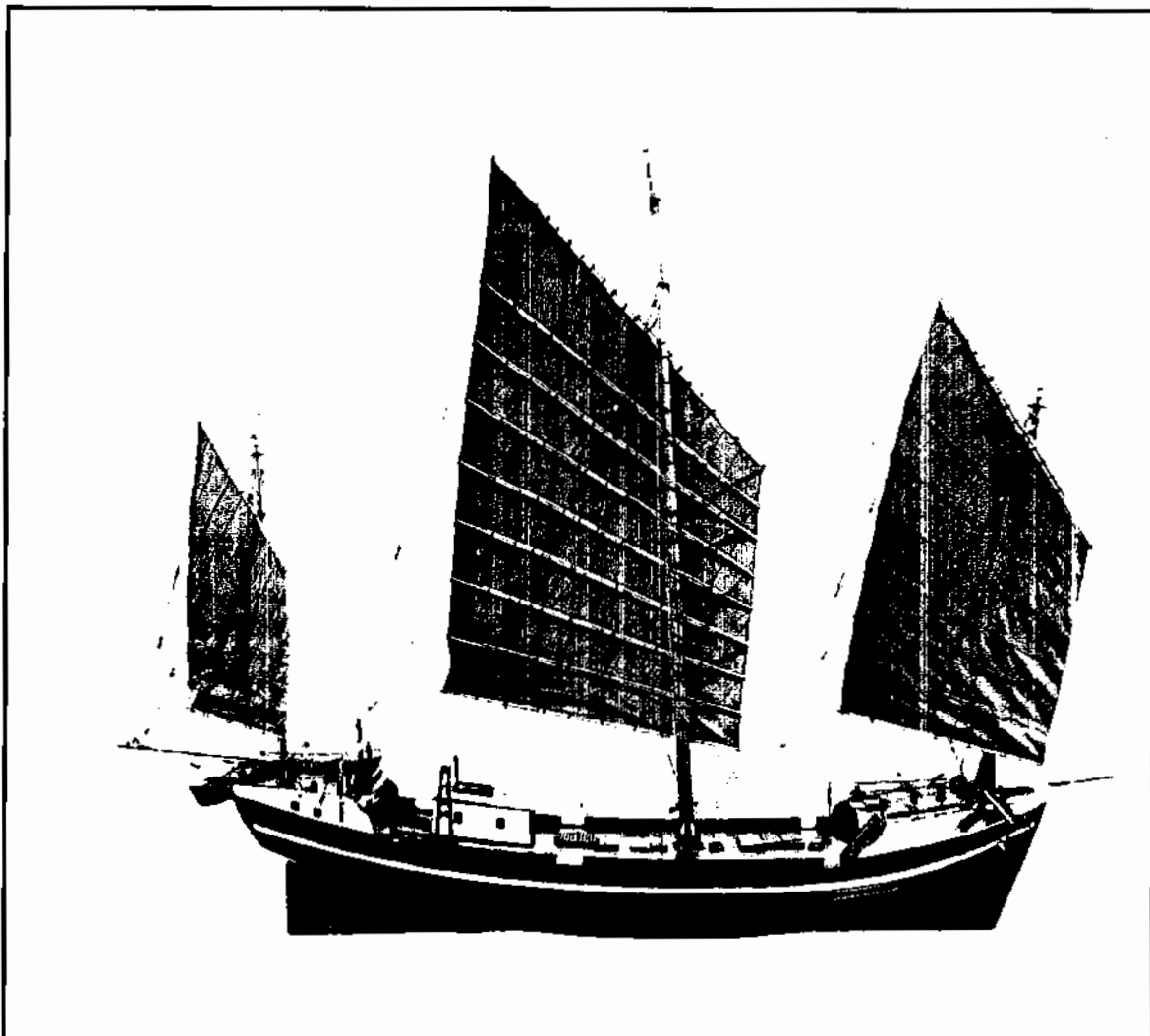
A short biography of Captain David Dean O'Keefe

David O'Keefe, the stalwart sea-going Irishman who established a little kingdom of his own on the island of Yap, ruled over it for some thirty years, and finally disappeared, was no legendary pirate.

His remarkable story, improbable though it seems, is established as true insofar as it is known. Much remains to be learned about him and it is to be hoped that some day a full account of his remarkable life and adventures may be brought to light. The Recorder, fortunately, has one first-hand data which comes from a man who knew O'Keefe as a friend, over a period of about four years, and was thus able to learn much from the man himself as well as from other forweigners and natives on the island of Yap. In compiling this article we are making use of such material as is afforded in these memoirs recently made available to us, as well as various newspaper clippings and short articles placed at our disposal by Mr. W. W. Rowley.

Our informant is Señor Don Pascual Láenz Artero, prominent and highly respected citizen of Guam. Mr. Artero, who was born in Spain, went to Yap in 1897 as a Sergeant in the *Cuerpo de Infantería de Marina*, remained there until 1901, when he came to Guam to make his home. O'Keefe, who was about sixty-five years old when Mr. Artero knew him, was a large, imposing figure, robust and genial and weighing approximately two-hundred-and-thirty pounds. His impressive appearance was a neat asset in bringing so many people under his domination, as he is said to have done.

Little is known of O'Keefe's early life except that he was born in Tipperary and went to sea at an early age. The year 1871 found him in Savannah, Georgia, whither he had come in a British sailing ship. The captain of the ship **Belvedere**, then at Savannah, offered him the berth of first officer on that vessel which plied between Liverpool and Savannah, making two trips each year. The young O'Keefe, delighted with his new job, sailed for Liverpool leaving a wife of little more than a year and a baby daughter. He believed at that time that he would return to his family within a few months. but he never saw them again. In Liverpool he fell in with some boyhood cronies who were making plans to go to China to seek their fortune. Filled as he was with the love of ad-



Captain O'Keefe's Catherine was probably a lorca like this. The vessel itself was European in design but the sails and rigging were Chinese.

venture that is a part of every Irishman, he was unable to resist their brandishments and before he realized it, had thrown over his new job and embarked with them for Hong-Kong.

Various newspaper accounts of O'Keefe's career which were printed at the time of his death say, "he found himself on the Island of Yap," but do not tell us how he got there. A story is told which, while not verified, seems a reasonable explanation.

It is said that he was aboard a vessel which was lost in a storm in the North Pacific, and that he was one of a very few survivors. The story, fragmentary though it is, is borne out by the fact that O'Keefe is known to have visited a number of other islands before he finally arrived at Yap, where he was more than once heard to remark that he had arrived "in a life-boat with a straw mat for a sail."¹

[Figure: A "lorcha"]

His affairs seem to have flourished from the moment of his arrival on the island. He began at once to trade in local products, especially copra. He recognized at once that if he were to become successful he must establish friendly relations with the natives. It was not difficult for him, with his dominating personality and genial manner, to gain their confidence and loyalty. It is said that he was never domineering, but that he was able to gain the allegiance of the natives through friendly treatment together with the quiet but steady acquisition of land. Thus he gradually built up what may well be called a little kingdom, over which he was absolute and undisputed ruler.

The wife and baby in Savannah, while certainly not forgotten—as it is known he occasionally wrote to them and sent money as well as pictures of his domain—were many thousands of miles away. Mrs. O'Keefe declined to share her husband's lot in the Pacific and his chances of giving over his adventurous existence became increasingly remote with the passing years.

He married a native woman, named Dalibu,² by whom he had three children, Henry, David and Eugenia. This wife, who is spoken of in some accounts as the Queen of Yap, was a very handsome and intelligent woman who remained always his favorite wife, although he later married others. Some accounts say that he had many wives, whom he established on his various plantations throughout the Caroline Islands. It is known that he had a wife named Lati at St. David's [Mapia] and that she bore him two daughters, Eugenia and Hatba. His two daughters Eugenia by different mothers are referred to as Eugenia by Dalibu and Eugenia by Lati. The former married an Englishman by the name of Scott, and with him arrived at Guam on their schooner **Tarang**, 31 October 1907 and remained here until 18 November of that year. The second Eugenia was, presumably, lost at sea with her father, as will be seen later in this account.

1 Ed. note: In fact, it was modified Chine junk which he had purchased and named Catherine.

2 Ed. note: She was born in Nauru.

He appears to have attained complete domination over the small islands Terang and David's as well as an islet called Yap [rather obi] near the larger island of that name. ON these islands his word was law. He decreed as he saw fit new laws, new customs, meanwhile catering to a certain degree to the habits and prejudices of the natives until his hold upon them was indeed that of a sovereign. His islands were legitimately acquired from chiefs and traders who were their former owners. As he obtained territory he took over the rights and privileges of the chiefs he displaced and imposed his will on his subjects without hindrance.

He bild a veritable palace for his favorite wife and her offspring. From a flag-pole on its roof, he flew the Stars and Stripes and under that his house flag marked, "O'K."

O'Keefe did not forget his civilized ways even though he had isolated himself almost completely from his own world. In his large house, sometimes referred to as the "Palace," he had a well-stocked library of standard works. There were several rooms, reserved for his own use, which were elaborately furnished in western style.; He had a large retinue of servants, cooks, rowers for his small boats, a guard composed of Caroline Islanders for his home, his office and storehouses, and even a European schoolmaster for his children. It is said that he was extremely fond of good clothes and liked nothing better than to array himself gorgeously on fiesta days and stroll in the grand manner among his "subjects."

He had agents in all the Caroline Islands and built up a huge export trade in copra. He had several vessels of his own, and shipped large quantities of copra in Danish, German and other vessels that plied the waters of the South Pacific. When dealing with foreign ships he frequently took payment in canned goods and clothing materials which he sold in his many shops throughout the islands.

Dalibu, his favorite wife, was a strong, capable woman who assisted him in his business affairs and even took his place on many occasions when he was absent from headquarters. Often when a ship arrived laden with merchandise for O'Keefe she supervised the work of unloading quite as capably as any of his male assistants.

His agents, nearly all of whom were white men, were, for the most part, loyal and trusted friends as well as efficient overseers of his plantations, and copra purchasing agents throughout the chanin of islands. Each man had several small boats in which he collected copra in his district for trans-shipment to O'Keefe's great storehouses to await the monthly ship for Hong Kong. A large four-masted schooner called twice yearly, and it is said that this vessel required a full month's time to load, so large was its cargo space.

O'Keefe went to Hong Kong about once a year in one of his own ships, usually in the spring. He invariably brought back, besides good supplies and dry goods for sale, some new piece of furniture or a decorative bit for the palace. During the remainder of the year he went from one island to another, visiting his plantations and conferring with his administrators.

O'Keefe has been called a black-birder. There is no documentary evidence at hand to substantiate such an accusation, nor is there wherewith to refute it. It is true that he

held large tracks of land which were devoted to the growing and preparation of copra and that the labor on these plantations was performed by Carolina Islanders. Whether they were impressed laborers or hired employees it is impossible for us to state on any authority. A story is recorded, however, which may throw some light on that less-known part of O'Keefe's life about which much has been surmised.

It seems that on one of his voyages he rescued at sea a group of Caroline Islanders who had, in their light vintas,¹ been blown about in a typhoon and had given themselves up for lost. He took them on board, and to pacify them, took their vintas in tow, through he would greatly have preferred to abandon them. He later tried to cut them loose but was observed by the Carolinos, who set up such a clamor that he reconsidered.

After a few days, the Islanders, fully recovered from their experience and of the belief that they were in familiar waters and could go their way unassisted, begged permission to take to their own boats. O'Keefe opposed their plan, warning them of the danger of exposing themselves to the rigors of the open sea in their light craft. Their reply was, however, that they felt safer in their own vintas than on board ship with O'Keefe. He contrived amusements for them, thus detaining them in an apparent state of contentment a few days longer. At last, one dark night they agreed that the time had come to abandon O'Keefe and his hospitality, in neither of which they had a great deal of confidence. One by one, under cover of darkness, they went over the side, and, cutting loose their vintas, were well away before their absence was discovered.

O'Keefe said afterwards that his intention had been to turn them over to the Spanish Government of Yap and thus gain the friendship of that administration for a humane act. It does not appear that the Carolinos believed his promise that he would, at some future time, return them to their own island. It is said that O'Keefe loved to tell this story as a good joke on himself.

In the spring of 1901 [rather 1907], O'Keefe tired of waiting for a new ship which he had ordered from Hong Kong to replace his old **Santa Cruz**, set out in that ancient and worn-out vessel, meaning to abandon it at Hong Kong and make the homeward voyage in the new one. However, he had been only a few days away from Yap when the trim new schooner arrived. He was keenly disappointed, on arrival at Hong Kong, to learn that he was too late and that he had passed his new ship somewhere at sea.

He made all possible haste to load the old one for just one more voyage, and although he knew she was no longer seaworthy, he ordered her loaded as before, with every inch of cargo space full. He sailed from Hong Kong on 10 May 1901 [rather 1907] and was never heard of again, nor was his daughter Eugenia, who had accompanied him, nor any member of his crew, ever found.

O'Keefe's secretary in Hong Kong, who had seen him depart, waited anxiously for news of him that never came. at the end of two years he notified the widow in Savannah, Georgia, who sent her attorney out to investigate reports of the huge fortune that the Irishman had accumulated, of which she wished to claim a widow's share.

1 Ed. note; A word used in the southern Philippines for the local outrigger canoes.

The attorney, Mr. Walter C. Hartridge, of Savannah, went first to Hong Kong, where he conferred with O'Keefe's agents, then to Cavite, where he was taken on board the collier **U.S.S. Justin** and put ashore at Yap. The results of his visit to the island Kingdom of the so-called "last of the black-birders, 170 provided sensational material for feature articles in newspapers throughout the United States.



David Dean O'Keefe. (*Dirk Ballendorf, Micronesian Area Research Center, Guam*)

Captain David Dean O'Keefe, King of Yap.

Document 1872C

Report of Schooner Emily, Pitman, Master

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, November, 1872.

Note: See also the end of the logbook (Doc. 1871J). This report was provided by Captain Pitman upon arrival at Honolulu, when he gave up his command of the schooner.

Left Mille Aug 15th, and Arno on the 22d. Had heavy gales followed by light baffling winds. Had suffered considerably on the passage for want of provisions, being obliged to subsist principally on cocoanuts and the preserved fruit of the pandanus tree. No provisions to be had at the Marshall group. Arrived at Honolulu Oct. 26th.

Captain Pitman furnishes us with the following corrections of Admiralty Chart, sheet 6, (officially corrected to June, 1870):

Daniel or **Pedder I.**, native name **Arno**, in lat. 7°10' n., LONG. 171°53' E., is a double island connected by a reef, bare at low water, with lagoon inside. Entrance to lagoon, from S and SW by W. The **Narragansett** was standing on to pass through the apparent channel between the two islands when spoken by the **Emily** about the 19th of august, and warned off. Capt. Pitman received the thanks of the Commander of the man-of-war.

Schan I., native name **Wodo** [Wotho], is 35 miles further E. than put down in the chart, the latitude being correct.

Lilel or **Lydia I.**, native name **Ajai** [Ujae], put down as a dot, is a long island extending NW and SE from lat. 8°53' N. to lat. 9°12' N., long. 165°48' E.

Paterson I., native name **Lai** [Lae],¹ put down as a long narrow string of islets, is circular in form composed of 30 islets, in long. 166°15' E., lat. 8°55' N.

Lip I. [Lib], reported by the **Morning Star**,² but not on the chart, is in lat. 8°15' N., long. 167°28' E. It has about 40 inhabitants.

North of **Odia** or **Elmore I.** [Ailinglaplap] and 20 miles distant, is a small island named **Jabut** [Jabwor].

1 Ed. note: Patterson is not Lae, but Kwajalein.

2 Rev. Damon's comment: Lip Island, mentioned in Capt. Pitman's report, is that discovered by Capt. Moore, of the **MorningStar**, and called Anderson, after the Rev. Dr. Anderson. It is not on any of the North Pacific charts.

Namerick I., called on the chart **Ebon** or **Baring I.**, is in lat. 5°35' N., long. 168°23' E.

Ebon I., called **Boston** or **Corville I.** [Covell] on the chart, is in lat. 4°36' N., long. 168°50' E.

Hunter' I., [Kili], sometimes [wrongly] called Namerick, is in lat. 5°40' N., long. 169°20' E.

Arcifes or **Providence I.** [Ujelang], marked with a (?) note on the chart, is in lat. 9°28' N., long. 161°22' E. It is composed of 13 islands, being inhabited, and has a good lagoon inside. It abounds with cocoanut trees.

Document 1872D

The bark Sea Breeze, Captain Wicks

Source: Log 493 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 277; Log Inv. 4287.

Note: The full name of the captain Richard Delano Wicks. The voyage lasted from 1871 to 1875. Mr. Hartwell was first mate for the first two years of the voyage only.

Extracts from the logbook kept by a Mr. Hartwell, First Mate

...

Thursday April 18th 1872

... At 2 p.m., sighted Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing W1/2S. Ran down to within 10 miles. Luffed to aback. Laid all night. At daylight, stood in near the land. The natives came on board. The Captain went on shore. The remainder of the day, laying off and on trading with the natives for broom stuff and fowls. Bark **Tamerlane** in company with us.¹

Friday Apr 19th 1872

... Laying off and on at Ocean Island. At 1 p.m., Captain Wicks came on board. Took our departure steering W by N in company with Bark **Tamerlane**...

Saturday Apr 20th 1872

... At 2 p.m., sighted Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing W1/2N. Ran down near the land. The natives came off. During the night and remainder of the day, laying off and on trading for hogs and coconuts. Bark **Tamerlane** laying off and on...

Sunday Apr 21st 1872

... At 4 p.m., took our departure steering NNW, in company with Bark **Tamerlane**...
Lat. 1°01' N., Long. 166°00' E.

...

¹ Ed. note: Of New Bedford also, Captain Thomas E. Fordham. The New Bedford Whaling Museum has a microfilm of her logbook.

Thursday Apr 25th 1872

... At daylight, Strong [Kosrae] Island in sight bearing WNW 20 miles dist... Ran for the land @N@. Came up to at 12 Midday, end of Sea day. The natives came on board...

Friday Apr 26th 1872

.. Laying off and on at Strong Island. At 1 p.m., Capt. Wicks went on shore to purchase hogs. Came on board at 6 p.m. Took our departure steering W by N. Bark **Tamerlane** in sight...

Saturday Apr 27th 1872

... At 6 p.m., sighted McAskill's [Pingelap] Island bearing NW 15 miles. Lat. 6°00' N., Long. 160°50' E. Passed the Island at 8 p.m...

Sunday Apr 28th 1872

... Heavy rain until 4 p.m., it ceased raining. At 4 p.m., sighted Ascension [Pohnpei] Island... Ran down to within 8 miles and luffed to for the night... At 9 a.m., took a Pilot and steered for Middle Harbor bearing WSW 20 miles...

Monday Apr. 29th 1872

... At 1 p.m., came to anchor in Middle Harbor, Island of Ascension. Stowed the sails and cleared up the deck. So ends this day with 12 hours.

Tuesday Apr 30th

... Employed today repairing fore sail and smoking Ship. Bark **Tamerlane** arrived and anchored off this port.

Wednesday May 1st 1872

... Latter part, fine weather. Employed at light jobs on rigging.

Thursday May 2nd 1872

... Employed at getting off wood and iron poles; 1 boatload of wood.

Friday May 3rd 1872

... Employed at wooding; 4 boatloads.

Saturday May 4th 1872

... Employed at wooding; 3 boatloads.

...

Monday May 6th 1872

... Employed at wooding; 3 boatloads. Received a visit from the American Missionary Mr. Sturges.

Tuesday May 7th 1872

... Ship ready for sea but could not get out on account of winds.

...

Thursday May 9th 1872

... At 8 p.m., heavy squall from SSE... Got out kedge anchor and secured the ship from the reef.

...

[A rare occurrence of homosexuality aboard ship]

Saturday May 11th 1872

... At 6 a.m., light NE [wind] favorable for going to sea. Discharged Pilot at 8 a.m. Worked the Ship off shore... At 4 p.m., tacked Ship heading NNW... So ends this day with 36 hours. The Ship Steward was sent forward into forecandle to do seaman duty for trying to commit an outrage against the law of nature on the person of the cabin boy, one Fraser.

May 11th 1872 at Ascension, shipped on Agnew to go the season. 3 men as follows: William Morse, Boat Header & Boatsteerer; Frank Rayner, Seaman, Thomas Kenrick, Seaman, to be discharged at San Francisco.

...

Wednesday May 15th 1872

... Ship N and N by W... At 9 p.m., passed a vessel steering to the westward... Lat. 17°35' [N], LOn. 156°53' E...

...

[The Marianas were bypassed. When the ship arrived at San Francisco after one season in the Arctic, so many crewmen deserted, including the First Mate and log-keeper, that the voyage effectively interrupted. The ship returned to New Bedford three years later.]

Documents 1872E

Official history of the Carolinian settlements in the Marianas, 1867-72 period

E1. Letter from Governor Ibañez, dated Agaña 15 June 1872

Source: PNA.

Military and Political Government of the Marianas, Administration Section. Letter N° 59.

[Summary:] Accompanying a file regarding the Carolinians settled in the ward of Tamuning, and asking advice about their possible return to their homeland and, if so, how are the transport costs to be charged.

[To] His Excellency the Governor of the Superior Civil [Government] of the Philippines.

Dear Sir:

The Most Reverend Father Vicar Forane and Provincial, Curate of the Parish of this City, in a letter dated January 25th of this year, told me the following:

“Within a few months, a matter of high importance, of high import, will have to be acted upon, studied and resolved; it will be a matter of life or death, of light or shadows, of civilization or barbarianism for the future of a whole settlement, and this matter is that of the Carolinians established in Tamuning, East of and at a distance of a mile and a half from this capital. However, as you are new in this province and I wish you to do right in a matter of such importance for the greater service of both their Majesties, allow me, as you indicated to me, to give you a detailed and exact account on the subject matter, so that you may seek advice [of the Superior Government] or resolve it with assurance, which is the only aim that I seek in this.”

*“On 8 July 1867, the English schooner **Ana**, belonging to Mr. George Henry Johnston, arrived at this island of Guam bringing aboard 608 Carolinians from the Island of Unoun [Namonuito], one of the Caroline Islands to the South. After two or three days spent in taking on fresh provisions, the ship headed for Saipan with them aboard, and when it got there, they were put ashore and placed at the S.W. end of the island, in a site called Susupe, at a distance of 4 miles from the villatge of Tanapag, a*

settlement of Chamorros and peaceful Carolinians, Christian for the most part. As a payment for the importation of these Carolinians, Mr. Johnston was granted provisionally by this Government until the approval of the Superior [Government], which I believe was approved, the right to employ them in his service for five years with the obligation to maintain them and give them one pair of clothes every year. The said Carolinians were working under orders until the end of September when a terrible hurricane occurred on the 28th and 29th in which the houses were destroyed, the plantations razed and the fruit trees rendered useless. As a consequence of this catastrophe, a famine took place and as a result some 230 Carolinians, that is 165 of those imported and some 55 who had been added."

*"At the beginning of 1869, Mr. Johnston ceded his right to the Carolinians to an agricultural company established in this island, named the **Concepción**, for the sum of 15 pesos per individual, and Mr. Johnston on the other hand was obliged to transport them to this island."*

*"On 25 March 1869, the American schooner **Eagle** brought 338 Carolinians,¹ on April 3rd following, the same schooner **Eagle** brought 90 more Carolinians, and the next day, April 3rd, a whaling brig brought 5 Carolinians drifters; this way the agricultural company received and took charge of 433 Carolinians, who were located in Tamuning, site previously mentioned."*

"When the agricultural company contracted for the coming of so many people, I suspect that they only thought about the many arms they possessed, and not about how many persons they had to maintain; thus, obeying to the law of survival, they disperse over the island like locust, taking what they saw no matter who owned it. This, of course, produced some alarm and even complaints; but seeing that it was without remedy, they ended up by tolerating them, as it happens with chronic diseases. As the said Mr. Johnston had arrived at the Island of Unoun a few days after their having had a war to the death with others; it appears as the Carolinians themselves say, that he told them that as soon as it would be known what they had done, warships would come in and would punish them, and that the sure way to avoid this was to come with him to these islands, where they would have food in abundance, clothes to cover themselves, and they would be sheltered from everything."

"The consequences of all this are: that Mr. Johnston, as they say, tricked them, and no matter much they work they do not see the product of their labor; that they never have enough food, and that, out of the 608 who arrived, they are now reduced to 350,, they cry out without stopping that they want to go back to their island, given that in the contrast they were told that, when it was over, they could go back or remain."

"This is the true state of such a delicate matter, Well then, my opinion in this is: that, although it is true that they have a right to return to their island, nevertheless the Government, that is like their father, must do what is best for them and behave like one. No child would know how to read or write, if their parents would let them free to at-

1 Ed. note; From Saipan to Guam (see Doc. 1855P for that date).

tend school or not; however, a just father, obliges them with rewards and threats to attend, because he knows the good that it will bring his children. I believe that the poor Carolinians are in the same case as children; however, the Government behaving like a father, will achieve its intention. To allow the Carolinians to return to their island would result in their sinking again into barbarism, into darkness and death, because they do not know life, light and civilization. In your virtue, if you or higher authority decide not to let them go, in return in a short time you will feel the good that they were administered, and with the next generation the nation and the Church will have faithful subjects. This is my point of view. Nevertheless, with your clear understanding and sure judgment, you will decide what you think best for the service of both their Majesties, as it was also my soe aim in giving you this background information."

As I have the honor to forward the above letter to Y.E., I must remind you that, according to Letter N° 6 from your Superior Government, dated 2 September 1868, and that of 6 August 1870 that are on file here, I have seen that your Superior Government had an exact and timely knowledge of the immigration of the above-mentioned Carolinians. As of thid day, they have complete freedom, as Y.E. may judge from the attached testimonial in the file opened to that effect; and by it you will also note the coconut trees and land that they were given to them and their families to get a ready subsistence. In agreement with the M.Rev. Fr. Vicar, we both admonish the said individuals to dedicate themselves to cultivating the land and fishing, as they are in effect putting into practice. Nevertheless, the man acting as chief of the said Carolinians, whenever he sees me, does not forget to make his wishes known, that they should all be sent back to their homeland. Such a course of action is not possible for me to adopt without first bringing the matter up to the superior knowledge of Y.E.

Harboring the same feelings as the M. Rev. Fr. Vicar Forane and Provincial, I am of the opinion that the Carolinians should stay in these islands, that little by little they will understand the advantages of civilized life, and if not the present generation, at least their children, with the school teacher they already have with Y.E.'s approval, will succeed in getting the consequent benefits which will redound to the good of the service of both their Majesties. Finally, if Y.E. should decide on the return of the Carolinians to their homeland, I hope that you will please tell me the manner in which it should be carried out and where the money for their transport and handling must come from.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 15 June 1872.

Luis de Ibañez¹

1 Ed. note: They were not repatriated.

E2. Claim made by Carolinians against Captain Johnston, dated Agaña 19 February 1872

Sources: PNA, Carolines Bundle n° 9; Driver (ed.). Carolinians, pages 222 et seq.

Note: The claim is most likely to have been written by Father Ibañez on their behalf.

Original text in Spanish.

Señor Gobernador y Juez de estas islas Marianas.

Nosotros los principales del Barrio de los Carolinos de Tamuning a V.S. con el debido acatamiento y como mas haya lugar en derecho nos presentamos y exponemos:

Que, al sacarnos Mr. G. H. Johnston de nuestra isla de Unoun en Carolinas y traernos a estas islas, se comprometió por escritura pública ante este gobierno, como podrá ver V.S. a mantenernos o darnos de comer y beber a todos, y entregamos un par de vestidos completos a el año. Al principio del año 1869 por convenio celebrado entere dicho Mr. Johnston y el presidente de la sociedad trasladó el primero al segundo el derecho que tenía de ocuparnos en los trabajos, asi como la obligación que aquel contrajera de mantenernos y vestirnos, según queda dicho. Mas es el caso Sor. Gobor. y Juez, que la sociedad no cumple ni ha cumplido lo que tenemos derecho a reclamar, y que reclamamos; mas como no hay esperanza que la sociedad dicha cumpla lo que debe:

A V.S. pedimos y suplicamos que, si la sociedad quiere que continuemos trabajando en beneficio suyo, se nos cumpla lo estipulado entregándonos todo lo atrasado o de lo contrario nos deje libres para trabajar por nuestra cuenta; y por lo que respeta a os vestidos que han dejado de darnos se nos indemnice, si no puede ser en ropas, en sementeras, herramientas o cicales. Gracia que por ser de justicia esperamos de la notoria rectitud de V.S. cuya vida guarde Dios por muchos años.

Agaña 19 de Febrero de 1872.

X [his mark] Lirim

X [his mark] Seleteimual

X [his mark] Romunian

X [his mark] Egueteta

X [his mark] Alijat

X [his mark] Rangapito

[General meeting of 22 February 1872]

En la ciudad de Agaña a los veintidos días del mes de Febrero de mil ochocientos setenta y dos se reunieron en esta Casa Real bajo la Presidencia del Señor Coronel de Infantería Don Luís de Ybañez y García Gobernador P. M. de estas Yslas y por indicación de dicho Señor el M.R.P. Fr. Aniceto Ybañez Vicario Provincial y Foráneo de esta Población, el Presidente de la Sociedad agrícola titulada "La Concepción" y los socios de la misma, Don Vicente Guilló, Don Luciano Vecin, Don José de Torres, Don Andrés de Castro, Don José Tudela este último en representación de su Señora Madre Doña Josefá Anderson, Don Manuel Flores y Don José Cárdenas; y estando todos re-

unidos manifestó a la Junta el citado Señor Presidente haber recibido un escrito fecha diez y nueve del mes actual firmado por los principales del Barrio de Tamuning en cuyo escrito reclaman un par de vestidos completos de la sociedad para cada uno al año, como asimismo el que se les mantenga y se les indemnice de los vestidos atrasados que no han recibido, todo con arreglo a la escritura pública celebrada en este Juzgado por Mr. Johnston que fue el que los sacó de su país conduciéndolos a estas islas, en tal virtud todos los señores socios han manifestado que si bien están ignorantes de la obligación que ahora por primera vez se les ha hecho saber de darles dos vestidos al año a cada individuo de los Carolinos, sin embargo, tan luego se haga la recolección del Palay, algodón y la poca caña dulce que falta que beneficiar, en cuyos trabajos podrán ocuparse los Carolinos a mediados del próximo mes de Abril, entonces quedarán desde luego en completa libertad los Carolinos que así lo deseen, a los cuales por vía de indemnización del tiempo que no se cumplió la contrata ya referida de ropas, etc. se les entregará inmediatamente los Cocales y terrenos pertenecientes a la Sociedad y que la misma compró a Don Joaquín Portusach y a Luís Camacho situados a las inmediaciones del sitio de Tamuning; asimismo también se les hará donación a dichos Carolinos de un camotal que contiene veinte dos mil pujas, situado en el sitio de Tutu, cuarenta fociños en buen estado de servicio y diez machetes en el mismo estado, a todo lo cual los Señores Socios se obligan con sus bienes habidos y por haber, renunciando las leyes en su favor etc.; y para que conste lo firmaron el Señor Presidente y todos los demás presentes en esta reunión de que yo el secretario de este Gobierno certifico.

Luís de Ybañez.

Fr. Aniceto Ybañez

Juan L. Guerrero

Vicente Guilló

Luciano Vecin Cardero

José de Torres

Andrés de Castro

Por mi Señora Madre—José Tudela

Manuel Flores

José de Cárdenas

[Petition of Juan de León Guerrero, dated 13 April 1872]

Señor Gobernador P.M. y Juez de 1ª instancia de estas Yslas.

Don Juan de León Guerrero Director de la Sociedad agrícola titulada "La Concepción" establecida en las mismas, a V.S. con el mayor respeto se presenta y dice:

Que a consecuencia del contrato formado ante V.S. entre la Sociedad y los Carolinos dependientes de ella, representados por el Rdo. P. Fr. Aniceto Ybañez, se quedó en que estos serían ocupados por aquella hasta el 15 de Abril del presente año, época en que se calculaba podría haberse cosechado el palay de la Vega de Mazo, el algodón de Tamuning y beneficiado la Caña dulce quedando desde el siguiente día libres con anterioridad al vencimiento de su compromiso, por la razón de no poder cumplir con

ellos ciertas obligaciones estipuladas en la contrata formada entre el anterior Director D. Francisco Moscoso, y el importador de dicha gente Mr. George Johnston, obligaciones que los socios ignoraban por no haberselas participado, sin duda por lo gravoso que eran a la Sociedad, o por otros motivos que no son de este lugar, de cuya resolución se formó acta que existe en el Archivo de este Gobierno. Al tomar esta determinación, todos creímos se cumpliría lo estipulado, pero con la mayor sorpresa se ha advertido que los Carolinos han faltado, no acudiendo al trabajo y abandonando la cosecha del algodón, dejando perder una gran parte de este artículo, causando perjuicios considerables a los intereses de la Sociedad, como es notorio y se puede justificar. Ni halagos, obsequios, reconvenções suaves ni ponerlo en conocimiento del Rdo. P. Fr. Aniceto Ybañez, han sido suficientes medios para atraerlos al cumplimiento de su deber, habiendo creído prudente obrar de esta manera por ver si se podría lograr el objeto apetecido sin tener que molestar la atención de V.S., ocupado en asuntos mas graves y perentorios; pero al ver el mal resultado de estas gestiones y teniendo la responsabilidad que sobre el exponente pesa, y los cargos que le podrán hacer los individuos que compone la citada Sociedad asi como la razón que la asiste para que por cualquier medio sea indemnizada de los graves perjuicios que se la han venido arrogando:

A V.S. suplico, que tomando en consideración las razones expuestas, se sirva disponer que por via de indemnización se la concedan doce Carolinos escogidos de entre todos, desde el día 16 del actual hasta terminar la cosecha y empaque del algodón, único producto con que cuenta para satisfacer la deuda que su anterior Director contrajo con los fondos que en el Juzgado del digno cargo de V.S. existen de los Barcinas; pues con lo producido del palay cosechado no es suficiente para cubrir dicha deuda, objeto constante a que con la mayor vehemencia esperan los que componen dicha Sociedad, la que responde a la subsistencia y demas necesidades de los expresados doce carolinos, con la intervención que V.S. determine, prohibiendo a su Rey o Jefe, causa continua de la rémora, que en el cumplimiento de su deber se ha observado, se mezcle en el trabajo a que se les ha de destinar, asi como el que sean molestados por algunos de sus compañeros: gracia que el exponente no duda merece de la rectitud de V.S. a quien Dios guarde muchos años.

Agaña 13 de Abril de 1872.

Juan León Guerrero

...

Translation.

My dear Governor and Judge of these Mariana Islands:

Sir:

We, the leading men of the Carolinian Suburb of Tamuning, appear before you with all due respect and declare:

That, when Mr. G. H. Johnston took us from our Island of Unoun [Namonuito Atoll] in the Carolines and brought us to these Islands, he promised, in a written statement notarized before this Government, as Y.L. may verify, to maintain us, i.e. give all

of us something to eat and drink, and to give each of us a couple of complete garments every year. At the beginning of 1869, on account of an agreement made between said Mr. Johnston and the President of the Company¹ the former transferred to the latter the right that he had to occupy us in works, as well as his obligation to provide us with food and clothing, as has already been said. However, Mr. Governor and Judge, the Company does not comply nor has it complied, and we have the right to complain, and we do complain, but we have no hope that the said Company will comply. That is why,

We beg Y.L. to please, if the Company wishes to have us continue working for them, have them comply with their obligation to provide us with what is owed to us, otherwise to let us go free to work for ourselves, and as far as the clothing that was not given us, to compensate us, if not with clothes, then with plantations, tools or coconut trees. A favor that, being a just one, we hope to get from the well-known rectitude of Y.L., whose life may God save for many years.

Agaña, 19 February 1872.

X [his mark] Lirim

X [his mark] Seleteimual

X [his mark] Romunian

X [his mark] Egueteta

X [his mark] Alijat

X [his mark] Rangapito

[General meeting of 22 February 1872]

In the city of Agaña, on the 22nd day of the month of February 1872, there met in this Royal House under the chairmanship of Don Luís de Ibañez, Colonel of Infantry and P. M. Governor of these Islands, and, at his request, Rev. Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, Vicar Provincial and Forane of this Settlement, the President of the Agricultural Company named "La Concepción" and the members thereof, Messrs. Vicente Guilló, Luciano Vecin, José de Torres, Andrés de Castro, José Tudela representing his mother Doña Josefa Anderson, Manuel Flores, and José Cárdenas. And, with all present, the above-mentioned Chairman told the gathering that he had received a letter dated 19th instant, signed by all the leading men of the Suburb of Tamuning, in which they claimed two sets of clothes each every year from the Company, in addition to their subsistence and that they be compensated for the clothes they did not received in the past, everything in accordance with the legal document notarized in this court by Mr. Johnston who was the man who took them from their country to these Islands. To this effect, all the gentlemen members stated that they had been ignorant until now of their obligation to provide two sets of clothes to each Carolinian every year; nevertheless, as soon as the harvests of the rice, cotton and the little quantity of remaining sugarcane have been completed, which should keep the Carolinians busy until the middle of April, then said Carolinians will be completely free, if they so wish; with respect to the compensation

1 Ed. note: The Agricultural Company of La Concepción.

for the time that the contract was not respected regarding the clothes already mentioned, etc. they will immediately be given the coconut trees and lands belonging to the Company, which was bought from Mr. Joaquín Portusach and from Mr. Luís Camacho and are situated close to Tamuning; also, said Carolinians will be given a sweet-potato field that contains 22,000 plants, situated at the site of Tutu, plus 40 *fociños* [weeding tools] in good condition and 10 machetes in the same condition, to all of which the gentlemen members pledge their assets, present and future, and renounce their legal rights of appeal, etc.; and for the record this instrument was signed by His Lordship the Chairman and by all the others present at this reunion, of which I certify as Government Secretary:

Luís de Ybañez.
 Fr. Aniceto Ybañez
 Juan L. Guerrero
 Vicente Guilló
 Luciano Vecin Cardero
 José de Torres
 Andrés de Castro
 On behalf of my mother—José Tudela
 Manuel Flores

[Petition of Juan de León Guerrero, dated 13 April 1872]

To the P.M. Governor and Judge of First Instance of these Islands:

Mr. Juan de León Guerrero, Director of the Agricultural Company known as “La Concepción” established in these Islands, appears before Y.L. and declares:

That, as a consequence of the contract passed before Y.L. between the Company and the Carolinians their dependents, as represented by the Rev. Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, it was agreed that the latter would work for the former until the 15th of April of the present year, the end of the period that had been estimated sufficient to complete the harvests of the rice in the plain of Mazo, the cotton in Tamuning, as well as the sugarcane, the day following which they were to become liberated from their obligation, all this as a result of non compliance of certain obligations stipulated in the contract passed between the former Director, Don Francisco Moscoso, and the man who imported said people, Mr. George Johnston, obligations that the members ignored because they had not been told about them, undoubtedly because they were onerous to the Company, or because of other reasons that do not belong here, but this decision has been recorded in the Archive of this Government. When we took this decision, we all believed that its stipulations would be obeyed, but, much to our surprise, we have noticed that the Carolinians have failed, by not coming to work and abandoning the cotton plantation, thus causing great damage to this crop, and causing considerable losses to the Company, as is well known and can be verified. Neither blandishments, gifts, or sweet talk, nor the interposition of Rev. Fr. Ibañez have been sufficient means to bring them back to the compliance of their duty. We used such approaches to see if the purpose could

be achieved, without bothering Y.L. who is so busy with more important matters; however, given the result of these proceedings and the heavy responsibility that rests upon the shoulders of the exponent and the possibility of charges being brought against him by the members of the above-said Company, and given the main reason which is, that by every means possible, the Company be compensated for the serious losses that it has suffered from:

To Y.L. I beg that, by taking into consideration the reasons given above, to please grant, as a means of compensation, the use of twelve Carolinians to be selected from among them, from the 16th of this month until the cotton has been harvested and packed, as this is the only means by which to satisfy the debt incurred by the former Director in a contract passed with the Barcinas, the funds so borrowed being deposited in the Court under the worthy supervision of Y.L.; indeed, what the rice harvest has produced is not sufficient to cover said debt, the payment of which is the purpose and greatest wish of the members of said Company; as for the subsistence and other needs of the above-mentioned Carolinians, with the intervention that Y.L. may settle upon, by preventing their king or chief, a continuous cause of hindrance to the accomplishment of their duty, from interfering in the work that they must be assigned to do, as well as preventing some companions of theirs from interfering: a favor which the exponent does not doubt he deserves, given the rectitude of Y.L., whom God may save for many years.

Agaña, 13 April 1872.

Juan León Guerrero

...

[On 15 April, the Governor again called Fr. Ibañez and the members of the Company to a meeting in his palace after mass on Sunday 21st. The decision made was favorable: twelve Carolinians were to be employed to harvest and pack the cotton, so that the proceeds thereof could pay back the debt contracted with the funds belonging to the Barcinas. Fr. Ibañez caused the Company to promise to feed those twelve Carolinians well, with abundant corn, breadfruit, coconut, sweet potatoes, meat and fish, until mid-June. Vicente Pangelinan signed on behalf of José Cárdenas who could not attend. A certified copy of this file was made on 8 June 1872, said copy now being extant in the Philippine National Archives.]

Document 1872F

The Rota people changed their mind about moving to Guam

Source: PNA.

Letter of the Mayor of Rota, dated 10 July 1872

Mariana Islands, Year of 1872—File promoted by Mr. RAmon de la Cruz, Mayor of the Island of Rota, about Mr. Pedro Palomo having advised the principal citizens of said Island, in order to cancel the transfer of those inhabitants to the town of Umata, in accordance with what the Superior Government has decided on 18 March 1872.

My dear Governor, Sir:

It is my duty to advise you that, notwithstanding what the leading men of this village had solicited through me and in agreement with this devoted curate, in order for these inhabitants to be transferred to the town of Umata, and which His Excellency the Superior Civil Governor has been pleased to grant on 10 March of this year; with the arrival at this village of Mr. Pedro Palomo and the scattered rumors among some of these unhappy natives, it turns out now that they are rather displeased at the idea of the said transfer. According to what is being said in interest in seeing this transfer that would give so many advantages to both their Majesties being cancelled, because the said individual, in league with Mr. Vicente Pangelinan and Mr. Joaquín Portusach, natives of Agaña, are exploiting these unhappy ones with four old rags that they give in exchange for the little palay [rice], *gaogao* and other effects that they obtain for the scarce support of their families by the sweat of their labor. Thus, I beg you for now to suspend the transfer that you had decided should take place at the next arrival of the mail ship from Manila.

May God save you for many years.

Rota, 1 July 1872.

The Mayor, Ramon de la Cruz

Documents 1872G

Shipwreck of the *María del Rosario* at Tinian

G1. Document N° 1—First report of Governor Ibañez

Source: Appendix #11 of the book by Governor Ibañez entitled: Historia de las Islas Marianas.

Official statement regarding the shipwreck of the Spanish bark *María del Rosario*.

At the Island of Tinian, one of those that make up the Mariana Archipelago, on the 21st day of the month of August 1872, finding ourselves assembled in the only habitable house that exists here, and during a strong storm, we, Colonel Luis de Ibañez y García, Political and Military Governor, and ordinary Judge of these Islands, the devout Curate of the Island of Saipan, Fr. Gregorio Martinez, Mr. Johnston and his brother-in-law, Mr. Felix Calvo, a Spaniard born in the Marianas, as well as Mr. Agustín Cabeza de Vaca and Mr. José de Llorca, both European Spaniards, Captain and Pilot [respectively] of the Spanish bark **María del Rosario** that was wrecked on these coasts between 7 and 8 a.m. on the 19th instant, as a result of a terrible hurricane that suddenly ran over the said ship, after the two big chains that kept her anchored failed, and as a result of this unlucky occurrence, after the loss of the ship, with much effort and with the efficient and daring assistance given by Mr. H. E. Johnston and the Carolinians who are at his service, the only inhabitants of this island, little by little the shipwrecked crew and passengers appeared, and between 8 and 9 a.m. of the next day 20th, six Carolinians from among those searching came up on a corpse that, recognized by all those present, was that of Mr. Vicente Dueñas, Captain of the Battalion of Urban Militia and Clerk of the Court of First Instance of the Marianas, whose body, after having remained in storage for more than 25 hours without any lesion being noticed on it, was given sepulture among the ruins of one ancient monument that exists here,¹ as there does not exist a cemetery nor any other sacred ground. Later on, many reconnaissances were carried out along the coasts of this island, after the occurrence of said disaster so as to seek the pilot José Salas, Chamorro, and the cabin boy Simeon Conde; due to which, at about 8 a.m. today, a corpse was recovered from the sea and in the presence of the Curate of the neighboring island of Saipan, it was seen to be that of the

1 Ed. note: Warning to archaeologists digging among the ruins of the so-called House of Taga.

pilot Salas, in an advanced state of decomposition and with various lesions on the forehead and the eyes, and even though the identity of the person of Salas was recognized, it is also true that the undersigned all recognized that the said lesions received by this unfortunate man had been made during the long period when he remained in the water on account of the fury of the waves and the great surf that breaks upon the coral reef that extends in front of this village where the **María del Rosario** crashed, and through which the other shipwrecked people were happily saved. Despite the continuing very bad weather and the greatest of efforts being made, the only individual who is still missing, that is Simeon Conde, has not been found. Given that His Excellency the Governor and Judge is exhausted and sick in bed, lacking the services of a royal or public notary or corroborating witnesses, in order to act according to the Law, it was unanimously agreed to place this affidavit on record, to attest to the truth of the events that are consigned in it.

Luis de Ibañez

Agustín C. de Vaca

José Llorca

Fr. Gregorio Martinez

Felix Calvo

H. E. Johnston

G2. Full report by Governor Ibañez

Source: PNA.

[To] His Excellency the Governor of the Superior Civil Government of the Philippines.

[From] the M. & P. Government of the Marianas—Administration Section, Letter N° 75.

[Summary:] Informing about the loss of the mail ship, the Spanish Bark **María del Rosario**, in the port of the island of Tinian, in the morning of last August 19th as a result of a terrible hurricane; recommending at the same time the Irish Captain residing in these Islands, Mr. Henry H. Johnston, for the daring and timely services given to the shipwrecked people in such critical moments of the disaster.

Your Excellency:

After one year of residence here at the head of this Government, and wishing to take charge of the localities of the northern Islands of the ARchipelago, in order to dictate whatever dispositions were appropriate, for the benefit of these natives; and also for the purpose of returning the devout Curate of the Island of Saipan to his parish, who happened to be in this city for quite some time, recovering from illness; for all these reasons, and in accordance with Condition 13 of the public tender for the mail ships to these Islands imposed by the Central Accounting Office of the Public Treasury, inserted in Tome I, Year 2, No. 124, Page 873, dated Thursday 6 May 1869; last August 9th, I

decided to go on a tour of the northern islands, and to this effect, I passed an order to Captain Agustín Cabeza de Vaca of the mail ship, the Spanish Bark **María del Rosario**, advising him to have everything ready to make sail early in the morning of the 15th of said month. In fact, at 9 a.m. of that day, with clear weather and calm seas, we managed to leave the Port of Apra, steering North with the wind in the first quarter [i.e. N.E.], and during the 15th, 16th and 17th we experienced some calms with slack winds from the same quarter, until 6 a.m. on the 18th when a northerly set in and therefore at about 8 a.m. that day we appeared before the anchorage of the Island of Saipan; however, as the wind happened to freshen and it did not appear prudent either to the Chamorro Pilot, José de Salas, who was aboard, or to the Captain of said ship to anchor in that port, they informed me, and according to their wishes we headed for the neighboring island of Tinian where the Pilot said there was a better anchorage and a better shelter from the prevailing wind; and thus we changed heading and at 1 p.m. of that same day, we appeared in the Port of the island of Tinian. Within a short time, there appeared aboard the Irishman, Mr. G. H. Johnston, residing there as a result of his lease of said Island from the Government, and the said foreigner along with the above-mentioned Pilot, anchored the ship in 14 fathoms. I, finding myself gravely ill with dysentery, without losing time, went ashore for the purpose of seeing if I could find some relief to the sufferings that I was undergoing since the next day following my departure from this City. That night was passed with good weather, but with some small showers from the Northeast. At daybreak on the 19th, a sudden decrease of the barometer was noticed, coming down a maximum of 1-1/2 inches, that is 150 hundredths [of an inch]. The Spanish bark **María del Rosario** with her pilot and all her crew aboard was perfectly anchored when, between 6 and 7 a.m. of that day, a strong hurricane suddenly appeared from the third quarter [i.e. N.W.] which simply caused the chains to run completely out; however, it happened that when that the wind became worse as the peak of the storm was reached and the sea rose in proportion to the wind, first the port chain failed, and a few moments later between 7 and 8 a.m., the starboard chain also failed; the ship came suddenly on top of one of the reefs that exist there, without having been possible to lower a boat, not only because of the impetuous winds that blew with such fury in those critical moments but also they were contrary to a cossing in that port.

In such a sorry situation and the launch that was fastened between the main-mast and the foremast having been battered into pieces, the crew and the passengers, to save their lives, were forced to embark in a very small boat, but before reaching the shore, that weak skiff capsized. This was descried with much difficulty from the shore on account of the prevailing storm, by the Irish Captain Henry H. Johnston. With the speed of lightning, he threw himself first into the sea and so too the Carolinians who are there at his private service, and they all swam underwater as it was not possible to do otherwise and they fortunately succeeded in saving from a certain death the crew and passengers, as the majority did not know how to swim. Nevertheless, we had to lament the demise of Mr. Vicente Dueñas, Captain of the Battalion of Urban Militia of these Is-

lands, and former Clerk of this Court of First Instance, who was already dead when he was recovered from the sea by the Carolinians. Also we have the regret of noting the disappearance of the cabin boy, Simeon Conde, widower of 33 years of age, and a native of the Province of Camarines; in addition that of the Pilot Josx de Salas, a very honored Chamorro and a good man, married and with four children,¹ being about 40 years old. The unfortunate Simeon Conde could not be found, no matter what efforts were made after that disaster, and Pilot Salas' body appeared on the beach two days later. I can assure Y.E., that during my whole life I never witnessed such an imposing and horrible spectacle, as everywhere one looked there was desolation and terror; nevertheless, the services rendered during those days and after the catastrophe by Mr. Henry H. Johnston² with his Carolinians were very important under any point of view, because he abandoned his family completely at the time when none of them could find whelter within their house, because the whole roof had been torn off it; this intrepid foreigner put all his energies into saving the shipwrecked people, and later in lavishing all kinds of attention on them; pretending to be unaware and even not paying attention to the loss of his concerns of so many years, which consisted in trepang, salted meat and other products that were completely lost on account of the destruction of the sheds where they were stored. Mr. Johnston, without shoes and with legless pants, in the midst of the roughest and most terrible storm, multiplied his efforts and he was seen everywhere giving orders so that the passengers and crew did not lack anything, giving orders for beef and pork to be distributed. Such assistance to those shipwrecked in that island was continued during the whole day.

I left the island of Tinian last August 29th, aboard a whale-boat belonging to Mr. Johnston as there was no other craft and in view of the gravity of my illness and because I knew that I would endanger my life if I stayed there a few days longer. For this reason, I committed a real imprudence by boarding such a small craft, and accompanied by the late Captain of the Bark **María del Rosario**, Mr. Agustín Cabeza de Vaca, we began the very risky navigation in the middle of the Pacific, covering in two days the 120 or so miles that there are between the Island of Tinian and that of Rota and from there to the City of Agaña.

At my arrival here, the gravity of my sufferings did not allow me to do anything but stay in bed, but before doing so I entrusted Major Federico Gutierrez, interim Governor in my absence, to assemble the Council of the Authorities so that, before anything else, they saw that help was sent immediately to the unhappy shipwrecked people whom I had just left on the Island of Tinian, and in the attached copy of the minutes written at that meeting, Y.E. will be able to see the little efforts that were made to move the shipwrecked people to this City according to my strongest wishes. The said document, marked N^o 1, demonstrates the complete uselessness and little zeal of this Major who fills my post in an interim basis; all the members of the Council of Authorities

1 Ed. note: One of his children, also named José, was to assassinate Governor Pazos in 1884.

2 Ed. note: He was to disappear at sea in that same neighborhood in October 1876.

spoke, except the Chairman, on account of his lack of character. A noteworthy anomaly, to be sure!

By Document N° 2, Y.E. will also become aware of the terrible conduct of the Chamorro Joaquín Portusach who wished to make a fast buck with a matter so humanitarian in nature, and put into practice every day by individuals in general in all the nations. However, with such a wicked procedure he has just demonstrated his feelings, not so noble, and his tendency to disobey everything that is originated by the Spanish Government, as it is common knowledge that he did so with most of my predecessors; for this reason, we are now in the process these days of continuing the proceedings in this Court of First Instance. Even with the intervention of the Rev. Fr.; Vicar Forane and Provincial of these Islands, Fr Aniceto Ibañez, who was great in counselling and dissuading Portusach, in order for him to offer his ship to this Government as it is the only one existing here, and to render a service of very great importance right away, the obstination of the said Chamorro was greater, refusing to do it and forgetting the benefits he received from this Government, one of them being the grant of the island of Cabras, about which I informed Y.E. in my Letter N° 73 of last August 10th. The same person has for one year been sailing his ship with a Spanish flag without having paid one cent to the State for the registration and flag fees as he comes from a foreign country. All of this is little, Y.E., when compared to the disgust and indignation that the bad proceedings of Mr. Joaquín Portusach have caused in general. I would similarly fail in my duty if I said nothing about the most brilliant behavior that have marked on this occasion the 22 prisoners who arrived here of late, as a result of their involvement in the Cavite incident. Well, all of them vied, particularly Maximo Paterno, to offer to purchase the ship from Portusach, at whatever price, for the purpose of placintg it at the disposal of this Government. I did not agree to it for very many reasons that Y.E. will easily understand, the main one being that the said craft is the subject of a legal matter to be resolved by the Naval Headquarters in the Philippines.

The serious and painful illness through which I have just passed is public knowledge; however, nobody ignores that, when I was in very bad shape, in the end I could not leave asides the charge of Governor and Judge, and it was three days after my arrival from the Island of Tinian that I activated all the matters that were paralyzed, and in particular, I arranged for the sending of as many canoes and boats as could be found for the purpose of picking up the shipwrecked people and the few baggages that could be salvaged. By some miracle, my wishes came true, but it is doubtless that they ran much risk on account of the bad weather that we have had these past few days, obliging the said small craft to seek a port at different islands, until the 8th of this month when the last 10 individuals from the crew of the lost mail ship finally made it here. Still, the former cook of the Spanish Bark **María del Rosario** has not yet arrived; he came aboard one canoe from the Island of Saipan.

Due to an involuntary lapse in memory on my part, I forgot to mention to Y.E. at the beginning of this letter that, as a result of the above-mentioned terrible hurricane that went by these islands, nothing much has happened, except the destruction of the

parish House and over 14 houses on the Island of Saipan, which is not strange as the said island is so close to that of Tinian that only a small strait separates the two.

It is true, Y.E., that after my illness, it grieves me very much to see so much important correspondence being detained here, without the means to be able to come out of such an embarrassment; thus, I dare to beg Y.E. to allocate to these islands a warship that would be stationed here, or else for the State to acquire a rescue boat of the type that I am told they build in China for 500 or 600 pesos; in this manner, I could come out of embarrassment by sending to that Capital the delayed correspondence, and without losing sight that the Head of this Archipelago could visit the northern islands with more safety, doing it in the months of April and May which is the best period to sail in these seas.

To conclude this respectful communication, I can do no less than to recommend to Y.E. whatever the Irish Captain Henry H. Johnston, residing in these Islands for more than seven years may deserve, so that if Y.E. agrees, would he please recommend him to H.M.'s Government for a medal or whatever favor Y.E. may think appropriate. Also I hope that Y.E.'s ever generous and magnanimous heart will attend to Mr. Nieves Managane, widow of the unfortunate Pilot Josx de Salas, who has unhappily been left in utmost misery, with four children, all monors

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 11 October 1872.

Luis de Ibañez.

Documents 1872H

Shipwreck of the French schooner Margot, Captain Doiron

Source: PNA. Note: The manuscript being difficult to decipher at places, the name of this ship could have been Margor, Marengo, or something like it, instead of Margot. Even the name of the captain is in some doubt, Doiron, Doiran, perhaps Dorion.

Case file regarding this shipwreck that occurred at Agaña

Mariana Islands, 1872.—File created at the request of Captain J. Doiron, regarding the abandonment of the schooner Margor belonging to him that was shipwrecked on the bar of Agaña, and soliciting the assistance to which he is entitled as a shipwrecked person.

Document N° 1: Petition of Mr. Doiron.

To the Governor of the Marianas:

Mr. J. Doiron, of French nationality, shipwrecked captain of the French schooner **Margor**, most respectfully notify Y.E. that, as a result of the bad weather experienced on these coasts on the 17th, 18th and 19th of the month of August last, I had the misfortune that the above-mentioned schooner of my property went down in the roads that exist in front of this settlement, from where, after three months, I have succeeded with the efficient help that Y.E. ordered to be given to me, to refloat her; however, even though I managed to see my ship near the beach in a bad state and almost completely useless, my hopes of being able to again sail in my little schooner **Margor** were so strong that I went around to all the [trading] houses that exist on this island in order to find out if I could get resources to repair her, but everything was in vain; everyone refused me, saying that the ship is in bad condition and almost impossible to repair, except for the hull and the few sails that were saved. In this condition and finding myself without means of subsistence, as I have lived for the past three months on public charity, and have arrived at the point at which I cannot find anyone to lend me money, I have decided, in my quality of shipwrecked person, as I am, to abandon my ship, and this is what I am doing; therefore

I beg Y.E. to please consider me as such and take over the hulk and the four sails: the main sail, the foresail, the little foresail and the jib, the only objects which were

saved from the catastrophe, all of which I therefore abandon on my part, hoping that Y.E. will give the timely orders so that I may be given the resources that are given to shipwrecked persons between friendly nations on the account of whom it may concern.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 15 November 1872.

J. J. Doiron

Document N° 2: Register of the Schooner Margot [sic].

Fleet Service, Steam Despatch Boat **La Mégère**.

The undersigned, Commander, Officer of the Légion d'Honneur and master of the Steam Despatch Boat **La Mégère**, on a mission to Oceania, authorizes Mister Doiran [sic], a French citizen, to carry the French flag aboard the schooner **La Margot** [sic], built by him at the Wallis Islands,¹ on his voyage between the Wallis Islands and the French settlements in New Caledonia; it is understood that the present document will serve to replace all other documents, to attest to his nationality, his rights to the French flag and to the protection as well as to the privileges that ensue from same.

Given aboard **La Mégère** on the 9th of July 1869, in the archipelago of Noua² (Wallis Islands).

Mr. Aule(?)³

1 Ed. note: Wallis and Futuna, a French protectorate north of Tonga.

2 Ed. note: Or something like it, perhaps Uvea, another name for Wallis, according to Brigham's Index.

3 Ed. note: The file contains no further information about this mysterious captain, or what happened to him or his wreck afterwards.

Document 1872I

HMS Barrosa, Captain Moore, visited the Marshalls and Gilberts

General source: Articles in The Friend, Honolulu, October 2, 1872.

II. List of Officers

Of H.B.M.'s S. **Barrosa**, 17 guns, 400 horse power, from Japan to the Marshall, Gilbert and Solomon Groups, from thence to Hongkong:

Captain—Lewis J. Moore.

Senior Lieutenant—Edward J. Bellett.

Gunnery Lieutenant—Harry F. H. Hallett.

Lieutenant—Robert R. Jaffray.

Acting Lieutenant—Edward P. Statham.

Acting Navigating Lieutenant—Theodore G. Fenn.

Chaplain and Naval Instructor—Rev. E. J. Hitchings.

Chief Engineer—Richard Williamson.

Paymaster—William E. Chown.

Surgeon—William Anderson.

Sub-Lieutenants—Richard N. Gresley, Charles E. Morison.

Acting Sub-Lieutenant—Gasper J. Baker.

Assistant Paymasters—Alfred N. C. King, James G. Gordon.

Lieutenant Royal Marines—Frederick B. Drury.

Assistant Surgeon—Robert Turner.

Engineers—Richard Mockett, John B. Gibson, J. T. Coombs.

Assistant Engineers—James D. Chater.

Acting Gunner—Henry Canning.

Boatswain—William Reed.

Carpenter—Edwin Efford.

Midshipmen—Albert W. M. Finlay, Rudolph A. A. Lumbart.

Navigating Midshipman—Francis T. Barr.

Clerk—James W. Dixon.

I2. Note about kidnapped natives

Kidnapped Natives at Tahiti.—

A ship-master recently gave us information that he had seen natives of Strong's Island at Tahiti who had been forcibly carried away from Strong's Island, but who were desirous of returning home. We hope some way may be devised of returning the captured natives to their homes from Tahiti, Fiji, and other places where they have been employed.

I3. Letter from Rev. B. G. Snow

From a letter of the Rev. B. G. Snow, written while H.B.M.'s S. **Barrosa** was lying in the lagoon at Ebon, we copy as follows. After referring to kidnapping, the writer says:

"Another object this vessel has in view is to look after the case of Bishop Patteson. How worthy of imitation and admiration is the course of the British Government in looking so carefully and so promptly after the welfare and safety of all her subjects! I with our good Uncle Sam would take a few more lessons in this same direction. I am delighted the **Narragansett** has been looking after the Apaiang and Tarawa affair. When the facts are known, I have no doubt in my own mind that Bishop Patteson fell a victim to the revenge sought for the piratical depredations made upon the people of the islands where he was cut off."

I4. Pleasant Island

Captain Moore, commanding H.B.M.'s S. **Barrosa**, lately visiting Pleasant [Nauru] Island, remarks in a letter date Hongkong, June 19th.

"On June 5th I was at Pleasant Island. Two white men came off. One, an American, keeps a book of arrivals, a copy of which I send you:

—Brig **Carl**, J. Armstrong, arrived at Pleasant Island from Melbourne October 30th, 1871; four months from Levuka, trading for natives. Had 70 on board from various islands.

—**Sea Breeze**, Wicks, arrived at Pleasant Island from Melbourne April 20th, 1872.¹

—Brig **Nuuanu**, P. W. Hughes, arrived at Pleasant Island May 9th, 1872. Sailed for Hongkong.

—Whaling bark **Bartholomew Gosnold**, J. M. Willis, six months out, arrived at Pleasant Island May 18th, 1872. This man begged I would send a notice to you at Honolulu and other places for whalers, so as to caution them in coming to Pleasant Island not to go near the east end of the island, as the natives are at war with the west end, where these white men live. They are a desperate set, and if any number of them got on

1 Ed. note: This U.S. whaler was not involved in kidnapping natives (see Doc. 1872D).

the deck of a ship they would try to take her, as they did a small vessel in 1852. These natives are in great want of powder and muskets, and this man wishes to warn captains of whalers not to sell any, or some day some vessel will repent it. The day after I left, the 6th, I very fortunately fell in with H.B.M.'s S. **Blanche**, 25 days from Sydney, come on the same duty as myself."

15. Description of the Marshall and Gilbert Islands, by Lieutenant Theodore G. Fenn

Sources: Hydrographic Notice No. 1, London, 1873; translated into German and published in: Hydrographische Mittheilungen No. 17, Berlin, 1873; translated into Spanish and published in: Anuario del Depósito Hidrográfico, Madrid, 1874.

Synthesis of this report.

There is a geographic description of Ailuk, but, unfortunately no mention of their rescue of Eisenhart and the other survivors of the shipwreck of the **Corypheus**.

The other islands, very briefly described, are: Miadi [Mejit]; Calvert or Maloelap-Kaben; Daniel or Pedder [Arno]; Bonham [Jaluit]; Arrowsmith or Majuro; Mulgrave or Mili; Boston or Covell, Ebon, where they met Captain T. E. F. Milne, commander of the schooner **Jimatas** [sic]; Elmore, or Ailinglaplap; Lib; Lae; Ujae, or Catherine; Schanz [Wotho]; Kili or Hunter; Namorik or Baring; [Bu-] Taritari; Tabiteuea or Drummond; Onotoa or Clerk; Ocean [Banaba]; and Pleasnat [Nauru].

Among other things, the magnetic variation observed was 9° NE., in 1873.

Documents 1872J

HMS *Blanche*, Captain Simpson, visited Micronesia

J1. List of officers

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, October 2, 1872.

Of H.B.M.'s S. *Blanche*, 6 guns, 360 horse power, spoken at sea near Ebon, Marshall Islands, June 6:

Captain—Cortland H. Simpson.

Senior Lieutenant—Walter S. Bridges.

Lieutenants—F. W. B. Praed, Thomas T. A. Smith.

Navigating Lieutenant—William F. A. Geet.

Chief Engineer—Edward Brown.

Surgeon—William H. Adam.

Acting Paymaster—John E. Morse.

Sub-Lieutenants—Henry M. C. Festing, Henry F. Haszard.

Acting Sub-Lieutenant—Frederick F. Henderson.

Assistant Paymaster—William H. F. Kay.

Assistant Surgeon—William F. Sweetnam, M.D.

Engineer—Thomas Clark.

Assistant Engineer—George Elliott.

Gunner—George A. Blackford.

Boatswain—Peter Holland.

Carpenter—George H. Evans.

Midshipmen—H. J. Davison, Henry Evans, R. H. Walpole.

J2. Report of Captain Simpson

Sources: Hydrographic Notice No. 1, London, 1873; translated into German and published in: Annalen der Hydrographie No. 1, 1873; partly translated into Spanish and published in: Anuario del Depósito Hidrográfico, Madrid, 1873.

Synthesis of the report.

After visiting St. Matthias Island, New Hanover, New Britain, and the Solomon Islands, the **HMS Blanche** visited the Carolines, Marshall and Gilbert Islands.

The report contains geographic descriptions of the following Micronesian islands: Hogolu or Truk [Chuuk];¹ Odio or Elmore; Arrowsmith [Majuro]; Bonham [Jaluit]; Ebon; Tarawa. The variation was 9° NE in 1873.

1 Ed. note: The natives of Chuuk are described as being completely naked, armed with slings and spears, and not inspiring much confidence. Russell Robertson in his article on the Caroline Islands (1876) says that Captain Simpson administered a severe punishment on the people of Truk, but there is no mention of this incident here.

Notes 1872K

Filipino rebels deported to Guam

The aftermath of the Cavite mutiny of 1872.

Sources: Blair & Robertson. The Philippine Islands, vol. 52, page 127, fn 57

With the three Filipino priests [José Burgos, Jacinto Zamora, and Mariano Gomez] was also executed one Francisco Saldúa. Máximo Inocencio, Enrique Paraiso, and Crisanto de los Reyes were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. Others were also condemned to death, some of whose sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. The following persons were deported to the Marianas:

- Antonio María Regidor [Jurado], 8 years;¹
 - Máximo Paterno;
 - Agustín Mendoza, parish priest of the district of Santa Cruz de Manila;
 - Joaquín Pardo de Tavera, a regidor of Manila and university professor, 6 years.
- Some of the latter, and others, lost their qualification as advocates of the Audiencia.

Extract from a letter of José Rizal to Ferdinand Blumentritt.

Source: The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence, Vol. 1, 1886-1889 (Manila, National Historical Institute, 1992), pages 162, 173, 194).

Extract from a letter dated Hong Kong 16 February 1888.

...

Hong Kong is a small but very clean commercial city. Many Portuguese, Hindus, English, Chinese, and Jews live in it. There are also some Filipinos, the majority of whom being those who had been deported to the Mariana Islands in 1872. They are poor, gentle, and timid. Formerly they were rich merchants, industrialists, and financiers. Only one is a republican and progressive, very suspicious. They will not return to Manila; they fear the *phantoms*. One is very sick and will die soon. He was a rich financier, not very well educated, but very rich, who married a dissolute woman. It was his fault. Now he is poor, very poor.

...

¹ Ed. note: See comments by Rizal about him, below.

Extract from a letter dated London 23 June 1888.

...

Dr. Jurado is now in Paris. When he came over, he was glad to hear that you [Blumentritt] remember him; he spoke of you with respect and admiration. He told me that before his deportation he was Hispanophile and anti-Filipino. In the Marianas, he realized that he had been ungrateful and disloyal to his native country. God has cured him of his error.

...

Extract from a letter dated London 18 August 1888.

...

Dr. Regidor greets you. He is engaged in big business and so he cannot go to Karlsbad [in Bohemia] now. But he will make the trip as soon as he finds time for it and then he will visit you. We talk about you frequently. If you knew how he loves our native land! He is the only one who sacrifices everything for her—life, money, and health! I don't know of any other compatriot as enthusiastic as he is.

...

Documents 1873A

Five short reports about some U.S. whalers in 1873

Source: Articles in The Friend, Honolulu, December 1, 1873.

A1. Report of Bark *Arnolda*, G. F. Bauldry, Master

*Notes: There exists an anonymous logbook of the *Arnolda*, 1872-76, in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 721; Log Inv. 429. There is also a partial logbook of the *Arnolda*, Captain George F. Bauldry, but only for 1875-76, as a MCF in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; MCF 721; Log Inv. 430.*

[Some Banabans migrated to Kosrae in 1873]

Left Honolulu December, 1872, and cruised on the line between seasons; saw no whales. Touched at Ocean [Banaba] Island, where the natives were in a starving condition. Took off 24 and carried them to Strong's [Kosrae] Island; then proceeded North. Went into the Arctic Ocean middle of June; saw but only few whales until Oct. 1st, when we took our first one. From that time to the 10th took 6 whales, stowing down 330 bbls and 6,000 lbs bone. Came out of the Arctic Ocean Oct. 18th, and proceeded to Plover Bay, Left Plover Bay Oct. 26th, arriving at Honolulu after a passage of 23 days. Total catch 200 walrus, 330 whale, 6,000 lbs bone.

A2. Report of Bark *Bartholomew Gosnold*, J. M. Willis, Master

Left Honolulu Dec. 4th, 1872, and touched at Ebon and Strong's [Kosrae] Island. Cruised off Bouka Island and took 140 bbls sperm. April 22d, 1873, left Yokohama; arrived up to the ice May 21st, having experienced head winds all the passage; June 8th entered the Arctic... The season in the Arctic has been very free from ice, and whales very scarce. Our boats have been lowered eight times for whales. Arrived in Honolulu Tuesday, Oct. 28th.

A3. Report of Bark Active, T. G. Campbell, Master

Left Honolulu 27th Nov. 1872, and cruised off New Ireland and Boruka the between seasons. Saw whales twice, and took six, making 110 barrels. Recruited ship at Ascension [Pohnpei] Island and Yokohama. Cruised nearly a month in the Japan Sea and saw two right whales. On the 21st May, 1873, in a dense fog, struck on Oki-Siri Island, but got off in a short time, wind being light and water smooth; no damage done to the ship. The island was made twenty miles south of the position on the charts. Passed through Behring Straits 20th June and Point Barrow 26th July, in company with twenty of the other vessels. There were a few whales off the point, but nothing like former years... Took three whales during the season... Arriving at Honolulu Sunday, Nov. 2d.¹

A4. Report of Bark Joseph Maxwell, Stephen Hickmott, Master

Note: See extracts from her logbook, Doc. 1873C.

Left San Francisco Jan. 16; went down on to the line in long. 95°; worked to the westward, and touched at Marquesas and Gilbert groups; from there to Yokohama, arriving there May 10th; from thence to Arctic, passing through the Straits June 20th. Saw no whales, but quantities of walrus; took, up to July 21st, 350 bbls. walrus oil... Arrived at Honolulu Nov. 19th, after a passage of 23 days. Hail 350 walrus, 750 whale, and 14,000 lbs bone.

A5. The Europa, Captain McKenzie

Marine Journal. Port of Honolulu, S. I.

Arrivals. Nov. 7.—Am. whaling ship **Europa**, McKenzie, from Arctic, with 800 whale [oil], 8,000 bone.

...

Died.

George—In this city, at the U.S. Hospital, 14th November, George, a native of Ascension [Pohnpei] Island. He was a seaman on board whaleship **Europa**.

¹ Ed. note: According to the report of Arrivals, on the same page of *The Friend*, they took 110 bbls of sperm oil, 274 of whale oil, 250 of walrus oil, 4,500 lbs of whale-bone, and 1,300 lbs. of ivory. Ao it seems as if walrus hunting was making up for the decrease in whales.

Document 1873B

The bark Triton, Captain John Heppingstone

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 368; Log Inv. 4647.

Note: The Captain's family was on board, at least in 1874 (see entry for 27 February 1874).

Extracts from the anonymous logbook

[Departure from New Bedford]

Monday January 8th 1872

This 9 a.m., weighed anchor & left New Bedford Harbor with fine weather & light NW winds & a tugboat ahead towing the ship through the new made ice. Towards noon, the wind veered to WNW & W. At 11:45 a.m., the tugboat let go & the ship steered by the wind heading SW & SW by S.

Tuesday January 9th

... In coming out of the harbor, one of the forward men, Rosalie Maury, was beastly intoxicated, showed fight & drew a knife & there being too much danger to let him go at large, had to handcuff him & at 5 p.m., took them off again...

...

[They were bound to Hawaii, then to the Arctic, where they hunted whales until October 1872, then went south to the Line, and the Gilbert Islands.]

...

Thursday Jan. 23d, 1873

... At 6:30 p.m., saw Byron's [Nukunau] Island bearing N by E distant 15 miles... At 8:30 a.m., saw Byron's Island bearing N by E 1/2 E distant 18 miles. Lat. 1°23' S. Long. [blank].

Friday Jan 24th

... The ship laying off and on Byron's Island. Had good many natives on board. They brought but little trade, a few chickens and coconuts, that's all. At 2 p.m., kept off, steering W by S. At 3 p.m., saw Peroad [Beru] Island bearing SW distant 15 miles... At 8 a.m., sent two boats ashore to trade and they returned at 10 a.m. with a few chickens and coconuts. had quite a number of natives on board but had no trade. At 10 a.m., kept off, steering SSW with all sail out. Lat. 1°36'.

Saturday Jan 25th

... At 1:30 p.m., saw Francis [Beru] Island bearing SSW distant 12 miles & at 4 p.m. a few canoes came off with a few fowls and coconuts. At 6 p.m., while running off, picked up a canoe with 3 men in it, who requested the captain to take them on board having been in the canoe two days and were unable to work their way back ashore against a strong trade and headwind. Took them aboard & shipped them. 1 sail in sight. At 10 a.m., saw Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island bearing NW by W distant 15 miles & at 11:30 saw Nautilus Shoal. Lat. 1°40'.

Sunday Jan 26th 1873

... Drummond's Island in sight. At 1 p.m., several canoes came off with natives. They had no trade but a few chickens and mats. At 4 p.m., kept off, steering WSW... Lat. 1°16' S. Long. 174°25' E.

...

Tuesday Jan. 28th

... At daylight, kept off, steering W. According to one of the charts, Ocean high Island [Banaba] was 20 miles off at daylight but up to noon could not see it.

[Famine at Banaba]**Wednesday Jan 29th**

... At 7 p.m., saw Ocean High Island bearing W by S1/2S distant 20 miles... At daylight, kept off steering for Ocean Island. At 9 a.m., several canoes with natives came alongside with a fowls. One of the canoes alongside capsized & two natives jumped overboard to save it. The other natives on board would not assist them. After several unsuccessful attempts to get the natives to assist the other two in the water, had to lower a boat down & right the canoe which was swamped and full of water. The natives here are in a starving condition. Everything is dried up. They have neither coconuts nor anything else & live principally on fish & the bark of trees. They came on board begging for bread but would not sell any chickens for it. Pipes and tobacco were in better demand. At 10 a.m., sent two boats ashore to trade, the ship laying off and on, with very strong winds.

Thursday Jan 30th

... At 4 p.m., the boats returned with some wood and a few fowls. All the natives want to go off to some other islands. Shipped 2 natives... Lat. 0°30' [S]. Long. 167°54' E.

Friday Jan 31st

... At 5 p.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing W by S1/2S distant about 15 miles... At 10 a.m., several canoes came off with natives and boats with a white man.

Saturday Feb 1st

... The ship laying off and on Pleasant Island, trading. Got 26 hogs, a number of chickens, 2 boatloads of wood and 2000 coconuts. At 4 p.m., squared away & steered NW by W...

...

Thursday Feb 6th

... At 4:30, saw McAskill [Pingelap] Island bearing WNW distant 15 miles. At 6 p.m., tacked ship... Latter part, the ship laying off and on McAskill Island with 2 boats ashore trading. Saw 1 sail.

Friday Feb 7th, 1873

... At 1 p.m., the boats returned with a few fowls & ducks & two loads of coconuts. Spoke Bark **R. W. Wood**, of Honolulu, Capt. Whitney, loiling 3 sperm whales. Had lost her second officer & lost 2 whales also... At 10:20 a.m., saw Wellington [Mokil] Island bearing WSW distant 18 miles & steered for it. Lat. 6° 45' N.

Saturday Feb. 8th

... At 2:30, the Captain went ashore & returned again at 4. The **R. W. Wood** in sight. At 9 a.m., the Captain went ashore & sent off 23 hogs...

Sunday Feb 9th

... At 4 p.m., the Captain returned on board. Received 2000 coconuts. The **R. W. Wood** in sight... At 10 a.m., saw Ascension [Pohnpei] Island bearing W distant about 35 miles.

Monday Feb 10th

... At daylight, kept off, steering for Middle Harbor, Ascension Island. At 9 a.m., the pilot came on board & at 10, dropped anchor in the Middle Harbor. Bark **James Allen** and **Arnolda** of New Bedford & **R. W. Wood** of Honolulu are here. After furling the sails, got ready to break out.

Tuesday Feb 11th, 1873

... Employed taking a raft ashore & filling it & doing other work... Crew employed in port duty.

Wednesday Feb 12th

... Richard Cruikshank and Stephen Harkins were kept in irons for attempt to desert.

Thursday Feb 13th

... Richard Cruikshank jumped overboard & attempted to desert. Kept him in irons.

...

Sunday Feb 16th

... Everything ready to weigh anchor but the wind is not favorable to lay out of the harbor...

Monday Feb 17th

... At 8 a.m., weighed anchor & sailed out of the harbor... The ship's course [is] along the Island towards Kity Harbor...

Tuesday Feb. 18th

... The ship laying off and on Kity Harbor. Shipped two men before the mast & at 3 p.m., kept off, steering WSW & at 6 p.m. WNW. Richard Cruikshank & Stephen Harkins on duty again... Lat. 7°55' [N], Long. [blank].

...

Sunday Feb 23rd

... At 9:30 a.m., saw the Island Almaguan [Alamagan] bearing NW by W distant 20 miles. Lat. 17°38' [N].

Monday Feb 24th

... The ship by the wind heading NNW with all sail out. At 1:30 p.m., saw the Island Pagon [Pagan] bearing NW distant 30 miles... At 8 a.m., lowered all 4 boats to cruise for humpbacks.

Tuesday Feb. 25th

... At 3 p.m., the boats returned with loads of coconuts not having seen any humpbacks but saw one from the ship & the boats went in chase as quick as they were unloaded. Mr. Ellis came pretty handy to him but the whale saw the boat & left for parts unknown. At 5 p.m., the boats returned & after they were hoisted up, we steered S with all drawing sails out. The Island Pagon is an active volcano.

... Saw 4 islands... Lat. 16°53' N. Long. 146M16712' E.

Wednesday Feb 26th

... 4 islands in sight... At 8 a.m., saw the Island Saypan bearing S by E1/2# distant 30 miles. Lat. 15°35' [N]. Long. [blank].

Thursday Feb 27th

Dirst part, fine weather & light winds from ESE & E. The ship by the wind on different tacks, all sail out, beating up to the Island Saypan, distant at sundown 8 miles. Saw 1 sail at anchor... Latter part, steered fro the anchorage at Saypan & at 10 a.m. dropped anchor. The Bark **James Allen** is laying at anchor here.

Friday Feb 28th

The ship at anchor. Saw several humpbacks & lowered 3 boats in chase... Latter part,

all the boats in chase of a humpback. Not having a chance to strike, they returned at 10 a.m.

Saturday Feb March 1st

The ship at anchor. Employed washing ship outside. Starboard watch on liberty.

Sunday March 2nd

The ship at anchor. Port Watch on liberty.

Monday March 3rd

The ship at anchor. Starboard Watch on liberty. Employed paint ship.

Tuesday March 4th, 1873

The ship at anchor. Port Watch on liberty. Weather bad & stormy. Topsail schooner **South Sea** of Yokohama, Capt. Davis, anchored here.

...

Thursday March 6th

... Rasalie Maury has been absent from the ship without permission since Tuesday March 4th.

...

Saturday March 8th

The ship at anchor & the boats cruising for humpbacks. At 1 p.m., the Bow Boat struck and fastened to one. At 3 p.m., weighed anchor to take the whale alongside. At 4 p.m., took him alongside & at 7 p.m., dropped anchor again in 14 fathoms of water.

Sunday March 9th

The ship at anchor. Employed boiling & 2 boats whaling. Bark **Active** of New Bedford, Capt. Campbell anchored here...

Monday March 10th

At 1 p.m., weighed anchor & beat up to abreast of the town & at 4 p.m., dropped anchor again...

Tuesday March 11th

... Henry Rotumah deserted from the ship & given up by the Governor of the island & returned on board. After arrival on board ship, confined in handcuffs...

...

Thursday March 13th

The ship at anchor and the boats fast to a humpback. After the whale was dead, he sunk heavy & the ship got under way & at 4 p.m., took him alongside. The **Waist Boat** was badly stove, her whole head was smashed, and the **Larboard Boat** got one of her gunwales broken & the center board smashed. At 5 p.m., commenced cutting & fin-

ished at 7:30 p.,.. Saw Bark **Active** getting under way...

Friday March 14th

... At 3:30 p.m., took him alongside, made sail & steered for the harbor & about 6 p.m., the ship struck very light on a coral reef & by hauling everything aback, backed her off quite easy. At 6:30 p.m., dropped anchor & commenced boiling. Latter part, employed cutting in & boiling. Bark **Sea Breeze** anchored here this afternoon.

Saturday March 15th

First part had a strong squall & rain shower. Crew employed boiling, cutting up blubber & stowing away the cutting gear. Middle & latter part, employed boiling Ship **Europa** dropped anchor here today.

Sunday March 16th, 1873

... At 1 p.m., finished boiling. Latter part, clearing up & 2 boats cruising for humpbacks.

Monday March 17th

The ship at anchor. Bark **Acors Barns** of New London, dropped anchor here. Latter part, employed stowing down oil.

Tuesday March 18th

... Finished stowing down 104 bbls of oil & washed the ship. 3 boats cruising for humpbacks.

Wednesday March 19th

... At 1 p.m., the boats returned without success. Took in the stoven Waist Boat & hoisted a new Boat in her place... The Carpenter of Bark **Acors Barns** on board mending the stoven boat.

Thursday March 20th

... Bark **Progress** & Ship **Marengo** anchored here this evening...

...

Monday March 24th

The ship at anchor. Strong NE & ENE winds. At daylight, weighed anchor, made all sail & steered for the Island of Tinian & dropped anchor in the harbor. At 11 a.m., found Bark **Sea Breeze**, **Progress**, **Bartholomew Gosnold**, **Arnolda** & **R. W. Wood** at anchor here.

Tuesday March 25th 1873

The ship at anchor at Tinian. At 10 a.m., weighed anchor & steered by the wind on the starboard tack with the wind from E...

Wednesday March 26th

... Passed two Islands... Lat. 17°04' N.

Thursday March 27th

... 3 Islands in sight... At daylight, the island Pagon was distant about 4 miles... At 9 a.m., lowered all 4 boats to go ashore after coconuts. Had a good home-made rain shower.

Friday March 28th

The ship off and on Pagan with all boats ashore. At 6 p.m., they returned, each with a load of coconuts... AT daylight, the Island Prigan [Agrigan] distant 6 miles... Lat. 18°50' [N]. Long. 146°10' E.

Saturday March 29th

... At 5 p.m., the boats returned with a few coconuts. Lat. 19°40'.

Monday March 31st

... The **R. W. Wood** in sight... Lat. 21°33'. Long. 142°58' E.

[On to the Bonins, where they met the Bark **Midas**, and to Yokohama, on to the Arctic and back to the Line in 1874.]

Thursday Jan. 22nd [1874]

... At 9 a.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing NW by W distant about 15 miles... Lat. 2°40' S. Long. [blank].

Friday Jan. 23rd

... The ship laying off and on HOPE Island. A few natives came o board but had nothing to trade. They report a famine on the island... At 9 a.m., saw Rotch [Tamana] Island bearing W by S distant 18 miles... Lat. 2°27' [S]. Long. [blank].

Saturday Jan 24th

... The ship laying off and on Rotch Isalnd. At 1 p.m., several canoes came alongside with a few green coconuts & half a dozen fowl. At 5 p.m., braced forward & steered along the island. After clearing the island, found a native stowed away... At 9 a.m., saw Francis [Beru] Island & steered for it. Lat. 1°56' [S]. Long. 174°50' E.

Sunday Jan 25th

... Laying off & on Francis Island. Several canoes with natives came on board but had nothing but hats, mats and a few coconuts. Landed the three natives we picked up here last year; their names were Julian, Triton & Jeff Davis.

Sunday Jan 25th 1874

... At 11 a.m., saw Dummond Island bearing W distant 15 miles. Lat. 1°42' S. Long. [blank].

Monday Jan 26th

... At 1 p.m., saw Nautilus Reef & steered along the edge of it to the WNW. At 4 p.m., hauled aback but seeing but 2 or 3 canoes coming, kept off & steered W by N... Lat. 0°51' S. Long. 172°53' E.

...

Thursday Jan 29th

... At 1:30 p.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing SW by W distant 20 miles... Latter part, strong trade, the ship laying off & on Pleasant Island. At 8 a.m., several canoes & 2 whale boats came off with a few hogs, chickens, coconuts & other trade.

Friday Jan 30th

... At 4 p.m., left the Island with 33 hogs & some chickens & 2000 coconuts. The hogs are very poor, their food ashore having been very scarce... Lat. 0°23' N. Long. 166°20' E.

...

Wednesday Feb 4th 1874

... At daylight, saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island bearing WNW distant about 25 miles & steered for it. At 11:30 a.m., a canoe came off with 4 natives & a few coconuts. Lat. 5°18' N.

Thursday Feb 5th

... At 4 p.m., lost sight of Strong's Island...

Friday Feb 6th

... At 4:30 p.m., saw McAskill [Pingelap] Island bearing WNW distant about 15 miles... At 10 a.m., saw McAskill Island bearing WSW & steered for it. Lat. 6°16' [N]. Long. [blank].

Saturday Feb 7th

... The ship steering for McAskill Island. At 3:30 p.m., sent two boats ashore to trade & they returned at 6 p.m. with 1000 coconuts, a few ducks & chickens. After hoisting the boats, kept away steering W by N... At 9 a.m., saw Wellington [Mokil] Island bearing W1/2S distant 18 miles & steered for it.

Sunday Feb 8th 1874

... The ship off & on Wellington Island. At 1 p.m., the Captain went ashore with 2 boats & returned again at dark with 2000 coconuts & 10 hogs... At 8 a.m., sent a boat ashore. At 10 a.m., she returned. Kept off, steering W1/2N with all drawing sail out.

Lat. 6°42' N. Long [blank].

Monday Feb 9th

... At 6 p.m., saw Ascension [Pohnpei] Island bearing W1/2N distant about 20 miles... At daylight, kept off, steering for Ascension with all sail out.

Tuesday Feb 10th

... The ship steering along the land to the NW, WNW & W towards NW Harbor. At 4 p.m., the pilot came off & reported there was nothing to be had in the harbor, so we hauled our wind heading NW. Saw Missionary Brig **Morning Star** at anchor...

...
Sunday Feb 15th

... At 2 p.m., saw the Island Saypan bearing NW distant about 40 miles & steered for it... At daylight, kept off & steered for the island with all sail out.

Monday Feb 16th

... The ship steering towards the town on Saypan. At 4 p.m., dropped anchor in 10 fathoms of water within about 1-1/2 miles of the town... At daylight, saw a few humpbacks & lowered all the boats in chase. They returned at noon, not having a chance to strike.

Tuesday Feb 17th 1874

... The ship at anchor. Crew employed tarring down... Starboard Watch on liberty. Port Watch employed stowing off fore peak.

...
Thursday Feb 19th

... Starboard Watch on liberty. Crew employed washing ship outside & getting off wood.

...
Saturday Feb 21st

... Crew employed getting off wood, sweet potatoes, corn & a few hogs.

Sunday Feb. 22nd

First part, fine weather, the ship at anchor. Crew employed getting off wood. Received 14 cords in all... At 8 a.m., weighed anchor, made all sail & steered towards the Island Tinian.

Monday Feb. 23rd

... At 1 p.m., dropped anchor in the harbor of Tiian... Crew employed painting ship outside.

Tuesday Feb 24th

... At 8 a.m., lowered the Waist & Bow Boats in chase of a humpback cow & calf & they returned at 10 a.m. without success...

Wednesday Feb 25th

... Crew employed getting off 3 boatloads of wood & a few barrels sweet potatoes from shore.

Thursday Feb 26th

... At 1 p.m., weighed anchor, made sail & steered SW & SSW bound to Guam for fresh water. Passed one island [Aguijan] & at sundown the Island Rota bearing SSW distant 20 miles... At 2 a.m., hauled aback & at daylight, saw the Island Guam & steered for it. Saw 1 sail. At 11 a.m., layed aback off the town & 1 boat boarded us from shore...

Friday Feb 27th, 1874

... At 1 p.m., the Captain went ashore to trade... At 9 a.m., the Captain with family went ashore to trade.

Saturday Feb 28th

... The ship laying off & on. At 5 p.m., the Captain returned on board, kept off & steered along the land towards the watering place... Saw 1 schooner... Latter part... the ship steering towards Umata. At 9 a.m., anchored & sent a raft ashore for fresh water. Mr. David Adams, late 2nd officer of Bark **Arctic** of Honolulu shipped yesterday as a boat header & joined the ship today.

Sunday March 1st

... The ship anchored & crew employed getting off & stowing down water...

Monday March 2nd

... Finished watering & at 4:30 p.m., weighed anchor & steered by the wind... Capt. Faser of Bark **Illinois** came on board & stayed a few minutes. He is bound to Guam Harbor...¹

...
[To the Bonins, Yokohama, and the Arctic for one more season. Back to Hawaii in November 1874, where the crew was discharged and a new person took over the log. The **Triton** once more headed for the Line with a crew of 31 men.]

Monday 25th [January 1875]

... At 8 a.m., raised Byron's [Nukunau] Island bearing WSW 12 miles distant & steered for it. Latter part, trading with the natives for hats and mats. After leaving, we found one native stowed away, Pack Baker, by name. Lat. 1°27' S.

¹ Ed. note: This bark was to collide with the Marengo in the Arctic and sink...

Tuesday 26th

... At 2 p.m., left Byron's Island steering to the S... At 9 a.m., sighted Francis [Beru] Island 14 miles distant. Steered for it. At 12M, the land 2 miles distant, spoke the Schooner **French Dove** of Fiji. Had on board a deckful of natives from this island. Did not say where bound. The island, Lat. 2°00' S, Long. 175°22' E.

Wednesday 27th

... First part, hove to aback on the W side of the Island. Several natives came on board, had nothing for sale but a few mats and hats. They reported the Schooner of stealing 20 men. At 3, kept off, steering W. Latter part, steering NW under all sail. Lat. 1°23' S. Long. 173°13' E.

...
Friday 29th

... At 8 a.m. sighted Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing WSW 20 miles distant. Steered for it... Lat. 00°55' S.

Jan. Saturday 30th

... At 2 p.m., hove aback on the lee side of Ocean Island. Some of the natives came on board. Bought some broom stuff from them with pieces of old iron hoop. They had nothing else for sale. At 4 p.m., kept off, steering W... After leaving the island, we found 3 natives stowed away on board. We kept them, gave them some clothes and set them to work with the rest of the men...

...
Feb Sunday 7th

... At 8 a.m., sighted Strong's [Kosrae] Island bearing ESE 20 miles distant. Lat. 5°33' N. Long. 162°15' E.

...
Tuesday 9th

... At 4 p.m., sighted MacAskill's [Pingelap] Island 15 miles... At 11 a.m., hove aback to the leeward of the Island and sent two boats in shore trading for hogs & coconuts & fowls.

Wednesday 10th

... Two boats ashore trading for coconuts, hogs, fowl & wood. AT dark, finished trading and came on board... At 12M, sighted Wellington's [Mokil] Island bearing W 15 miles distant. Steered for it... Lat. 6°38' N.

Thursday 11th

... Steering W for Wellington's Island. At 5 p.m., hove aback off the town. The Captain went on shore but it was too late and rugged to trade for hogs which we came here for. Layed off and on all night and stood in in the morning but could not land, it being too rugged. Still laying off & on waiting for good weather. Lat. 6°43' N. Long. 159°40' E.

Friday 12th

... Laying off and on Wellington's Island. Latter part, on shore after hogs and coconuts...

Saturday 13rd

... First part employed boating offhogs and coconuts at Wellington's Island. At 6 p.m., kept off, steering W per compass under double reefed topsails. At 4 a.m., Ascension [Pohnpei] Island in sight bearing W 15 miles distant. Latter part, one boat went on shore at Lee Harbor for hogs. The Captain went on board the Bark **Arctic** lying in the Middle Harbor, fitting some of her spars. Reports all well and no oil.

Sunday 14th

... One boat on shore at the Lee Harbor at Ascension after hogs. At 5 p.m., came on board with 2 hogs and a few green coconuts... Middle part, steered to the Northward clear off the Islands. Latter part, steering NW...

Monday 15th

... Steering WNW under all sail towards the Island of Guam on account of the Second Mate, Mr. Good, who is quite sick. He has been unwell for a month and a half. Lat. 9°29' N. Long. 154°55' E.

...

Friday 19th

... Middle part, sighted the Island of Rotta and Guam. Steered W by S for Guam. At 9 a.m., hove to off the town and went in with a boat but could not land, it being too rugged. Came on board and steered for the harbor. At 11 a.m., took a Pilot and began beating into the Harbor...

Saturday 20th

... At 3 p.m., came to anchor in 25 fathoms of water. Latter part, sent a raft of casks on shore for water.

Sunday 21st

... At anchor at Port Apra, Guam. First part, took on board a raft of water. Latter part, nothing doing. Several people on board from shore.

Monday 22nd

... Sent Mr. Peter Good, our Second Mate, on shore very sick with the venereal. He can get medical aid here.

Tuesday 23rd

... Still laying at anchor at Guam, employed scraping iron work and painting it.

...

Thursday 25th

... At 9 a.m., got under way with a Pilot and stood out of the harbor. At 10 a.m., the Pilot left and we steered towards Umata for water.

Friday 26th

... At 10 a.m., dropped anchor at Umata on the W side of Guam in 16 fathoms of water. Employed getting off water from shore.

Saturday 27th

... First, lying at anchor at Umata. Finished getting our water and got one boatload of wood. At 3 p.m., heavy squalls. Dragged our anchor off bottom with 47 fathoms of chain out. Hove up the anchor and made sail. Began working up towards the port of Guam after Mr. Good, the Second Mate. Latter part, off the harbor but did not land, it being thick and rainy. Stood off shore again.

Sunday 28th [Feb. 1875]

... Working up towards the town of Guam. At 8 a.m., hove aback off the town and Capt. Heppingstone went on shore for Mr. Good, the Second Mate. At 11 a.m., sent him on board a little better than when he left the ship. At 12M, the boat went on shore for the Captain of a Spanish steamer arrived here today,¹ [which] came to anchor at Sumay, Port Apra, with 460 Spanish prisoners on board for this Port. Also the Bark **Arctic**, Capt. Whitney, whaler, anchored at Port Apra, last from the Island of Ascension.²

March Monday 1st

... Lying off the Port of Guam. At 4 p.m., the Captain came on board, made all sail and steered by the wind, heading NNE... heading towards Sypan [Saipan].

...

Friday 5th

... At 5 p.m., sighted the Island of Tinian. Middle part, under easy sail, lying off the harbor. Latter part, worked up to the anchorage. At 12M, came to anchor in 10 fathoms of water and furled all sails. So ends.

Saturday 6th

... Employed boating off wood from shore.

Sunday 7th

... Employed boating off sweet potatoes & corn.

1 Ed. note: The **Patiño**, name of captain not given, even by Fr. Ibañez in his diary.

2 Ed. note: The **Arctic** brought Bully Hayes to Guam, after his ship *Leonora* had been wrecked at Kosrae.

Monday 8th

... Employed firing one of the anchor stocks which was split.

Tuesday 9th

... At 8 a.m., got under way and began working up towards Sypan with two passengers for there. At 12 M, the town in sight to the NE of us.

Wednesday 10th

... At 9 a.m., came to anchor in 10 fathoms of water, one mile from the land. Sent on shore the two passengers. Waiting for wood to be cut.

Thursday 11th

... The Starboard Watch ashore on liberty.

Friday 12th

... Lying at Sypan, the Larboard Watch ashore on liberty. The Watch on board employed unbending and bending sails. About 5 days ago, there were 500 Spanish prisoners landed here from a Spanish steamer.

Saturday 13th

... Lying at anchor at Sypan, the Starboard Watch ashore on liberty. At 7 a.m., lowered 3 boats for a humpback whale, without success. At 11 a.m., received news from shore that the men on liberty were in trouble with the ipolice. One man had his skull broken by a musket and then the whole Watch were taken prisoners and confined.

Sunday 14th

... The Captain went on shore for the liberty men but was refused them by the Governor. So, he kept them until 12M the next day, putting them on board the Spanish transport steamer for protection. Latter part, the Captain went for the men again and was refused. The Captain told him [that] if the men were not on board in two hours that he would get his [vessel] under way and leaves the men on his hands. At 12M, they were sent on board. The wounded man not expected to live long. Middle part, the Bark **Faraway**, Capt. Joseph Spencer, came in to anchor, had 90 bls of sperm oil since leaving the Sandwich Island last December.

Monday 15th

... Lying at Sypan. Employed boating off wood from shore.

Tuesday 16th

... At 10 a.m. bent a main topsail and got the ship under way, steering N1/4E per compass. The steamer and Barque gone to Tinnean [Tiniani] for potatoes.

...

[They headed once more to the Bonins, where onions, pumpkins, and ducks were normally available, etc. to Yokohama, where the sick 2nd Mate was discharged, and to the Arctic (where a Micronesian seaman died) for a final season.]

...

Monday 18th [October 1875]

... Died last night a native of Ocean [Banaba] Island with the consumption, after a sickness of two months. At 9 a.m., committed his body to the deep.

...

[To Honolulu, where the second log-keeper was discharged, and then home.]

Document 1873C

The ship *Marengo*, Captain Barnes

Source: Log 1871M3, MCF 91, reel 59, at the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; PMB 214; Log Inv. 3012.

Notes: This whaling voyage lasted from 27 June 1871 to 24 May 1875; she was lost in ice the following year. This logbook is anonymous; if kept by the captain (as the Log Inv. says), then it is written in the third person; however, the log-keeper changed at Guam (from the 2nd mate to 1st mate, I think).

Ship *Marengo* of New Bedford, William M. Barnes, Commander. Bound on a whaling voyage with a crew of 34 men and 1 dog.

...

January 15th [1873]

Fine weather and moderate trades. Steering off to the westward. Middle part laying aback. Latter [part] steering towards Hope [Arorae] Island, it being about 10 miles off to the SWest. Lat. 02°42' [S]. Long. 176°48' East.

Thursday Jan. 16th

Fine weather and moderate winds. Stopped at Hope Island about 2 hours. The natives came on board. Bought two chickens and a few mats. Braced forward and veered off to the NWest with the wind light, looking for whales. Lat. 02°08' [S]. Long. 164°48' East.

...

Saturday Jan 18th

Pleasant weather and moderate trades. Steering to the North and West towards Ocean [Banaba] Island. Employed in different duties about the ship. Bore off new mizzen topgallant braces, etc. etc. Lat. 01°17' South. Long. 172°19' East.

...

Monday Jan. 20th

Fine weather. At 1 p.m., saw the land bearing SWest 20 miles off. Came up to it at sundown and layed back a little while. Middle and latter parts moderate winds. Steering West by compass towards Pleasant [Nauru] Island.

Tuesday Jan. 21st

Comes in with fine weather and moderate easterly winds. Steering west. At 3 p.m., saw the land bearing W by S. Middle part holding up under short sail to the weather

of the island. Latter a number of white men and natives on board trading pigs and chickens. Lat. 00°46' South. Long. 175°14' East.

Wednesday Jan. 22nd

Comes in with pleasant weather and a moderate breeze. Trading around the island. At dark, finished trading and steered WSW by compass with all sail set out. Fine weather. Lat. 00°.46' South. Long. 175°14' East.

...

Thursday Mar. 13th 1873

Afternoon fine with a fresh E wind. Course NNW. At daylight saw Ascension [Pohnpei] ahead 30 miles distant. Rain showers in forenoon.

Friday Mar 14th

Baffling airs in afternoon. Passed between Ascension and the Andema Islands and at midnight took a fresh NE wind and steered NNW. Lat. 8°30' N. LONG. 156°.53' E.

...

Thursday Mar. 20th

A fresh NE wind. Steering W. At 2 p.m., saw the N point of Saypan ahead and at 6 p.m. anchored on the reef in 15 fathoms. Five ships at anchor here.

Friday Mar. 21st

A strong NE wind. At anchor at Saypan. Commenced stowing oil in lower hold.

Saturday Mar. 22nd

A strong NE wind. At anchor at Saypan. Finished stowing oil, nearly 200 bbls.

Sunday Mar. 23rd

In the afternoon at 5 p.m., hove up the anchor & left the anchorage at Saypan bound to Guam to obtain medical assistance for Mr. Murphy whose eyes seem to get no better. Winds fresh from NNE. Course SSW. Passed Rota at 3 a.m. & at noon, were at anchor in the port of Apra in 18 tathoms.

Monday March 24th

Today commenced painting ship. Mr. Murphy went to town. Part of crew on liberty.

Tuesday March 25th

At anchor doing various duty.

Wednesday March 26th 1873

At anchor in Guam. Took W. Raymond on shore for medical aid. He has been off duty ever since leaving Honolulu where he contracted the venereal disease. Part of a

watch on liberty.

Thursday March 27th

AT anchor as before. Painting shipboats etc. Part of a watch on shore. One of the men, a kanaka Papapa attempted in the evening, when returning from shore, to bring a couple of bottles of liquor on board & when stopped by the second mate, went forward and for revenge threw overboard three deck buckets & a tub; which will be charged to him.

Friday March 28th

At anchor as before. Fine weather. Repairing & painting boats, receiving wood & other duty.

Saturday March 29th

As yesterday. Employed in various duty.

Sunday March 30th

At anchor in Guam. Fine weather.

Tuesday March 31st

Fine weather. Receiving wood, potatoes, etc. & painting ship & boats. A few men on liberty.

Tuesday April 1st

Still at anchor in Guam Harbor; employed as yesterday. Weather fine.

Wednesday April 2nd 1873

Fine weather. The ship at anchor at Guam getting ready for sea. Mr. Murphy came on board from town today, his eyes are much improved. The Capt. was unable to get permission to leave Raymond and had him conveyed on board again. He is much better than when he went ashore.

Thursday April 3rd

At 8 a.m. hove up the anchor & sailed out of the harbor at Guam & headed the ship to N close hauled. Stowed anchors & chains. A fresh ENE wind & good weather. 13°27' N. 144°40' E.

Friday April 4th

Fine weather & a fresh ENE wind. Steering to N close hauled. In the night took in light sails & reefed foretopsail; in forenoon made sail again. 15°44' N. 143°55' [E].

...

Monday April 7th

In afternoon fine but calm. In night & forenoon a light NW wind. Headed to NE & at 9 a.m. saw Guy Rock or Volcano Island ahead. 20°15' N. 145°04' E.

...

[The Marengo stopped at the Bonins, to buy onions and a few turless, then on to the Arctic, and home, shere they arrived back at New Bedford on 24 May 1875 (not 1874 as the Log Inv. says). There follows the original crew list, and their advances.]

...

Mate	H. T. Kern	\$56.00 a month	\$100 advance
2nd Mate	Jos. Silva	\$40 a month	\$70 advance
Boatsteerer	Peter Rogers	\$25 a month	\$50 advance
ditto	Thomas Mullen	\$25 a month	\$50 advance
Steward	Eury Smith	\$25 a month	\$24 advance
Cook	Richard Walsh	\$20 a month	\$50 advance
Mariner	Jos. Enos	\$20 a month	\$30 advance
"	M. McNamara	\$20 "	\$30 "
"	M. Fernando	\$20 "	\$30 "
"	W. H. Ludlow	\$20 "	\$20 "
"	Jos. Burney	\$20 "	\$20 "
"	Manuel Reeve	\$20 "	\$20 "
"	M. Pablo	\$20 "	\$30 "
"	Chas. Winoth	\$20 "	no advance

R. T. Howland

Agent for Marengo

Document 1873D

Report on the Marianas, by Navy Lieutenant Guillermo Camargo

Source: Article in the Anuario del Depósito Hidrográfico—Parte 1, N° 12, 1874.

Note: Lieut. Camargo was in charge of the warship Marqués de la Victoria which visited Guam in March and April 1873.

Synthesis of his report, dated aboard the Marqués de la Victoria, Port of San Luís de Apra, 9 April 1873

The report, as translated, is entitled: *f*Light Sketches of the Mariana Islands and Progress Made Since 1863.” The year 1863 is a reference to the previous sailing directions and hydrographical notes by Captain Sanchez (whose voyage took place in 1864, not 1863). Lieut. Camargo, therefore, wrote these notes to acquaint the reader with the changes that had occurred in the islands over the nine-year period, 1864-1873. His main informant was Father Ibañez, who by this time had spent 21 years in Guam. Important changes had taken place only in Guam, as not much had occurred in the other islands. The author notes the decrease in the number of visiting whaling ships, due mostly to the opening of the ports of Japan.

He goes on to describe the general conditions, such as the geographic position of the Marianas, and the prevailing winds. He notes that the typhoon season is usually September and October, that the typhoons affect the northern islands more than Guam; for instance, in 1872, there were two typhoons at Tinian, and that the last major typhoon to hit Guam had occurred 17 years earlier, in 1852.

Camargo records long notes about the hydrography, such as the currents, tides, the anchorages and ports, giving specific sailing directions and typical soundings for them. For instance, to cross the bar at Agaña, he advises the mariner to keep his bow pointed at the center of the gallery of the Governor’s house. He notes that a shed had been built at the Piti landing in 1872, that the Piti-Agaña road was then good for wheeled transport and the wooden bridges were in good condition. However, there were only two coaches in Guam: one belonging to the Governor, the other to Fr. Ibañez, and none for hire. The local carts were pulled by a cow or water buffalo, had only two seats and no axle at all.

Agaña is described as a clean city. His description is similar to that of Judge Alvarez. He notes that the construction of the court-house, located on the north side of the public square, was completed the previous year. Apart from all the public buildings, there were 40 others of stone, in the city; the rest were made of wood. There used to be two bridges over the stream that crosses the city; there remained only one, in average condition. The stream served the inhabitants as a place to wash clothes, and to bathe themselves and the water buffaloes.

Population statistics.

Camargo gives a table comparing the population of the Marianas in 1863 and in January 1873, as follows:

	1863	1873
Agaña and suburbs ...	4,049	5,055
Agat and suburbs	378	662
Umatac	110	157
Merizo	446	232
Inarajan	126	276
	4,809	6,382
Transients in Agaña:		
Criminal exiles	---	167
Political exiles	---	22
Carolinians	---	403
		6,974

Camargo gives a sketch of the military organization. He witnessed the monthly maneuvers of the local batallion on April 1st. He comments that it was using the old drill exercises, not the more recent ones approved by General Concha.

The natives of Guam.

In speaking of the natives, Camargo says that they appeared to be more vigorous and developed than the natives of the Philippines, "perhaps because they are not a pure race, since they appear to be Malays of a mixed race. They are generally indolent and somewhat apathetic, but they can be shaken out of their apathy by stimulating their ambition."

He too confirms what Judge Alvarez said about the belief of the Manila people that horses and sea-shells were the products of the Marianas, that he and many among his crew had been asked to buy some. He saw only five horses, and they had been brought from Hawaii by whaling captains who had gotten orders for them previously. As for

the sea-shells, there were many, common, ones again brought by whaling ships from the Carolines and sold at Agaña. A rare *aurora* shell sold for 40 and 60 pesos, when available. He comments: "One must remember that there are families in Spain who would live for a month with that sum of money."

The residents of Agaña spoke Spanish rather well, much better than the Manila people, a difference which he attributes to the quality of the local schooling. As far as the Chamorro language was concerned, he says that the only vocabulary in existence was that of Fr. Ibañez, who had also authored a bilingual prayer book.¹

[Camargo's visit to Tamuning]

"**Carolinians.**—These Indians were imported from the Island of Saipan, where they had been taken as a result of a five-year labor contract for agricultural work, but, when it was seen that the very bad climate there affected them so badly that in two years there died 199 of them, they were transferred to this Island, and were taken charge of by an agricultural company that existed there. However, when the company suffered great losses, it abandoned the Carolinians, who were rescued by the Governor, who gave them a piece of land for them to build their own huts and to make a living; in fact, they joined together and created the suburb of Tamuning."

"Having learned these details, my curiosity was aroused and, indeed, accompanied by Fr. Ibañez and Sub-Lieutenant Eugenio Manella, we boarded a local cart and made our way there."

"It was then that I had the opportunity, unfortunately, to test the carts, a vehicle that I have already described briefly, although I believe that it was sufficient to give an idea of the fatigue involved in riding them; indeed, one must have the patience of an Indian to suffer in silence the thousands and one bumps that make the seat jump up. We had been careful to use some cushions, but, for me at least, they were of no use in deadening the blows."

"At last, half an hour later, we sighted our destination, Tamuning. What a sight! Two lines of huts, rather dirty, formed one street, and in the middle of the whole appeared the Carolinians, completely naked, except for the historic loin-cloth, though of small size, with their hair worn long and completely loose. The scene was completed by a few women, in the same state of nakedness, although with a different color of skin, due to their use of a rubbing powder, I was told, made of safran or ground pepper, bought in the settlement."

"The first remarkable thing about the Carolinians is the slenderness and well-built bodies; this shows them to be a primitive race, without any mixed blood, as mentioned in the description of some travellers. Those I saw were tall, with a dark-colored skin, though much lighter than the natives of the Philippines, with a long and rather curly

1 Ed. note: It is said by other writers that Fr. Ibañez had received much assistance in these works from Fr. Palomo; certainly, they must have been the result of a collaboration between the two priests.

hair, and a few of them had rather long beards, specially their moustaches. The women were in the same state of nakedness as the men, and presented the same characteristics.”

“The houses are made of cane and *nipa* palm, covered with palm leaves, and have no openings except for the door, though the latter is as small as can be, measuring one yard in height by half a yard in width, such that one must crawl on hands and knees to get inside. They have a much larger hut in the center of this badly-termed village, supposedly made of the same materials. There they meet at night to sing.”

“This tribe is subject to one king, whose authority is rather well respected. The present king is a man of about 50 years of age, who differentiate himself from his people by wearing clothes; indeed, I saw him wearing a sort of chasuble of blue cloth, and also European clothes, though rather old, that he had surely been given by some charitable person.”

“All the Carolinians have the custom of piercing their earlobes, and introducing into the holes some series of small disks of coconut shell, in such great number that, from a distance, these appear to have like a string of black grapes hanging from each ear. Their weight naturally deforms the ear, making the hole bigger; the size of this hole, in some individuals, can reach the size of one of our peseta coin.”

“These Carolinians are today without any [contract] work to do. So, they spend their time fishing, and they sell the fish in excess of their own needs (which are very little, I am told). Besides fish, their food consists of the wild fruits available locally.”

“Nowadays, thanks to the personal intervention of Fr. Ibañez, there is a school for Carolinian children. Their teacher is a local man who understands their language. According to reports, the children are learning how to pray in Carolinian, and little by little they are also learning how to speak Chamorro. I saw one Carolinian boy reciting before us all the prayers in Carolinian, and although I did not understand a single word, Fr. Ibañez told me that he had done so perfectly well. The school is a modest hut like all the others, with a few benches of cane around the class-room.”

“After spending half an hour in this suburb, we again submitted our bodies to torture aboard the carts and returned to Agaña.”

Camargo then mentions the types of wood available locally, and the local food supplies. While at Guam, he made an arrangement with a man living at Sumay to bring fresh food to his ship every day. He could not get as many eggs as he had liked. The road between Piti and Agat was in average condition, except for the bad bridges, narrow and suitable only for the passage of horses, and the native carts. Agat had only one stone house, that of the curate, in addition to the church building. There was another road linking Agat with Sumay, and the crew of the warship went sent on liberty in that direction, because the men could return from there before nightfall. He was told that the road between Agat and Umatac was passable only on horseback. Neither Agat nor Umatac had seen any changes since 1863. The town of Umatac was still in a ruinous state, and its spiritual needs were looked after by the Curate of Merizo. The road to

Merizo, like the other roads on the island, except for the Piti-Agaña road, was but a horse trail. The inhabitants of Umatac and Merizo suffered from leprosy.

Between Merizo and Inarajan, the trails had to be opened every time by men on foot.

There could be other practicable ports and anchorages in Guam, but the sites are uninhabited, and therefore useless to the navigator.

As far as the northern islands are concerned, Camargo was told that they had seen no chances in the past ten years, except for the arrival of the Carolinians. In 1866, 269 of them were brought to Pagan. The following year, 604 were brought to Saipan, and in 1869 another group of 230 were taken to Tinian, while those of Pagan were moved to Saipan, and those of Saipan to Guam; the latter, what remains of them, now live at Tamuning.

Document 1873F

**Circular issued by Governor Beaumont, dated
Agaña 20 May 1873**

Source: Present location unknown, but perhaps in the Spanish Colonial Government collection in the Manuscript Division of LC, Washington; translation published in the Guam Recorder in 1936.

Note: Lieutenant-Colonel Eduardo Beaumont y Calafat was Governor of the Marianas from 1873 to 1875.

A Leaf From History

(The following is an extract from a letter book from Government House covering the period from 1870 to 1874. It is an almost literal translation from the Spanish, in an effort to preserve, in so far as possible, the original flavor and force of the Governor's language.)

To the heads of villages:

The growth and prosperity of the people is in direct relation to commerce, and this is in direct relation to agriculture and industry. Neither of the latter exists in these islands, nor do the people understand or appreciate how Divine Providence has showered on them with such prodigality its benefits. While other nations are swimming in riches by making their products known and procuring in this manner enough to care for their own needs, and inviting commerce, we do nothing.

Periodically these shores are visited by ships of other countries, and it is notable that here they find neither food nor other merchandise even for their simplest needs. What would be the result if they could purchase here the diverse articles of commerce, such as textiles, those woven materials from *abaca*, *piña*, *balibago*, etc., rope, and the products of agriculture? Much is imported in these ships that ought to be manufactured or grown here.

Moved by this consideration I call upon the heads of villages to be watchful over the interests of the people in this respect, to stimulate labor, which if carried through to completion will bring to the people the security which is the right of honest and laborious citizens.

With regard to agriculture, cattle raising and poultry, each citizen must have sufficient to supply the needs of his own family, and be active in stimulating the interest of

others as well as growing enough to sell something at the local market at the prevailing prices.

The first Sunday of each month from 6 to 8 in the morning there will be a public market in the Plaza in front of the Palace. The heads of outlying villages will see that the men of their districts collect and carry to the market such products as grain, fruits, textiles, poultry and cattle which they have for sale or barter, in order that they may obtain funds with which to supply their own wants while providing for the needs of others.

The good management of such a market will soon result in its being frequented by the crews of ships that may be in port and will prove an interesting and novel attraction to the latter—something typical of this island.

Convinced as I am of the good will and good intentions of all, and with the assistance of the devoted priests of the several villages, I hope to relieve the citizens of the poverty in which many, unfortunately, are living.

(signed) Beaumont

Lieutenant-Colonel and Governor.

20 May 1793 [rather 1873], Agaña.

Note 1873H

**The Tamesa, Captain Jones, sails over a shoal
near Pulusuk**

Source: Nautical Magazine 1874, p. 624.

Caroline Islands, North Pacific.

Captain G. G. Jones, ship **Tamesa**, belonging to Messrs. Jolly and Son, Wapping, reports that on the morning of 22nd September, 1873, he passed very near the western side of a reef upon which the sea broke heavily. The position he assigns to this danger is lat. 7° N., long. 149°10' E., or about midway between Los Martires and Poulousouk Island. The existence of this reef has not been previously reported.

Document 1874A

The Florence, Captain Thomas W. Williams

Source: Harold Williams (ed.). One Whaling Family (Boston, 1964).

Note: William Fish [sic] Williams was the son of the captain, and acting as boatsteerer during the present voyage, which began in San Francisco on Christmas Day 1873 and ended there on 12 November 1874. Since the son was born aboard his father's ship (see Doc. 1859N), he was only 15 years old in 1874. As in some earlier voyages, the whole family was then on board. William Fish wrote his narrative many years after the voyage, in 1929, in fact. Therefore, many details may have become blurred with time.

The narrative of William Fish Williams

...
[After visiting the Solomon Islands the ship headed towards the Eastern Carolines. According to Rev. Doane, the ship visited Ponape during the third week of March 1874.]

...

Ponape.

We were approaching the Caroline Islands and it became important to know the ship's position. I had worked out my sight, taken the day we killed the sperm whale, and our position as plotted on the chart agreed closely with the results of the dead reckoning as computed by my father. The sky had been overcast ever since that day and we had not been able to get a sight of the sun. My father went over my calculations and found them correct. If we were on our course, we should raise Strong's [Kosrae] Island, the most southeasterly island of the group, but we might miss it if we were much to the eastward of the whole island group. We would then have to keep on to the Ladrone or Marianas Islands. My father was particularly anxious to reach the island of Ponape [Pohnpei] because of its fine harbor. The only good harbor on Strong's Island is on the windward side and he was windbound there for several weeks one voyage. The channel is very narrow and the ship could not be worked out against the wind which was too strong to tow the ship with the boats.

The day after our canvassing the situation opened with a thick fog and a fair wind. It suddenly cleared about ten o'clock and we got a sight of the sun, each using a different chronometer, and then it shut in foggy again. An astonishing situation confronted us when we worked out our sights. We had missed the group of islands by my father's

calculation while Ponape was dead ahead, if my position was correct. My father checked my work and could find no error which showed that one chronometer was wrong, but which one? The fog lifted a little about noon and we had a brief glimpse of land off our starboard quarter. I claimed it was Strong's Island which agreed with my position but my father thought it was a small island east of Ponape. All uncertainty was dispelled about four o'clock by the sight of a bold and high point of land right over the jib boom which was immediately recognized as Chokach [Sokehs] Cliff on the northern end of the island of Ponape and west of the entrance to Ascension harbor which was our destination. We arrived off the entrance to the harbor just before dark.

The pilot who came off in a whale boat with a Kanaka crew was a white man who ran away from a whale ship years before and had become quite a man of affairs. He said it was too late to take the ship in and we must wait until morning. The pilot and his crew stayed aboard and his boat was taken in tow while the ship lay off and on under reduced sail. Of course, we had no chart showing the harbors of Ponape, or of any of the islands we visited in the South Pacific, but that did not deter us from carrying out our plans. We were fortunate in this instance in securing the services of a man who knew the waters and could be trusted but, if he had been away, we would have gone in anyhow. Whalers had to learn to get along without pilots.

The island of Ponape is in Latitude 6°45' North and Longitude 158°15' East. It was discovered by a Spaniard about 1590 but for many years it was visited by American whalers only, traders and the American Missionary brig **Morning Star** later. The whalers called it Ascension but the native name was Kusaie [rather Pohnpei] and it was used by the resident missionary. It always appealed to me as more appropriate and euphonic than Ascension. Ponape is the most interesting of the Caroline Group, of volcanic origin, it has many high peaks and covers an area of about 340 square miles. The island is surrounded by a barrier reef with openings in six places forming as many harbors in the protected waters between the reef and the shore. The bottom is covered with coral formations which are wonderfully beautiful when seen on a clear day. The island is covered with tropical foliage far more varied in character than that on the small atolls we had visited. I could hardly wait for morning in my desire to reach the anchorage and get in closer touch with the shore and its wonderful sights. My mother and sister were fully as excited over the plans that were being discussed for our time while in port. Father and Mother were quite well acquainted with Mr. Edward T. Doane, a missionary who had lived there since 1855 and was to contribute much to the pleasure of our visit.

It is a debatable question as to how much the missionary had benefited the natives of these islands. It is true that the whalers had brought them disease of which they knew nothing and had taught them habits and tastes that they would have been much better without. The missionaries were honest in their faith and their efforts to christianize the natives but it is doubtful if they knew in what way this would make these natives happier or more useful. I can conceive of no more happy and carefree people than these natives were before the white man came on the scene. Nature had provided them with

everything they needed, a climate that was never cold enough for clothing and not excessively warm, and food was always available and varied with no effort required to obtain it. They worshiped idols or rather spirits of good and evil powers, quarreled at times and even had tribal wars, but has christianity stopped conflicts among its most civilized believers? In many ways the Kanaka was but a child and needed friendly advice. The missionaries would have been more helpful and far more successful if they had known more of the human weaknesses of their own people. The awful thing to the missionary was the nakedness of the native but this meant nothing to the native except comfort and convenience. Their native dress was more sanitary and healthful than ours, which should have been obvious to the missionaries if they had not been obsessed with the notion that dress was essential to morality.

Soon after breakfast the next morning, we stood in for the opening with a nice breeze in beautiful sunshine to enter Ascension Harbor. There is no beach to a barrier reef, it is an abrupt wall of coral formation rising out of very deep water. The surf is not a series of rollers but one great breaker that marks the sea side of the reef with a never-ending line of white foam and high-tossed spray. The pilot took his position on the foreyard where he could look down on the water ahead and pick out the channel by the color of the water, or bottom, as there were no buoys. As we passed out of the intense blue of the deep water, the bottom was suddenly so clear and distinct that it did not seem there was depth enough to float the ship, but it was probably fifty feet deep. We turned to the south and ran parallel to the shore as we approached, with a few small changes in our course as ordered by the pilot, until we ran into a basin about a mile wide where we anchored head to the reef and then laid a small anchor to keep the ship from swinging. We were so completely protected by land and reef that it was as smooth as a mill-pond no matter how hard the wind blew outside. We passed a few native houses on our way to the anchorage, low thatched structures near the shore, and numerous coconut trees with a dense background of foliage including many large trees. It was a beautiful prospect, intensely green and cool-looking, but it was rather humid as I was to learn later.

We were surrounded by canoes loaded with produce to trade as soon as the anchor was on the bottom and they wanted tobacco, calico, beads, knives, etc. Mr. Doane was an early visitor and he was pleased to learn my mother was aboard, so it was soon arranged that the family would stay at his house while the ship was in port.

I met the pilot's son who was about my age and size. His mother was a Kanaka and I never saw her but I had no illusions as to her looks; if there were any beautiful Kanaka women in the islands of the western Pacific, they had been kept out of my sight. The women mature young and grow to look old before they are out of their teens. This boy was good-looking and bright. He had dark eyes and black hair but he was much lighter in color than the full-blooded Kanakas. He stood very erect, which is characteristic of these natives, walked with an easy graceful swing and was a splendid shot with rifle or shotgun. He talked good English, in a low and pleasant voice, and could read and write which he had learned from his father. He was my companion on several trips through

the country contiguous to the harbor while hunting wild pigeons. I did the hunting and he shot most of the pigeons we bagged. A wild pigeon is so near the color of the foliage that it was difficult for me to see them even when Harry pointed them out to me. They generally sat very still in the upper branches of the tallest trees. Our ramble led us through a heavily-wooded country by narrow footpaths as there were no beasts of burden or any kind of vehicles in Ponape.

[Flora of Pohnpei]

There were many kinds of ferns including the large and attractive tree fern. The ground was covered with a mass of low-growing bushes, vines and shrubs that were practically impenetrable except for the paths kept open by the natives. There were beautiful orchids and many colorful flowers and birds of attractive plumage, but Harry knew only the Kanaka names for all these new and novel things which I could not remember. The soil was extremely productive and everything seemed to grow wild as I saw no evidence of cultivation except a small garden belonging to Mr. Doane. There were many varieties of the banana growing wild, also plantains that are a kind of variety of banana which must be cooked. Yams of huge size were plentiful and pink-colored sweet potatoes which I was told were cultivated. There were several varieties of the breadfruit tree which is a very handsome tree and a remarkable provision of nature for the sustenance of man. The fruit I saw was practically round, about the size of a honeydew melon, but the outer cover or shell is hard with a rough pebbly surface, dark green in color. The natives cook it in hot ashes, and when broken open, it is a firm white substance that looks very much like the inside of a loaf of bread. It does not taste like bread but with butter and salt it is a very good substitute. The strange trait of the breadfruit tree is that it bears continuously, having blossoms and ripe fruit at the same time. There were several kinds of melon-shaped fruits that grew on trees. Their flavor was delicious, but they were filling and you could not eat as much as you wished to. Pineapples did not grow wild but Mr. Doane had a nice patch near his house that I discovered one day and again learned the filling quality of tropical fruit. I thought it would be easy to eat a whole pineapple and nearly busted myself before admitting I could not do it. This cured me of eating the luscious pineapples.

[Pohnpeian houses]

Bamboo grows plentifully in parts of the island, also a slender reed that may belong to that same family which is used for the side walls of the native houses. The reeds are placed close together vertically and held in position with a coarse twine made from the fibre of dried coconut husks. It is quite a rigid wall and keeps out the rain but allows the air to circulate through the joints. Their houses are interesting and well adapted to the climate. The floors are well compacted earth smoothed by the bare feet of the occupants. On one side, and sometimes three sides, is a raised platform of bamboo about two feet above the floor where the family sit and sleep. The roof is a light frame structure covered with a thick thatch of pandanus leaves that is waterproof, which is quite

important as the island has a heavy rainfall. There are no partitions or windows and the doorway may or may not have a reed screen but not a door. Cooking is done outdoors or in a rude structure whose chief duty is to keep the rain from putting out the fire. The natives do all their cooking on hot stones or in hot ashes. Fish are wrapped in green leaves and buried in hot ashes, the leaves being selected for their effect on the flavor of the fish. Dogs and pigs are roasted but I did not see this done as they are reserved for special occasions. The dog was considered quite a delicacy. Nothing could be boiled as they had only calabashes that would hold water but could not resist fire.

The calabash tree is another remarkable provision of nature for the convenience of the natives in providing a tough and durable vessel that makes a light bowl or jug of varying sizes for food and water and other housekeeping purposes. The natives were still using their own primitive method for starting a fire by rubbing a pointed stick of fairly hard wood against the grain of a very dry and soft-fibered piece of wood. Pushing the stick back and forth on the punk-wood created a small pile of fine, fluffy fiber which was so hot from the friction that it would burst into flame from a puff of breath at the right moment. Dry grass and twigs were handy to feed the flame from the punk-wood as that would last for an instant only. It was surprising how quickly they would make a fire; in fact, it looked so very simple that I had to try it, and found that it was not as simple as it looked although I made a fire after a number of failures.

I spent some time aboard our ship each day as they were taking on firewood and fresh water and I went with the boats that towed the empty casks up a small river that emptied into the harbor. It was a beautiful stream, the water clear as crystal, and we took on an ample supply for the balance of the voyage. We got wood enough for the galley and for dunnage; that is, to stow between the casks in the hold to prevent them from shifting. The crew were busy searching for leaks and some were found, but it was evident that a complete overhauling in a dry dock was necessary if all the leaks were to be stopped, and that could be done only when we returned to 'Frisco. Another whale-ship arrived in port and, a few days later, another whaler came in which gave the little harbor a very busy time and permitted the exchange of visits with a comparison of plans for the balance of the season.

At the suggestion of Mr. Doane, we took one of our boats on the afternoon of a pleasant day and with him as guest and a native as pilot we entered a passageway through a mangrove forest which was so narrow that paddles were substituted for oars. The mangrove grows in the water along stretches of the shore of this island and reddish-brown tendrils drop into the water from the branches and take root in the bottom. This process is repeated so that a dense forest is grown that is impassable except where the natives keep a passageway open by cutting off these tendrils as they drop down. There is a dense canopy of leaves overhead through which the sunlight filters in a subdued light that permits sight in a limited way. The breeze was entirely cut off so there was an uncanny stillness that I was glad to have end with our emergence into the clear water and sunshine on the other side of the forest.

We were now in a river with densely wooded shores and no habitations but it was

very beautiful. After rowing upstream for a few miles, the river narrowed as though we were coming to its head and then we passed through an opening in the foliage of the shore into an almost circular amphitheater with the far side a vertical wall of rock rising fully one hundred feet and over the center was pouring a beautiful sheet of water. The water fell directly into the pool as the rock was that vertical and the shore was covered with dense foliage except at these falls. It was the most perfect piece of nature's handiwork that I have ever seen, not the largest or the grandest, but a gem in a perfect setting. The rock was an outcrop of basalt that, farther north, terminates in the great Cliff of Chokach with a sea face nearly a thousand feet in height that can be seen for many miles at sea. We viewed this scene as long as possible before starting our return to the ship. There is no twilight in the tropics, when the sun goes down it is dark, so it was necessary that we get through the mangrove forest before sunset which we did. This beautiful day compensated for many of the discomforts of sea life.

[The Nanmadol ruins, and Mr. Kubary]

During one evening at Mr. Doane's house, one of the interesting subjects of conversation was some ancient ruins near the east shore of the island, some twelve to fifteen miles south of Ascension Harbor, which Mr. Doane said were built prior to the coming of the present race of Kanakas. He said a German scientist, J. S. Kubary had visited these ruins a year or two before and had cleared away some of the vines and bushes that had nearly covered the ruins so that it was now possible to reach them by boat and see most of the more important and best-preserved parts. We became so interested in the subject that my father decided we would devote a day to visiting these ruins, which are a great mystery.

An Englishman named Christian examined these ruins later and described them quite fully in *The Caroline Islands* as well as much interesting information about the islands and their people. While Christian thinks the present race have certain traditions that account for the building of these ancient structures, I am inclined to accept the conclusion of Mr. Doane that they were built by a race that were extinct before the ancestors of the present race of Kanakas came to the island. Mr. Doane had lived on the island for over twenty years and knew the language spoken by the people, so he had exceptional opportunity to learn the native traditions. These ruins and any theory for their existence are absolutely inconsistent with the life and habits of the Kanaka. There must have been such a decadence in the people, if the ruins are to be considered their work, that amounts to a complete wiping out of the original race. These ancient ruins are not confined to Ponape as there are similar ruins on Strong's Island and on other islands of this group but not in such size and area as on Ponape. The present Kanaka of these islands is not the immediate descendant of a highly developed and vigorous race. He is the product of conditions that do not make such qualities and is just what one might expect of any people who never had to struggle for anything essential to life. There is no natural enemy of man on these islands, no wild animals or snakes [except for] a few scorpions and centipedes that everyone avoids. The Kanaka is soft and indolent and

never had any of the white man's diseases and therefore had no resistance against them. They died like flies with our child diseases of chicken-pox and measles while smallpox nearly exterminated the population of some islands. They were terribly superstitious and, for that reason, they kept away from the ruins we were about to visit. The Kanakas were a good-natured, likable people for all their weaknesses.

We made an early start on the day set for our trip with the Captain's boat and a full crew. I was not of the crew, perhaps my mother had something to say about it, for while it was probable we could make the trip under sail, the possibility of pulling a fourteen-foot oar for the distance back did not appeal to me. It was a beautiful day with a nice whole-sail breeze from the northeast which is the "trade wind" of that locality from October to May. The water was very clear and smooth as we were inside the barrier reef except while crossing the entrance to Middle Harbor where we had a modified ocean swell. We were sailing over a marine garden covered with coral and other marine growth of the most beautiful shapes and colors. The water was so clear that every detail of the bottom was as plainly visible as though it was at the surface instead of several feet below. There were a variety of shells in many colors and sponges of various sizes and colors. There were fish in a variety of colors so that it was literally a riot of color. The famous *bêche-de-mer*, or sea slug, was pointed out as it lay on the bottom apparently inanimate and not very attractive. This was one of the principal articles of export from the islands of the Pacific. It is highly prized as an article of food by the Chinese and Japanese after it has been cleaned, cooked, dried and smoked.

The ruins were built on small low islands or on the coral reefs in shoal water so they were surrounded by water and it was possible to land from the boat. The ruins are great monolithic walls of large blocks of stone laid dry in alternate courses of headers and stretchers having a thickness of eight to fifteen feet and a height of a few feet to nearly forty feet, enclosing rectangular areas of varying dimensions. The structures were scattered over a considerable area that was such a jungle of tropical growth it was impossible to define their limits. It would have taken days to make a complete examination of these structures. The largest and best preserved of those known to Mr. Doane, and which we visited, had an outer and inner wall covering an area about 100 by 200 feet, or roughly half an acre. The outer walls were about 15 feet in thickness and from 20 to 40 feet in height. There was a good-sized opening in one side and a raised platform along three sides of the enclosure close to the wall. Inside this enclosure was another similar structure, rectangular in shape, the walls parallel to the outer walls with the space between them about 50 feet in width. The walls of this interior structure were about half the thickness and height of the outer walls. Low walls crossed the space between the inner and outer walls at three places, two of them forming another enclosure on one side which could be entered from the central area only, and the third crossing on the opposite side. The central area had an opening in the wall opposite the one in the outer wall.

Within this chamber or enclosed area, there was a stone vault or tomb with an opening in one side. There were three similar but smaller vaults in the outer enclosure. These were built of large blocks of stone of the same general shape as those in the walls. The

walls of this entire structure were in good condition generally, vertical with squared corners well bonded in both directions and the courses were fairly continuous with close joints for the manner in which the stones were laid. There was no sign of mortar or small stones used as pinnars to fill in the joints. The stones were as long as twenty feet in some cases and preserved their cross-section throughout their entire length. They were mostly five-sided, some eight-sided, but none were square or four-sided, and there were no tool marks on any of them. Mr. Doane said that the few white men who had seen these ruins were greatly impressed as to how they had been quarried and dressed to shape. What kind of tools had been used and what had become of them, but the most interesting question was, where did the stone come from? The stone must have come from the great outcrop of basalt at the north end of the island, twenty miles by water from the ruins, and there is ample evidence visible that it did come from there.¹

Basalt is a volcanic rock that frequently solidifies from its fused state in long polygonal sections with smooth sides. The Giant's Causeway on the northeast coast of Ireland is a well-known example of this peculiarity of basalt. The outcrop of Chokach is a similar formation. Therefore, there was no necessity for dressing the stone, so tools were not needed to cut them to any particular length, and this is confirmed by many broken pieces in the walls. The thickness of these stones varied from eight or nine inches to fifteen to eighteen inches. The transportation of these stones from the northerly end of the island to the site of the ruins at Nanmatal on the southeast coast was a huge task, even by water, which undoubtedly was the way it was done, but it was not insurmountable. Placing the stones in the structure was perhaps the simplest part of the operation although it was a big job but there must have been a large force of men with great energy and resourcefulness.

The real mystery is the purpose of these structures which no-one has solved. They appear to be too scattered for tombs unless one assumes a large race of people living on the island but, in that event, they would have left some evidence of their occupation. It must have taken years to build those structures and many more years for a race of people to develop a desire for such huge monument or tombs for their great men. They may have had a defensive purpose, not as the lair of pirates or for the protection of early Spanish discoverers which would appeal to a boy, but they are too large for such a transitory purpose. I think they were built by a powerful body of dominant and aggressive men who came from a far country by water and, finding these islands occupied by a large race of soft, unwarlike people, they proceeded to take possession. Being inferior in numbers and not certain of the length of their stay, they built these structures for defensive use if necessary and the work was performed by the natives under the direction of the invaders. The final chapter could have been that the invaders abandoned the enterprise and sailed away or, weakened by disease and deaths, the natives annihi-

¹ Ed. note: Those crystallized beams or columns of basalt that had been created naturally, upon cooling, after a volcanic eruption. That is why they were six- or eight- sided in cross-section, as in a honeycomb, with no void between the columns.

lated them. Either theory accounts for the lack of any descendants of the builders but we are still ignorant of their origin. My theory is that they came from South America.

We looked over some of the more accessible structures but none quite as large or complete as the one I have described. Some walls had fallen but, we could not determine whether from settlement of the foundations or the effect of the tremendous growth of trees, bushes and vines. Some of the canals were so choked with this growth that we could not enter them.

We had our lunch at the ruins and left in time to make the return trip in daylight. The wind was dropping with the sun and a good part of the return trip was made with the oars. It was after that when we reached our ship and we stayed aboard that night, sending Mr. Doane ashore with the boat. It had been a wonderful day and the memory of it is with me almost as though it had just happened.

I had many opportunities to witness the swimming abilities of the natives and it was their most outstanding accomplishment. They were truly at home in the water and I envied them because I did not swim and never learned, a fact which always creates surprise because I was born at sea. Just why being born on a ship should insure ability to swim has never been clear in my mind. I fell overboard on a previous visit to Ponape when I was twelve years old and a sailor rescued me.¹

My father was an excellent swimmer and he learned to swim in the regulation swimming hole in a country village in Connecticut. He sent me with the boat filling water casks with instructions to the officer to teach me to swim and, while his methods were rather rough, I might have learned in a few more lessons. The Kanaka never dove into the water but always went in feet first and they never cared to dive from a height such as jumping off the foreyard as many of our sailors would. They could stay under water much longer than any of our men and never seemed tired by swimming.

The natives make a very pleasant drink by fermenting the juice collected from the bud of a coconut palm which prevents the growth of a coconut, of course. This drink is called "toddy" and is not intoxicating but it is exhilarating in a mild way. By fermenting and concentrating in the sun, it can be made into a potent liquor. In the Ladrone [Mariana] Islands which we visited later, the Spaniards had taught the natives to distill toddy which made a liquor they called "argudente" [rather aguardiente] that was the equal of the most powerful Jersey Lightning ever produced. The Kanaka makes a concoction from the kava root that grows wild on these islands which produces a physical effect that would seem to be partly narcotic and the drinker's legs get badly tangled while his brain remains fairly clear. In the day of my experience, the liquor was produced by old women masticating [sic] the root and expectorating the juice into a coconut shell or a calabash. After fermenting sufficiently, the clear liquor was decanted into another vessel which was then passed around the gathering with the highest in auth-

¹ Ed. note: As this incident must have occurred in 1870, when the family was aboard the whaler **Hibernia** (as mentioned on page 388 of the source book), the author was then 11 years old, not 12.

ority drinking first. It seemed to be a ceremonial affair of the older men but, it should be noted, that the white man did not teach the natives how to get intoxicated.

All good things must end and the day came for our departure. We had bought quite a number of hogs that were running about the deck and had obtained a boatload of dry coconuts from a small nearby island. We had yams and sweet potatoes and the mainmast and mizzenmast stays were festooned with bundles of bananas.

Another tragedy occurred before we could get underway and while the first table and the crew were having breakfast. The steward did not respond to his call and a careful search of the entire ship failed to locate him. It was first thought that he might have run away, although an arrangement had been made with the chief of the natives that no aid was to be given to any of our men trying to run away as without it they would have a hard time. It was discovered finally that a bag of shells and coral lying in the mate's boat was missing which led to the assumption that the steward had committed suicide. It was recalled that he had been more quiet than usual and dropped remarks about not finishing the voyage, so we were forced to conclude that he had jumped overboard. A few days after we sailed, his body came to the surface with the bag of shells tied to his ankles.¹ We all felt very badly at the loss of the steward and inwardly hoped he had deserted as he was a quiet, likeable man and had been very nice to my mother and sister.

Preparations for getting under way include the removal of gaskets from topsails, foresail, headsails and spanker, the anchor was hove short and a kedge or light anchor was laid out on the reef with a line to the ship and a boat stood by to get it aboard as soon as the ship was underway. We had a fair wind coming in and the wind was from the same direction so that we would be close on the wind going out with no room to tack. There was no room to maneuver in the harbor with two other ships at anchor. Therefore, the anchor was hove and the ship hauled as close to the reef as the depth of water would permit and a second line run to the kedge from the starboard quarter. The topsails were sheeted home and hoisted with the maintopsail braced forward on the starboard tack and the fore-topsail squared. The line from the bow to the kedge was slacked as the line from the quarter was hauled in which swung the bow to port. The spanker was set and the fore-topsail braced forward, the jib was hoisted and the sheet hauled aft. The order to "belay all" was given and the ship was headed for the channel with her sails full. The line to the kedge was slacked and the kedge tumbled into the boat which was alongside in a few minutes, the falls were hooked on to it and the boat hoisted to its position. This maneuvering of the ship was beautifully executed without a slip or hitch and, although the audience was small, it could be very critical if there had been any opportunity. When the opening in the barrier reef was off the weather quarter, we came about on the other tack and the ship was soon bowing to the ceaseless swell of the Pacific. The ship was hauled aback for the pilot to leave after a short hitch offshore. I said good-by to the pilot's son with real regret as he had been a likeable and interes-

1 Ed. note: On 22 March (see Doc. 1974B).

ting companion and I often wondered what became of him in the later changes of the government of the island. Of course, he married a Kanaka girl and the white blood may have reached the vanishing point in his progeny after a few generations.

The question of who owned these islands had not been raised but, if anyone had asked me who owned Ponape, I would have said the Kanakas who lived there. If any nation had an interest in the property, I would have said it was the United States because her whalers had been going there since 1830 and the American Foreign Mission Board had missionaries on the island since about 1850, and also American traders had been visiting the island for many years. Any other nation that knew about the island were keeping very quiet about it but, some time after our visit German traders visited Ponape and a naval vessel visited the island of Yap in the Caroline Group and raised the German flag in 1885. This action brought a protest from Spain who claimed to have discovered these islands in the sixteenth century. The matter was decided by the Pope in favor of Spain and their flag was raised in Ascension Harbor on the island of Ponape in 1886 and hell was turned loose on these harmless natives. The worst that could be said against them was that, in defense of their birthright, they killed a few foreign usurpers. The Spanish accused Mr. Doane of inciting the natives to resist their authority and deported him to Manila but, upon the intervention of our Government, he was returned to Ponape so broken in health that he went to Honolulu in 1890 there to die shortly thereafter. It was about this time that the German acquired the Caroline Islands along with other islands scattered about the western Pacific Ocean. To complete the history, the treaty negotiated at Paris after the First World War gave the Caroline Islands to Japan. Ponape now [in 1929] has roads, and other evidences of civilization, including a government in which the native has no voice. I am glad that I saw it while it was still in its past as the present is colorless and the future not bright.

After rounding the northerly end of Ponape with its towering Cliff of Chokach, with its reminder of the ruins at Nan-Matal, we laid our course for the Ladrone group which is referred to by residents as the Marianas because Ladrone means a thief. It appears that the natives pilfered from the discoverer's ship, hence the title he gave to this group. We returned to regulation sea life, two men at masthead on the lookout for whales, anchor put on the bow and the chain stowed below as it was nine hundred miles from Ponape to Saipan our next port.

Saipan and Guam.

The loss of our steward made it necessary to promote the cook and take a man from the forecabin as cook. This was the second time the cook had been taken into the cabin to fill the vacancy of the steward but, in the other case which occurred on the **Monticello**,¹ the vacancy

1 Ed. note: After the Florida, Captain Williams commanded the Hibernia (1869-70), then the **Monticello** (70-71) which was lost in the ice. He made a first voyage aboard the Florence in 1873, one year before the present voyage. The visit to Saipan and Guam was during Holy Week, 1874.

was created by demoting the steward for incompetence. The cook was an exceptional ship's cook but he was not a good steward, strange as this may seem.

[First Pohnpeian to live in the U.S.A., 1875-76]

My father had taken a Kanaka boy on the recommendation of Mr. Doane, who was to act as cabin boy until we reached 'Frisco when he was to be general utility man in our home in Oakland. Joe, which was the English for his Kanaka name, was a well set-up youngster, good-natured and willing but not very ambitious. He lived with us about a year in Oakland when his longing for home became so strong that my father secured passage for him on a whaler making the between-seasons cruise in the South Pacific and returned him to Ponape.

The weather was good and the wind favorable, we saw no whales and touched at no islands. The foremast hands were becoming very much interested in Saipan as word had been given out that they were to have liberty at that island. It was customary on cruises of about a year's duration to allow the crew to go ashore for a day in some port where they could have a wild time without much opportunity or incentive for running away, if they so desired. One can readily understand that few ports met these conditions, and especially to the crew of a ship that had taken one whale and a sizable leak. One of the stories told about the whalers of that day concerned a captain who never lowered for whales on Sundays and searched for a desert island on which to give his crew liberty. Saipan seemed to have the required qualifications; it belonged to Spain and had a governor with a small force of so-called soldiers who could be relied upon, at a price, to take care of any deserters. It had a reputation for a powerful brand of *argudente*, the women were said to be attractive and gracious, and the island was interesting.

We arrived at the island in due time and anchored on the lee side in an open roadstead. Immediately after breakfast the next morning, the starboard watch was landed on the beach and I went with them, partly because that was technically my watch but actually because I wanted to see the gang in action. I had listened for hours to what they would do on that day and now I was to see the program carried out. Several personal affairs were to be adjusted with no "damned officers" to interfere, then they would look the women over, then they would get "damned good and drunk." When the port watch came to take them aboard the "old hooker," they would give them a "helluva licking." They did get drunk which was the only part of the program they carried out and they did not waste any time about it. Furthermore, they stayed drunk all day so that the port watch had to pick them up along the beach and carry them to the boats. I was disgusted and left them when Frenchy, one of the crew, embraced a small tree and tried to sing the Marseillaise.

The village was rather interesting, there was more attention given to the layout of the houses with respect to the main thoroughfare than prevailed on the other islands we had visited. The houses were built better and there was at least one game cock in every one of them. The people were not like the Kanakas; in fact, they are so mixed with the Spanish and Philipinos that the original race has lost its identity. They are

called Chamorros and speak a language containing many words derived from the Spanish. Those who have studied these people believe they had a language of their own and were fairly well advanced in the civilized arts. They are smaller than the Kanakas and of a lighter shade of brown. Their spoken language is soft with a musical tone and a prolongation of the vowels. Most of the natives of this village were quite well dressed which meant their bodies were fully covered. The men wore cotton trousers and a cotton or linen shirt with the tails outside, like the Chinese and Philipinos, and these shirts were elaborately pleated and carefully laundered in some cases. Most of the people were barefoot. The women wore Mother Hubbards and most of them were fat; if there were any beauties in the village, they had been locked up or moved to the interior. After seeing the exhibits, I felt a little better toward the men for deciding to get drunk before they looked them over. The children were naked, dirty and happy, with their swell-front tummies which seem to be a trademark common to all the children of the islands.

The drunks were bundled into the boats late in the afternoon and taken aboard ship, and the boats took the port watch ashore the next day. I did not go with them but, from what I heard later, they followed closely the program of the starboard watch except that three men were missing when they were rounded up to return to the ship. The Governor came aboard the next morning to assure my father that he would have these men in a few days but my father had decided to go to Guam, about a day's sail to the south of Saipan, and touch at Saipan on our return.

Guam is quite a large island of volcanic origin with high land a short distance back from the shore and a large harbor protected by an outer coral reef similar to Ascension Harbor at Ponape. It was a Spanish possession at that time and was used as a penal station for Manila. It is now [1829] an island possession of the United States. We had a double purpose in going to this island; one was to dispose of some pickled salmon in trade, the other was to lay in a supply of lime juice or lemon juice to serve to the crew as antiscorbutic and thereby hangs a tale.

I have said that we had two or three possible sea lawyers in the forecabin and, as time passed, we were sure that Hank the literary cuss was the ringleader, but he skillfully avoided any issue with the officers and on the face of it, he was an honest, loyal seaman. One day, he headed a committee of the crew that obtained an interview with my father and he quite skillfully quoted the law about the protection of the crew from scurvy when on exceptionally long voyages. As a preventive, a daily allowance of lime or lemon juice was required when fresh vegetables were not available. They had the shiphand, in a way, because they knew we would be without fresh vegetables for six months or more unless we went into some port where such supplies could be bought. My father agreed to obtain a supply of lime or lemon juice but they could not furnish us with the quantity we wanted and they could not buy our pickled salmon.

The harbor of Guam, called Port Luiz [sic], has room for quite a fleet of deep-draft vessels and is well protected in all directions but we were obliged to anchor about two miles from the landing owing to shoal water toward the shore. The principal town,

called Agana, is located near the shore some seven to eight miles northeast of the harbor. This was the capital or headquarters of the Spanish Government's representative. The location was to get the benefit of the northeast trade winds which come off the sea at this place and make it cool and comfortable while it is very hot and humid at the harbor because these trades are cut off by the very high land behind it.

Shortly after we came to anchor, a white man and the headman of the town came aboard and invited the family to be his guests during our stay. He talked the native language as well as English and my father had business dealings with him on previous visits, so it was accepted and arranged that we would go to his house the next day. I was delighted with this program as I was not favorably impressed with what I could see of Guam. The land was covered with verdure but there was very little evidence of life ashore and no canoes came out to the ship which made it appear very lonely compared to Ascension Harbor. My mother recalled her first visit to Agana when I was a baby a bit over a year old. The ship did not enter the harbor that time but lay "off and on" under sail directly off the town and we came ashore in a boat to the surprise of the natives and the captain of another whaler whose boat was capsized in the surf shortly before we landed. He was very much interested when he saw a woman in the boat but he nearly passed out when he saw that she had a baby in her arms. My father admitted that it was rougher than he expected but my mother saw nothing to be disturbed about with my father at the steering oar and no record was kept of what I thought about it.

Trouble broke out the next morning in the after gang when the second and third mates got in an argument over some trivial matter and the third mate knocked the second mate down, probably from too many *argudente* drinks. The second mate went to my father and announced that one of them must leave the ship then and there. An investigation developed that there was bad blood between the two that could not be cured and one of them would have to go and, as the second mate was the more valuable to the ship, the third mate was given his discharge. It seemed as if Old Nick himself was directing the destinies of the ship and, while my father's decision was not questioned, the incident cast a gloom over the entire ship as the third mate was a good-natured, likeable man with a rather unusual career which he could discuss in an interesting way. He was a fairly well-educated man whereas the second mate signed his name with a cross and was inclined to be surly, but he was a great whaleman.

This episode made it necessary for me to remain aboard the ship when the family went ashore as the third mate and his personal effects were taken along which left no room for me. Arrangements were made for me to go ashore later and I was told there would be a conveyance at the landing to take me to the town. When I landed a few hours later, I found a two-wheeled cart with a bullock hitched to it and it looked like an undersized Mexican steer to me whose highest speed might be two miles an hour. The cart was the most primitive I had ever seen, wheels of solid wood and the body consisted of board slats laid across an extension of the shafts which were rigidly fastened to the wooden axle. I gave it one good look and decided to walk and, fortunately the road had a hard surface and followed the shore with no confusing intersections so there

was no danger of getting lost. The first mate who brought me ashore was in favor of the bullock cart because he feared my father might not approve my making the trip alone, but I emphatically vetoed the cart, and it was one of the most delightful tramps I ever made.

The shore was bordered with coconut groves which did not obstruct the view of the ocean that was very beautiful. There were short stretches where low growing trees, bushes and ferns shut out the ocean view but it was a bright clear day and the flowers were gorgeous. I tried to find names for the flowers and unusual trees and plants that lined both sides of the road with small shrines attached to trees at rather frequent intervals and, I recalled, these people had adopted the Catholic faith. It seemed odd that the road was so good and they had no horses.

I became thirsty and wondered if I could climb a coconut tree like the Kanaka boy did on Ocean [Banaba] Island and get one for its cool and appetizing drink, but I did not dare try it. By the time my thirst was becoming acute, I came to a small stream of clear water where I quenched my thirst and rested for a few moments. I did not meet anyone for some distance and then, around a curve, came a file of men with an armed man at each end. I recalled, after first being startled, that this was a penal colony for Manila and these were probably prisoners being shifted for some reason. As we passed, the guards saluted and I said "It is a fine day" and noted with relief that they were inoffensive in appearance.¹ I came to the village in due time and found the house where the family were staying and learned to my surprise, that they came here in a carry-all drawn by two ponies that belonged to our host.

The house had two stories, or rather a high basement and one story containing the living quarters. The walls were of coral rock, whitewashed, and the roof was red tile which produced a very pleasing effect with its background of green foliage. The stairs were on the outside of the house and ended at a veranda on the floor level. The rooms were of good size, comfortably furnished and quite cool considering the outside temperature. My first request was for a drink of water and an unglazed clay carafe was taken from a recess in the outside wall of the house near the front door and a glass was filled with water which was quite cool, much to my surprise. I then learned that the rapid evaporation of the water in the carafe through its porous sides lowered the temperature of the water inside considerably below that of the outside air. The outside of the carafe was constantly covered with moisture which made it necessary to refill it at intervals but this was probably the oldest method known to man for cooling his drinking water, yet it was using the same fundamental principle that operates every apparatus invented by man for replacing nature in lowering temperatures.

Our host's wife was a native or Chamorro, good-natured and not bad-looking for a stout woman but she talked very little English. They had plenty of servants and the

1 Ed. note: He does not give the exact date, but he says below that it was Lent. Therefore, the Spanish political exiles had not yet arrived, and what he saw was a party of Filipino concripts on a work party.

food was good. We came with the expectation of staying a day or two, which my father thought would be ample time to transact his business, as it would have been to sell his pickled salmon for they went like hot cakes but, buying a large order of lemon juice was a horse of another color. It was Lent and there could be no business done until these religious ceremonies ended. My father was disgusted and said so in very profane language, but the order had gone out from the priest that there should be no gainful labor during Lent, and so we waited and had a most interesting experience.¹ My mother recalled that her previous visit was during Lent but they were not buying lemon juice that time.

Everybody did all they could to entertain us, the Governor and his staff called and so did the head priest, who was fat and jolly and talked good English. He chatted with my mother about her previous visits, recalled little incidents such as the landing in the surf, and was a fund of information. He was the political head as well as the spiritual leader of the community and he exercised his power with good judgment and a human understanding of the weaknesses of the people he was dealing with. The Chamorro is more emotional than the Kanaka and has had a closer and longer association with the white man than the natives of the Caroline Islands as was apparent in their dress and manner of living. They had accepted the Catholic religion quite generally and observed its requirements on Sundays and church days during the forenoons but, in the afternoons, they gathered in the plaza and fought game cocks backing their birds with whatever cash they had. The padre was an interested witness which, no doubt, prevented serious disorder and reckless betting as these people are enthusiastic gamblers.

The Governor's staff included a doctor who was a full-blooded Spaniard² but he was a pronounced blond which was a great surprise to me, as I had assumed they were all brunets. He also talked English and did what he could to make our visit interesting and pleasant. The government officials lived in very comfortable residences built on the general plan of our host's house and surrounded with flowering plants and shrubs but no trees that would cut off the sea breeze. There was no green grass, therefore no lawn, but with such masses of foliage, it was not a serious loss.

The doctor invited me to dine with him alone, a day or two after we arrived, and I very promptly accepted and have remembered always the evening as one of my most interesting experiences. It was a nice thing for the doctor to do and it established him in my mind as a real fellow. Perhaps I should have absorbed more of the details of furnishings and the setting of the table but I was a hungry boy and have retained a somewhat hazy picture only of a cool, attractive room with comfortable furniture and dining table at which we were served by a native boy in white shirt and trousers. Some of the dishes were new to me but I ate them all through the skillful attention of my host without any feeling that I was abusing my opportunity. The doctor offered me a long Mani-

1 Ed. note: It must have been during Holy Week. The priest in question was Fr. Ibañez.

2 Ed. note: He was Dr. Armendariz, a military physician, possibly from the Basque country, who left Guam the following August, after a posting of over two years.

la cheroot after dinner which I declined as not being a smoker but I did take a flask of wine upon his assurance that it was very mild, in fact, only a "lady's drink" although I thought he might have omitted the latter part of the description. However, it was very tasty and I allowed myself to be persuaded to have a second glass and then I stopped as I was not sure of the capacity of the ladies he referred to and I did not wish to create any suspicion as to my condition in my father's mind. We talked for some time after coffee on many subjects which, of course, I cannot recall but I remember that he did not remind me in any way that I was just a youngster. He had his servant escort me to my quarters because of the darkness and my lack of knowledge with the village streets.

I inspected the village carefully and found it rather neatly laid out around a central plaza with the church as its principal feature. The native houses were mostly one story but they were much more substantially built than those in Ponape. Some houses had wood floors but the general dirt floor was well packed and swept clean. There was always a chest of drawers with a bedstead and, at least, one game cock tethered to a leg of the bed by a cord fastened to the cock's leg. Of course, I attended a cock fight and found it quite exciting. I was surprised to learn that steel spurs were attached to the legs of the birds as I thought they were well equipped by nature. Some skill is shown in the handling of the birds but, after they are released in the ring, they cannot be touched until the fight is ended. The birds are fighters and skillful in their rapid movements. They fight entirely with their spurs and strike for the head or neck but the bodies often get hit, which makes some of the contests quite gory. The fights were well attended and, although the spectators were very partisan and backed their choices with their money, they were good natured about it.

I bought a young bird that came from a highly recommended strain of fighters and succeeded in having him delivered aboard the ship without my parents' knowledge as my mother thought it a brutal and degrading sport. I wished many times that I had left the bird in Guam. We had brought a few hens and a rooster from our home in Oakland and these were installed in a coop under the workbench just aft of the try-works. They soon became so adjusted to sea life that they had the run of the ship and supplied enough eggs for my mother to treat the cabin to some of her famous cakes. The rooster was of the typical barnyard type and was fully three times the size of my game cock, so I concluded the odds were not too bad and a match was arranged one afternoon with the fore-hatch as the pit. One of the crew handled the rooster and I handled the game cock and it was clearly a case of weight against skill. The old rooster appeared anxious to fight and I was rather disturbed as to the outcome. However, it was too late for me to back out as I had talked too much about the skill and courage of my bird; so, at the signal, the two were released. The little game cock looked at the rooster for a moment and then made a pass to draw him out. It was without doubt the largest fowl he had ever seen much less fought but, the old rooster was game and started to mix things when the little bird hopped into the air, struck once and his spur pierced the head of the rooster, and the next moment he was dead. I realized at once that I was in for a bad time as the killing of the rooster had to be explained to my mother and I had not thought that

the little cuss could kill the rooster. Well, the thing was done so I picked up the rooster and carried it aft to my mother and told her the story. Instead of being turned over to my father for a good licking with a rope's end, she looked at me very quietly with a expression of sorrow rather than anger and said, "Willie, how could you be so cruel?" That was all but it hurt far more than the rope's end and it ended my interest in game cocks.

Arrangements were rapidly shaping for the great religious procession that would be the culminating event of the week. It started in the forenoon with a band at the head of the line followed by a small body of soldiers with the Governor and his staff, then the mayor and town authorities, then the clerical organization with the head priest and his assistants and then came men and women in white carrying banners and four men carrying a glass case containing an effigy of Christ, followed by a large number of young girls dressed in white. The procession passed through the principal streets of the village which were lined with the residents and natives from other villages, and it seemed like several thousand people. It was an interesting and impressive sight. The procession ended at the church where everyone entered except our family as we had been informed that we were infidels in the eyes of the church and we would avoid any unpleasant manifestations by not entering. Our host had permission from the priest to take us up in the belfry where we could look down on the assemblage through a lattice partition and thus witness the ceremonies better than if we had been on the floor of the church. It was quite a large church and it was crowded with people who were on their knees most of the time. The interior fittings were simple except the altar which was really handsome and, we were told by our friend, that it came from Spain.

The large living room of the house was always filled evenings with an interesting gathering of the family and their friends as it was as much of an event to them as it was for us. Conversation was limited as most of these people could talk Spanish or Chamorro and we could talk English only, but it was surprising how much information could be gathered by signs with a few words in either tongue. I enjoyed listening to the talk, especially the women, as their voices and their laughs are very musical. Some of the young women were rather good-looking; they are naturally indolent but their movements are graceful. The women smoked generally, mostly the long Manila cheroot, which was an awful shock to my mother but was very interesting to my sister and me. They inhaled skillfully and handled their cheroots like experts. I knew a little about cigarettes and I had several friends in Oakland who were quite proud of their ability to inhale deeply and exhale slowly but, compared with these women, they were novices.

The religious services ended and several kegs of lemon juice were delivered at the harbor and transferred aboard ship by our boat and the salmon was all sold and delivered ashore for which we took away about all the Spanish gold there was on the island. We took leave of our friends with real regret as they had made our visit very pleasant and I often look back on that week as the most unusual experience of my life. We reached the ship too late in the afternoon to sail that day but all preparations were made for an early departure in the morning. I noticed the ship looked very smart and,

as we came alongside, I saw that she had been given a coat of black paint with a white stripe along the molding outside the plank-sheer. The deckwork had all been repainted which made her look very neat and clean. The mate had decided that the best way to keep the crew out of trouble was to keep them busy.

Insubordination.

I was wandering around the deck that evening to get acquainted again when I noticed that none of the foremast hands was on deck and, as I started to look down the forecastle scuttle, I saw that the fore hatch was gone. I heard a peculiar sound in the water and looking over the rail near the fore rigging, I saw the fore hatch in the water secured by ropes to the fore-chains and it looked as if some of the crew were planning to run away. I ran aft and told the second mate who was on deck about the fore hatch and we went forward together. By that time, the men were coming on deck, some of them carrying bundles and quite a load of *argudente*, so the second mate hurried aft and reported the situation to my father who was in the cabin. My father came on deck and met the crew on the port side amidships and asked them where they were going. One of the men spoke up and said they had gone as far as they intended to and they were leaving the damned old hooker before she dropped from under them, also, he advised my father to step aside if he did not want to get hurt. That was the end of the conversation; my father went into action and ploughed through the front ranks of the group with both arms working like pistons of an engine and men going down like ten-pins. The men in the rear took one look and bolted for the forecastle. One man stumbled and fell just as my father was about to hit him but, instead of waiting for the man to get up, he grabbed him with one hand around an ankle and the other in the seat of his pants and hove him down the forecastle scuttle in the rear of the last of those endeavoring to get below. It was all over, nobody was seriously hurt, several men had sore heads for a day or two and my father had a fine time. The officers and boat-steerers were gathered in the waist but they knew better than to butt in unless they were ordered to do so. An officer was ordered to get the fore hatch in its place and an anchor watch of an officer and a boatsteerer was detailed to take charge of the deck and to call my father if there were any further signs of insubordination but nothing happened.

I presume that this episode was a demonstration, to many people, of the brutality that it was claimed was so prevalent in American whale ships. I maintain that it was not brutal and it was probably the only method that could have prevented a very serious situation and possible loss of life. There is nothing that appeals to the type of men that made up that crew like physical courage. It is the only authority they will actually bow to although they will never admit being afraid of any man, but they are. While I do not pretend to analyze the mental attitude of weak men, it was the deduction of the captains of that day from their experiences, that in all cases of insubordination, authority must be asserted instantly and effectively. Experience had shown them also that nothing is more effective than physical force.

I have often wondered how the critics of physical force would have handled the situation I have just described. Perhaps they would have let the men take the boats and go ashore but what about the situation that would confront the Captain and the officers when the shore authorities had returned these men with orders to take them and get to sea. It should be apparent that the authority of the after gang must be enforced whenever it is disputed. Further, it must not be overlooked that in the background of concerted insubordination there lurks the danger of mob violence with its lust for blood. One thrust of a knife in the hand of an intoxicated man who, when sober would not think of refusing to obey an order, and there is an orgy of killing. There was never a serious mutiny that was not the result of failure by the captain to act promptly upon the first evidence of insubordination for once the crew takes possession of a ship, they are in a terrible predicament as this is mutiny on the high seas which is punishable by death. In the old days, they were hung and the fact that lives had been taken made this result inevitable.

The physical equipment of men is not always comparable with their courage and situations would arise when an officer was obliged to seek aid in the shape of a belaying pin or a bung starter and this was the primary cause of most of the brutality on ship-board. When an officer started to enforce discipline, he had to finish it. Of course, there were brutal captains and officers which could not be avoided under the system that controlled the selection of these men in those days, but they were the exception and not the rule. During my boyhood days at sea, including five different ships and crews, I never saw a case of brutal treatment of a member of the crew; I saw discipline enforced when the occasion required but with no more force than was necessary to insure its success. I hope my readers will realize that the period of the men I am writing about is of the past and I know very little of the men who follow the sea today and I draw no comparisons between them.

The American whaling captain of that day was a plain, rather reticent, serious-minded man utterly devoid of show or swagger. He held no commission and wore no uniform but he could say with John Paul Jones, "By God, sir, I am captain of this ship because I am the best man in her."

The next morning, immediately after breakfast, all hands were called and we proceeded to sea. I thought the men were exceptionally alert and they sung a few chanteys at the windlass and no fault could be found with their execution of the orders for making sail. The affair of the night before was closed and I was happy as it was a terrible experience for me.

The discharge of the third mate led to the promotion of the fourth mate and this vacancy was not filled as there was no need of a fourth officer while my father headed his own boat. A boat-steerer for the first mate's boat was found among the beachcombers and he was shipped for the balande of the voyage, this being necessary as the fourth mate had been boat-steerer in the first mate's boat. A native was shipped as steward and the cook went back to his job in the galley. The new steward did very well although I never liked him because he looked too much like a Chinaman and, in my day, no Cali-

ifornia boy liked a Chinaman, but why, I could never tell. Another native had been shipped as a foremast hand, a husky fellow who made a lot of trouble until a remedy was found for his complaint.

Our course was laid for Saipan after clearing the barrier reef with its constant roar of the surf and we arrived there the next day. The first boat to come alongside belonged to the Governor and it contained our three men looking well and not too sorry to be back. They had to submit to the gibes of their shipmates while they pounded rust off the anchor chain for a few days as penance for deserting. The story was told that, when they saw the ship sail, they returned to the village and were promptly locked up under arrest and it never occurred to them that the ship would return.

Having settled for the capture of the deserters, and bought what fresh supplies were offered, mostly sweet potatoes and a few chickens, we sailed for the Japan Sea. Mast-head lookouts were set and the routine of sea life restored. Our course was "full and bye" with a wind that blew steadily for more than a week and all that we could carry, our top-gallant sails and courses too. We had lost time at Guam and my father was anxious to get into the Japan Sea where we hoped to find right whales.

...

Document 1874B

Mysterious suicide of Edward Hill, steward of the Florence, at Pohnpei

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, July 1874.

Letter of Rev. Doane, dated Ponape, 22 March 1874

Rev. Mr. Damon.—

Dear Sir:

We have been saddened to-day, for we have stood by the portals of the narrow house of the dead. We were all pained a day or two since by hearing from Capt. Williams, of the **Florence** from San Francisco, of the *mysterious* disappearance of his steward. Early in the morning of that day, he passed to the Captain his cup of coffee, and fifteen minutes afterwards was nowhere to be found. The vessel was searched fore and aft, — the man's hat and knife was found, and certain articles missing; with a piece of rope taken from a strange place—but no steward was found. The woods near by the vessel were searched, but all in vain. It was confidently believed he had drowned himself, especially as it was recalled to mind by some here, he had often indirectly threatened this. But there was no certainty of the deed being done, and Capt. W., sailed yesterday without being positive what had become of the man.

This morning, as Capt. Hickmott, of the **Joseph Maxwell**, was standing on the quarter-deck, a dark body was seen raising feet first from the deep, and neared his vessel. It was the body of the steward. It was gathered up—a coffin made for it by the carpenter of the **Maxwell**,—and late this afternoon brought ashore and buried.

Poor man, liquor maddening, crazing liquor led him to the sad deed. Crazed by it, and perhaps weary of its bondage, he had taken a large bag of shells, fastened them to his neck and leaped overboard—a final leap. And now he is buried on the shore of this lone isle; far away from home, friends and country. Edward Hill is given as his name, and England as his native land; but no-one knows of the parents, or birth-place, or relatives. He is reported as having once been steward on some English man-of-war. In his profession he was efficient. In this, Captain and Mrs. Williams lose a valuable man. O, the demon of drink! Why will men dally with it? When shall it be banished from the world? When will our sailor boys learn to let it alone? Its bondage is cruel. It biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder. Its touch is death.

In this connexion, it may be worth while to report another fatal scene aboard of the **Florence**. As she passed Pleasant [Nauru] Island a few weeks since, a native stowed himself away on board,—a few days after he made his appearance, and for some days he had full liberty of the deck. It was noticed he seemed to be a little deranged. He seemed to be suspicious that some one wanted to kill him. Lying between two sailors, sleeping on the forecandle, he took from the sheath of one of them a knife, and stabbed him in the abdomen, fatally. The native then sprang below, and in passing another sailor, stabbed him in three different places, one in the abdomen,—who ran on deck and fell dead. The savage then secured two knives and a large spear, and took refuge in a bunk, threatening with death any one who should approach him. It was impossible to get him from his place till his life was taken. The name of the one person killed was E. Thoïs, a German boy. The name of the other was John A. Cooper, of Placerville, California, a young man. The death of these two sailor boys, with that of the savage, or crazed native, cast a gloom over the vessel. And how much it was deepened by the suicide of the steward! And to us all how do these lessons speak—to prepare for death. The youth sleeping on the deck, little thought when he laid down to rest, how near the end of life was here; and the other youth, reading on the hatch-way, little knew his hour had come. O that all would prepare for death, by a humble trust in Jesus, and love to him; then when death comes, all the future would be one of joy. What is that future to those who regret a Saviour's love?

Let me give you the report just in from the **Europa**, Capt. McKenzie. A few days since a terrible gale swept ashore the **Leonora**, Capt. Hayes, on Strong's [Kosrae] Island, making a complete wreck of her. Further particulars we do not get of this wreck,—whether any lives were lost or not—it is presumed there were none.

To-morrow morning the **Joseph Maxwell** leaves us, and we are feeling that she is about the last messenger bird we shall have along. The horizon seems to be shutting down about us—shutting out the world, and shutting us up to our work on Ponape. But that shutting in is not like the curtains of night, nor like the iron doors of a prison. We are shut in and up to our blessed work, and Jesus we trust is in our midst, or with us. Where he is there can be no night, no gloom, no prison, but all is fear and joy.

We can report nothing very special with us. But we are happy to hear the work of the poor creatures is going on splendidly, gloriously, on little Pinalap [Pingelap].

Kind regards to dear friends.

Yours fraternally,

E. T. Doane.¹

¹ Ed. note: At the beginning of January 1875, Rev. Doane left Pohnpei aboard the *Morning Star*, Captain Hallett, arriving at Honolulu on February 3rd.

Document 1874C

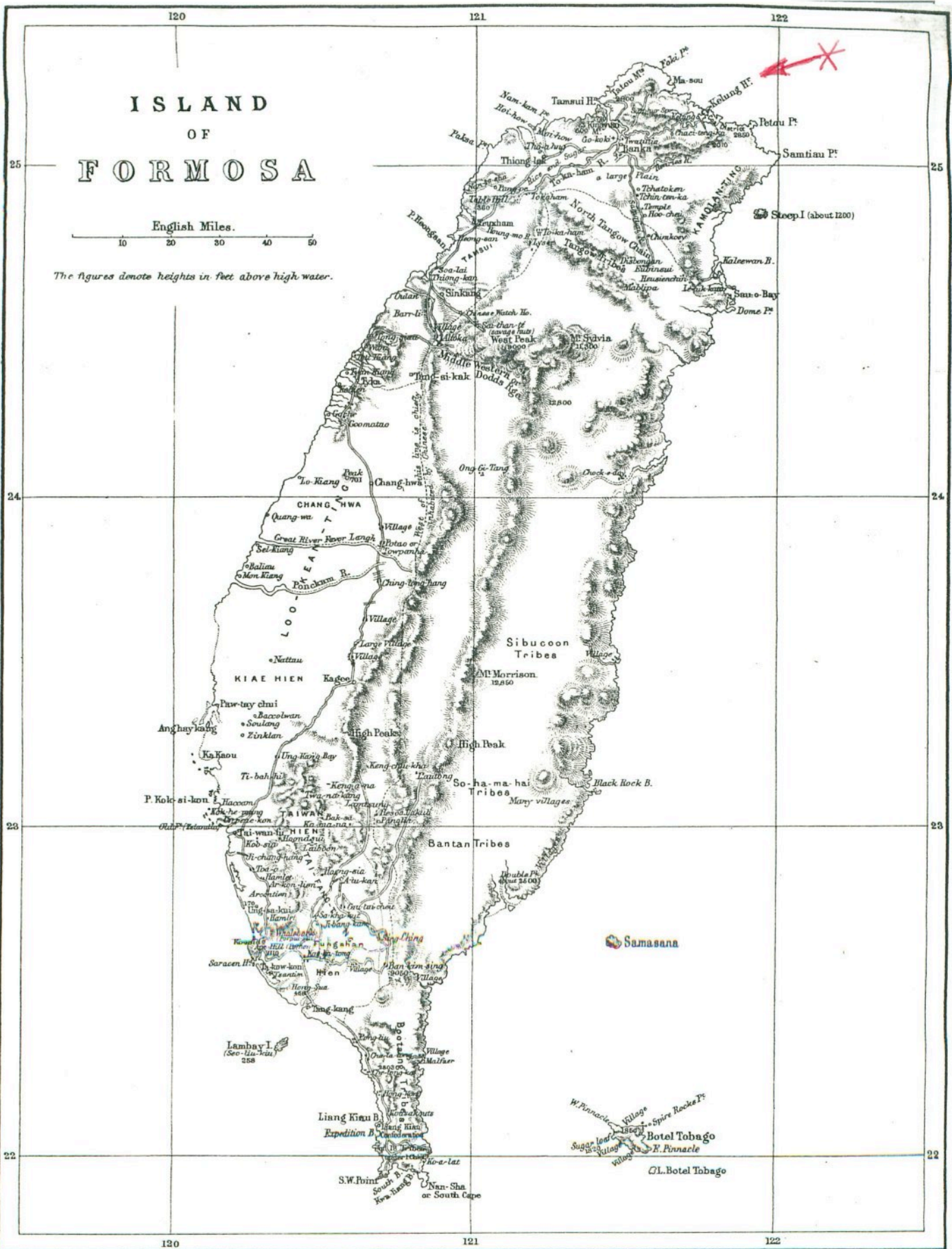
Drift voyage from Palau to Taiwan

Source: Captain B. W. Bax, R.N. The Eastern Seas: A Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Dwarf in China, Japan, and Formosa (London, 1875).

The narrative of Captain Bonham Ward Bax

...
On the 25th of May [1874], the **Dwarf** left Nagasaki to follow the Japanese expedition; after a favorable run we called in at Kelung and coaled, and obtained all the information we could about it. The Japanese war-ships had lately called in and obtained coal, much to the disgust of the authorities, who could not prevent it being supplied to them, as they had no instructions from the Central Government on the subject, and war had not yet been declared. The Japanese, with ready assurance, entered into a contract with one of the merchants to continue to supply coal to all their transports and war-vessels that should call in and require it. Many of them took advantage of this contract, as Kelung was most conveniently situated between Japan and the scene of operations in the south.

A short time before the arrival of the **Dwarf** at Kelung, three canoes, containing twelve men belonging to the Pelew [Palau] islands, had reached Kelung. They had been blown away from home while fishing, and had been sixty-four days at sea, and had travelled about 1,300 miles. A fourth canoe had been driven off with them, but had parted company a few days before the others had arrived at Kelung, and had not since been heard of. They had lived on the fish they caught, and the rain supplied them with water to drink, as their bamboo vessels for holding it were very small. They had coasted Formosa [Taiwan], but had not dared to land for fear of being killed by the natives; at last they were fortunately set close in to Kelung, and discovered by the Europeans at the custom-house, who had them brought in. A Russian gentleman, who was in charge of the Chinese Imperial custom-house at the port, kindly took charge of them, gave them a place to sleep in, fed and clothed them, as the climate was colder than their own. The men were smaller and darker than the savages in Formosa. When they were first picked up they were in a very emaciated condition, but by the kind treatment they received they soon recovered. On finding their way on board the ship they appeared in good spirits and were much petted by the seamen. In consequence of the great difficulty of getting these people back to their homes again, there being no communication be-



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tween Kelung and the Pellew islands, they were sent to Hongkong in an English steamer, and from that place an English man-of-war¹ eventually took them back to the Pellew islands.

Their canoes were very like those at Point-de-Galle in Ceylon, being only about two feet broad, and fitted with an outrigger, which had a small neat house built on it about two feet and a half high, to give them some little shelter.

The great distance these people had travelled without landing, and the length of time that they existed at sea while drifting about with the current,² show that there is nothing absurd in the theory that America may have been peopled by men and women driven away from the Asiatic coast, and drifted across in a manner similar to the voyage of these poor fellows.

...

After calling at Tam-sui, the Pescadores islands, Taiwan-foo and Takow, where we met H.M. ships **Thalia** and **Hornet**, we proceeded to Liang-kiou Bay, and anchored off the Japanese camp on June the 8th.

...

1 Ed. note: Not a man-of-war but the Coeran, Capt. HERNSHEIM.

2 Ed. note: The Kuro Shio, or Black Current, which is the equivalent of the Gulf Stream in the Atlantic.

Document 1874D

**The voyage of the Bartholomew Gosnold,
1873-74**

Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, January 1875.

**Report of Whaling Bark Bartholomew Gosnold, Willis,
Master.**

Left Honolulu Nov. 20th, 1873, bound west on a cruise. Had moderate trades with good weather.

Sighted Mulgrave [Mili] Island Dec. 6th; next day, 15 miles due south of the island, caught three sperm whales, making 60 bbls.

Dec. 13th touched at Ebon Island.

Dec. 16th, arrived at Strong's [Kosrae] Island; landed mail and procured supplies.

Dec. 19th, left for Solomon's group, arriving there Jan. 4th, 1874; cruised until Feb. 18th, without seeing a sperm whale.

Feb. 20th, touched at Lord Howe's group.

Feb. 27th, in lat. 3°25' S., long. 160°20' E., caught one sperm whale, making 60 bbls.

March 9th, touched at Strong's Island.

March 11th, touched at McAskill [Pingelap] Island.

March 13th, sighted Ascension [Pohnpei], and chased sperm whales without success.

March 21st, anchored at Umatac, Guam, and procured water. Same day anchored at Tinian.

April 10th, touched at Peel's Island [Bonons]. Same day, Augustus Savory, of that island, died.

April 16th, anchored at Yokohama, and left for Japan Sea on the 22d.

May 5th, passed through Corea Straits; cruised on Coast of Tartary until June 4th, seeing but few whales.

...

Oct. 17th, we left for Honolulu; passed through 50th Passage Oct. 28th. Had very heavy weather, mostly from the south, with rain.

Nov. 22d, winds moderated; in lat. 30° N, long. 154° W, winds veered to the N, since then have had light northerly winds with fine weather.

Arrived in Honolulu Nov. 28th.

Document 1874E

The bark Sunbeam, Captain Lavers

Source: Logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 364; Log Inv. 4498.

Note: The logbook is anonymous, but was probably kept by Elijah Clark, the First Mate, except when off duty.

Extract from the logbook

...
[This bark went whaling near the Philippines, in Melanesia, in the Moluccas in 1873, then northward towards the Bonins.]

...
Friday 20 [March 1874]

... At sundown, St. David's [Mapia] Is. bore S. dist. 15 miles. Burst flying jib and repaired it. Mr. Kelley [3rd mate] returned to duty. Lat. 1°25' N. Long. 133°51' E. Working to Northward, wind ENE.

...
Wednesday 25

... At 11 p.m., saw Sonsorol Island bearing W dist. 10 miles. Found that the declination had been applied wrong; corrected it which makes our Lat. 6°30' N. Long. 132°14' E...

...
Monday 6 [April]

... Lowered for finbacks. Capt. called them humpbacks... Lat. 23°30' [N]. Long. 129°03' E.

...
[They touched at the Bonins, sailed past Lot's Wife on 23 April, when "at 5 p.m., Elijah M. Clark, First Mate, was ordered below by the Captain Lavers." However, two days later, he was back on duty. After a season in the Arctic, the bark headed for the Line.]

...
Thursday June 4, 1874

... Capt. went on board English ship, **Faraway** from Sydney, N.S.W. for Shanghai. At sundown, Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] bore E dist. 35 miles. Lat. 6°44' [N.], Long. 157°51' E.

Friday 5

Commences fresh breezes from E. At 1 p.m., pilot came off Ascension. At 4 p.m., anchored at NW Harbor, 30 fathoms chain on starboard cable. Pilot backed the ship on a coral reef. Got off with apparently slight damage. Got under way & re-anchored in 10 fathoms.

Saturday 6

... Watch on liberty on shore.

Sunday 7

Commences heavy squalls of wind & rain from E. Larboard watch on liberty.

Monday 8

... Starboard watch on liberty. Sanding ship outside. Sent a raft of 47 bbls of casks on shore for fresh water. Getting off recruits.

Tuesday 9

... Port watch on liberty...

Wednesday June 10

... At 10:30 a.m. got under way. Wind headed us off & returning to anchorage. Got on shore, with the pilot on board, Capt. having charge at the time. Wind SE. Receiving recruits.

Thursday 11

... At daylight, found that Frank Church Hashee, Wm. Mullen & 4 Malays had deserted. Wind SE. Receiving recruits.

Friday 12

... Natives on shore caught Frank Church Hashee & Wm. Mullen. Confined them in single irons. At 10 p.m., 2 Malays, Bob and Lander returned. 2 Malays absent. Wind SE.

Saturday 13

... Wm. Mullen confined in single irons. Scrubbing ship outside, overhauled jib guys. 2 Malays absent without leave.

Sunday 14

... Wind & rain from all parts of the compass. At 1:30 p.m., got under way & stood to sea. At sundown, shortened sail. A boatsteerer, Caro(?) [or Cromos(?)] (see below) and a kanaka agreed to go a cruise in the ship. The 2 deserters still absent. William Mullen released from confinement.

Monday 15

The same as yesterday. Cruising to SE of Ascension. The runaways all day on deck.

Tuesday 16

... Off Ant Islands. Wm. Mullen & 2 Malays all day on deck.

Wednesday June 17, 1874

... Wm. Mullen & 2 Malays kept all day at work. Off Ant Islands.

Thursday 18

... Between Ascension & Ant Islands. Wm. Mullen & 2 Malays kept on deck for punishment.

Friday 19

... A whaling school in sight... At 1 p.m., Chas. Pratt, 2nd officer, raised sperm whales, Ant Islands bearing NW dist 10 miles. Waist boat missed 2 times. S boat struck & line parted. Larboard Board went on, did not get fast. Bow Boat struck and line parted. Got one to the Bow Boat.

Saturday 20

... At daylight commenced cutting. Finished at 9 a.m. At 3 p.m., commenced boiling. Saw a white water to windward. At sundown, center of Ascension bore NNE dist. 20 miles.

Sunday 21

... Boiling. Cruising to windward of Ant Islands.

Monday 22

... Off Ant Islands. At 9 a.m., finished boiling. Tuned up 56 bbls. Jim & Cromos(?) off duty sick.

Thursday 23

... Lat. 7°10' N. Long. 158°05 [E.] Ascension bearing SE dist. 25 miles.

Wednesday 24

... Coopering oil. At sundown, Ant Islands bearing ESE dist. 4 miles.

Thursday 25

... Cruising to Eastward of Ant Islands. Stowed down 34 bbls sperm oil, riding tier prt side in main hold.

Friday 26

... Cruising to windward of Ant Islands, repairing sails.

...

Sunday 28

... Working around Ant Islands. Capt. made an attempt to land, did not succeed.

...

Thursday 2 [July 1874]

... Off Parken [rather Pakin] Islands. Waist Boat brought 1,000 coconuts. A trader from shore came off & stopped overnight.

Friday 3

Calm. At 5:30 a.m., Waist & Bow [Boats] started for the Parkein Islands for hogs, land being about 8 miles distant. Middle, latter part calm.

...

Sunday 5

... At 5:30 a.m., Bow & Waist Boats returned with coconuts. Steering for Ant Islands.

...

Wednesday July 8th 1874

... Off Ant Islands...

Thursday 9

... Off Parkein Islands. Canoe came off...

Friday 10

... Off Ant Islands, repairing sails...

...

Tuesday 14

... Off Ant Islands. A boat came off from NW Harbor...

...

Thursday 16

... Pilot came off from Leeward Harbor...

Friday 17

... Pilot went on shore.

...

Sunday 19

... Between Parkein & Ant Islands.

Monday 20

... Off Parkien Islands.

Tuesday 21

... Off Ant Islands.

...

Thursday 23

... Between Ant & Parkien Islands...

...

Saturday 25

... At sundown, between Ascension & Ant Islands, scrubbing ship's paint work inside.

...

Friday 31

... Cruising to westward of Ant Islands.

Saturday Aug 1st

... Got off 6 boatloads of wood [from Pohnpei]...

Sunday Aug 2

... Laying off and on Kittie Harbor. Capt. went on board a German bark that was at anchor...

Monday 3

... Got off 6 boatloads of wood...

Thursday 4

... At anchor, Kittie Harbor bore N dist. 15 miles.

Wednesday August 5, 1874

... Laying off & on Kittie Harbor. Capt. went on shore in Starboard Boat. At sundown boat returned. Wm. Mullen deserted. A Malay by the name of Ben that deserted June 11 from the bark gave himself up to the Captain & also reports that a Malay named Anton that deserted at the same time was shot by the natives of the Island of Ascension without cause. Fred Manton came off & has agreed to do duty as boatsteerer if he is able.

Thursday 6

... Off Ant Islands. Elijah M. Clark, First Officer, off dutysick, also the Cook.

Friday 7

... Elijah M. Clark returned to duty. Waist Boat went on shore to the Ant Islands to land some trader. Cook improving.

1 Ed. note: Perhaps the Alfred, or the Coeran.

Saturday 8

... At sundown, the N End of the reef of Raven's [Ngatik] Island bearing N 1/2 mile dist.

Sunday 9

... Laying off & onto Raven's Islands.

...

Wednesday 12

Moses Bowers off duty spitting blood.

...

[Back to Melanesia, Moluccas, Philippines, then to Singapore, Ceylon, Indian Ocean, Atlantic, and home.]

Document 1874F

The story of the *Clearchus*, Captain Nelson

Source: William John Hopkins. She Blows! and Sparm at That! (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1922).

Note: The names for the ship and captain are most probably fictitious. The author claims to have been born in New Bedford in 1857 and to have shipped in 1872.

Extract from this book

...
[While in the Indian Ocean, the ship is supposed to have collided with the **Virginia** of London, Capt. Marshall (from Mauritius bound to Hong Kong).¹ Then, they are supposed to have sailed up the east coast of the Philippines, arriving on the Japan Ground in May 1874.]

Chapter XXXI

...
We reaches the Japan grounds in May of 1874, and cruised thereabouts until August. Then we stood to the southward, loafing past the Volcano Islands, the Ladrone, CAROLINES, Solomon and Fiji Islands, always on the lookout for whales, and taking a number of them. We were on the New Zealand grounds early in November. We had only average success on the Japan grounds amdour cruise to the southward; pulled in many a fruitless chase, and most of the whales we did get made no fight worth mentioning, for which the men were thankful. Two of the whales, however, did seem to think their lives worth fighting for, and one of the two fights was successful from the whale's point of view.

...
[Late in 1874 or early in 1875, they spoke the **Henry** of New Bedford, Capt. Jefferson² on the New Zealand grounds.]

...
It was now past the middle of the season, and we put into Wellington to fill our water-casks, to give the men a run ashore, and to get our mail. There was no mail for me, but I sent hom another instalment of my journal, and I saw the town, which had little in-

1 Ed. note: This name is not listed in Nicholson's Log of Logs, and may be fictitious as well.

2 Ed. note: Fictitious names.

terest for me. There was only one town which I cared about seeing, and that was more than a year away, almost exactly on the other side of the world. I had a great desire to see at least one of the Marquesas Islands, but Wellington is not the Marquesas.

When we got back to our cruising grounds, whales were getting scarce and wild and difficult of approach. The big whales seemed to have gone. We did get one forty-barrel bull, one of a small school that was running to leeward from another ship. We saw the ship in the distance, and we saw her boats; but the whales were running faster than the boats could go. Our one bull we intercepted, but the rest ran away from us, straight to leeward, head out. It was useless to chase them. The strange boats did not get nearer to us than a mile and a half; then they gave it up, and went back to their ship, which bore away to the southward without an attempt to speak us.

Captain Nelson must have made up his mind very suddenly to get out of those waters. As soon as the trying-out of the forty-barrel bull was finished we stood away to the northward, for the Ellices, Gilberts, and Kingsmill; but most of all, I thought, to find those mysterious grounds where the **Apollo**¹

...

1 Ed. note: Fictitious name.

Documents 1874H

Spanish political exiles to the Marianas in 1874

Sources: PNA and AHN Ultramar 5222/74 n° 250(1).

Background information.

Queen Isabella II was expelled from Spain in 1868 and the crown offered to an Italian prince of Savoy, Amadeus I, but he was forced by intrigues to abdicate in 1873. It was during a brief republican interlude, 1873-1874, that political exiles were sent to the Philippines, and part of them to the Marianas. Another coup-d'état, this time by General Martinez de Campos, on Christmas Eve 1874, was to restore the monarchy and install Alfonso XII on the throne; he ruled until his death in 1885.

—Total number of persons sentenced to deportation to the Philippines and Marianas: **1,099**. However, in 1874 and 1875, the total number of persons transported aboard three ships from Spain to Manila totalled 1,076, as follows:

—Aboard the steamer León : ¹	275
—Aboard the steamer Yrurac-bat : ²	463
—Aboard the steamer León : ³	338
Actual total:	1,076

However, other official accounts give a total of only 1,073. Out of this, those forwarded to the Marianas, in two groups, total either **700** (237 + 463) or 710. The rest were sent to Balabac (40), to Paragua or Palawan Island (240), and the remainder to Corregidor Island. Their eventual disposition was as follows:

—Those who were pardoned, one way or another: ⁴	167
—Those who died in Phil. and Marianas:	55
—Those who escaped:	4
—Those who embarked to return to Spain:	163

—Therefore, estimated maximum number of those who stayed behind, either in the Philippines or the Marianas: $1,076 - 222 = \mathbf{854}$.

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- 1 Ref. Letter of Gov. Gen. Phil., 16 August 1874.
 - 2 Ref. Letter of Gov. Gen., 25 Dec. 1874.
 - 3 Ref. Letter Gov. Gen., 8 January 1875.
 - 4 Ref. Royal decree of 13 February 1875 (Doc. 1875B1).

H1. Reports on the exiles sent to Guam in 1874

Report of Governor Beaumont, dated Agaña September 1874.

In the City of Agaña, on the 4th of September 1874, the Council of Authorities was assembled under the chairmanship of Mr. Eduardo Beaumont y Calafat, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry and P.M. Governor of the Islands, the gentlemen members present being Most Rev. Fr. Aniceto Ibañez, Vicar Forane of this province and Curate of this Capital, Mr. Antonio Fernandez Ruifernandez, Administrator of Public Finance, and as Secretary the Auditor of the same, Mr. Luciano Vecin Cardero.

The Chairman declared that he had called the Council to a meeting in order to report on the decisions that he had to adopt in line with the superior orders received for the settlement of 237 political exiles, including four women, arrived from the Peninsula with this Archipelago as their destination, aboard the steamer **Panay** on the 5th of last month, and also in order to inspire himself of their illustrious opinion, good common sense and deep knowledge of the main authorities of these Islands, of the state, resources and conditions of the country and its inhabitants, to face the imperious and oppressing necessities that such an unforeseen event had caused to appear, and made themselves painfully known already.

The Chairman himself then immediately gave to the Secretary, by whom they were read, the letter from His Excellency the Governor General of the Philippines dated 23 July about the subject, and a copy of the answer given on 8 August in which the decisions referred to above were enumerated, and the Council judged them correct and the best ones to adopt under the circumstances and expediency of the case.

The Chairman himself also gave the Secretary, who read them: 1) a document acknowledging the receipt of the provisions remitted, partly for the rations of the exiles during the first month, and partly as a reserve for special needs by the said gentlemen, about which the result is that some articles on account of defect in the packaging and others by damage upon unloading, were all received in an unsatisfactory condition (except for the wine and the rice) and with great losses or waste, and 2) A note about the stock today, which is hardly sufficient for future supplies: bacon for 70 days, rice and wine for 40, sea biscuits for 22 and coffee for 15, etc.

Report of Governor Brabo, dated Agaña 5 May 1875.

Political & Military Government of the Marianas—Administration Section, N° 118.

Dear Sir:

On the 4th instant [May 1875], the warship **Marqués de la Victoria** arrived safely at this port.

The Commander of the ship advises me that he brings on board 72,000 ordinary naval rations.

With him present, I have ordered that 30,900 rations be left at the Island of Saipan for 300 exiles who must stay there, and would last for 103 days; from that point, 151 exiles are to embark at that place, 50 to be left at the Island of Rota with 5,450 rations

to last 109 days and the rest to remain at this island with 35,650 to last 103 days.

In making this transfer, I have kept in mind the appropriateness of making the weight of the existing exiles bear equally throughout this province, and in addition to evacuate the increasing number of exhorters who have been received from the Captain General's Office.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 5 May 1875.

Manuel Brabo

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

Rations in short supply, 1874-76.

Political and Military Government of the Marianas.—Table showing the time that the rations lasted that arrived for the deportees from Spain to these Islands, and the number of days that they were not available.

Ship that brought them to the Marianas	Nº of exiles among whom whom they were distributed	Time period they lasted	Days	Remarks
Mail steamship Panay	237	From 6 Aug to 15 Oct 1874	71	No bread for 40 days.
Government " Patiño	718	From 1 Mar to 7 Apr 1875	38	Without wine rations.
Id. Marqués de la Victoria	696	From 5 May to 17 Aug 1875	115	Without wine rations.
Mail ship Candida	678	From 10 Sep-10 Dec. 1875	91	Without bacon rations.
Id. " "	631	From 7 Mar to 2 June 1876	88	Without bacon rations.

Total days that rations lasted				393

Time period they were missing				
			From 10 Oct 1874 to 28 Feb 1875	197
			From 8 Apr to 4 May 1875	26
			From 18 Aug to 9 Sep 1875	22
			From 11 Dec. 1875 to 6 Mar 1876	86

Total days they were missing				231

H3. List of the [237] Political Exiles who arrived at the Mariana Islands aboard the Steamer Panay, giving their names, ages, towns and provinces of origin, domiciles, and trades.¹

¹ Ed. note: An asterisk marks those who are known to have died in the Marianas.

Nº	Name	Age	Town	Province	Domicile	Trade
1.	Manuel Millor Rodriguez	35	S. Esteban Calvaria	Lugo	Madrid	Baker.
2.	José Fraile Cánova	20	San Jacinto	Lugo	Madrid	Baker.
3.	Augustín Martínez Maestre	34	Alcandela	Logroño	Madrid	Smith.
4.	Nlcano Cano Lopez	19	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Mason.
5.	Manuel Prieto y Díaz	36	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Weaver.
6.	Ramiro Camargo Perez	25	Barra la Cego	Oviedo	Madrid	Weaver.
7.	Tomas Llorente Martínez	37	Segovia	Segovia	Madrid	Mason.
8.	José Conal Pesquera	19	Aranjuez	Madrid	Madrid	Clerk.
9.	Manuel Soriano Gil	59	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Shoemaker.
10.	Eduardo Cananquí Guitan	24	Aranjuez	Madrid	Madrid	Music engraver.
11.	Celestino Gallardo Delgado	26	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Painter.
12.	Andres Rocha Acira	23	Santiago Revoredo	Coruña	Madrid	Trader.
13.	Ramon Perez Pereira	33	S. Cosme de Varain	Lugo	Madrid	Weaver.
14.	Juan Mendez Gomes	34	Pandillo	Oviedo	Madrid	Weaver.
15.	Felipe Jastrá N.	36	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Weaver.
16.	Geronimo Gonzales y Gonzales	22	Alcalá de Henares	Madrid	Madrid	Barber.
17.	Antonio Villacino Lajucot	51	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Engraver.
18.	Bonifacio Díaz Gomes	40	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Wine broker.
19.	Manuel Guzman Zelosa	49	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Carpenter.
20.	Miguel Cañada Gorreavina	24	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Carpenter.
21.	Ricardo Gomara Encisa	32	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Mason.
22.	Francisco Ortín Enarte	36	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Mason.
23.	Celestino Garcia Martínez	23	Sigüenza	Guadal.	Madrid	Carpenter.
24.	José Sanchez Ibañez	49	Aljezares	Murcia	Madrid	Carpenter.
25.	Justo Domingo Hervas	29	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Sadler.
26.	Domingo Monave Navaro	18	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Coachman.
27.	Benito Rocha Neira	30	Santiago Revoredo	Coruña	Madrid	Hatter.
28.	Celestino Fernandez Soares	32	Colina de Arrion	Oviedo	Madrid	Cook.
29.	Francisco Sanchez Siena	19	Tembleque	Toledo	Madrid	Cook.
30.	Luis Tdraque Guerrero	23	Sepulveda	Segovia	Madrid	Mason.
31.	Valentin Garcia Balverde	23	Lozana	Soria	Madrid	Poulterer.
32.	Manuel Rodriguez Rodriguez	31	Vascos	Lugo	Lugo	Tavern waiter.
33.	Miguel Milla Rodriguez	22	Aranjuez	Madrid	Madrid	Coachman.
34.	Francisco Mendes Perez	32	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Coachman.
35.	Antonio Hernandez Belarde	32	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Weaver.
36.	Manuel Balverde Gena	31	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Shoemaker.
37.	Francisco Campos Mequiel	22	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Horsebreaker.
38.	Miguel Domareo Llande	64	Velez	Malaga	Sevilla	Carder.
39.	Francisco Chacon Lara	41	Antequera	Malaga	Sevilla	School teacher. ¹
40.	José Chaves Pon	60	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Shoemaker.
*41.	Ramon Chaves Garcia	20	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Turner.
42.	Francisco Samona Guerrero	28	Ronda	Malaga	Sevilla	Carpeonter.
43.	Cagetano Marquez Montana	43	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Founder.
44.	Agustin Criado Valencia	62	Cadiz	Cadiz	Sevilla	Weaver.

1 Ed. note: He spent a few years teaching in Guam and later wrote a plan to create an industrial colony in the Marianas (see Doc. 1885L).

45. Tomas Verdeja Sigara	32	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Tailor.
46. José Cansino Camadeo	28	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Tanner.
47. Antonio Reina Hidalgo	37	Pasada	Sevilla	Sevilla	Shoemaker.
48. José Sesano Sifuentes	33	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Blacksmith.
49. Francisco Garcia Lashera	52	Rozarios	Oviedo	Sevilla	Weaver.
50. Tomas Barbosa Marquez	50	Villaba de Alco	Huelva	Sevilla	Sawyer.
51. Baldomiro Barbosa Romero	20	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sawyer.
52. José Alvarez Torres	62	Utrera	Sevilla	Sevilla	Weaver.
53. Juan de Dios Guardí	52	Granada	Granada	Sevilla	Tailor.
54. Juan Preciado Gandía	58	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Shoemaker.
55. Joaquin Garcia Rujo	29	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Carpenter.
56. Antonio Reyes Fernandez	33	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Coachman.
57. José Maria Delgado	55	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Shoemaker.
58. Antonio de la Cruz Rodriguez	32	Carmona	Sevilla	Sevilla	Shoemaker.
59. Francisco Lozoño Palo	29	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Mason.
*60. José Esposito Vidal	30	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Mason.
51. Nicolas Nunes Topete	57	Costa de Famez	Africa	His town	Cook.
62. Manuel Chia Fernandez	33	S. Lucar Barrameda	Cadiz	His town	Farmer.
63. Antonio Muñoz Gallardo	30	S. Lucar Barrameda	Cadiz	His town.	Farmer.
64. Antonio Rodriguez Peña	30	S. Lucar Barameda	Cadiz	His town	Farmer.
65. José Rivas Garcia	34	Sevilla	Sevilla	Sevilla	Miller.
66. José Oliva Romero	30	Cadiz	Cadiz	Cadiz	School teacher.
67. José León Carasco	44	Cadiz	Cadiz	Cadiz	Shopkeeper.
68. Ramon Valenzuela Chafin	22	Puerto Sta. Maria	Cadiz	His town	Cooper.
*69. Manuel Prefumo Rodriguez	46	Cadiz	Cadiz	Cadiz	Mason.
*70. Francisco de la Rosa Franco	52	Cadiz	Cadiz	Cadiz	Clerk.
71. Adolfo Espinosa Dolado	28	Santander	Santander	Madrid	Printer.
72. José Cerralonga Garcia	52	Madrid	Madrid	Jerez d. Front...	Useless [sic].
73. Pedro Ynsua Gonzales	33	Mondorredo	Lugo	Jerez d. Front.	Farmer.
74. Manuel Muñoz Garcia	22	Jerez de la Frontera	Cadiz	Jerez d. Front.	Soap-maker.
75. Juan Manuel Garcia Barba	50	Puerto de Sta. Maria	Cadiz	Jerez d. Front.	Tinsmith.
76. José Baroniz Tundilla	23	Cadiz	Cadiz	Jerez d. Front/	Shoemaker.
77. Antonio Navarro Toruna	22	Algeciras	Cadiz	Jerez d. Front.	Marble-cutter.
78. José Muñoz Gonzales	36	Jerez de la Frontera	Cadiz	Jerez d. Front.	School teacher.
79. Manuel Yglesias Garcia	46	S. Juan de Astera	Coruña	Jerez de la Front.	Farmer.
80. Yldefonso Pardeza Nuñez	40	Ubrique	Cadiz	Jerez de la Front.	Farmer.
81. Luis Chacon Ortega	54	Jerez de la Frontera	Cadiz	Jerez de la Front.	Farmer.
82. Antonio Chacon y Guzman	23	Jerez de la Frontera	Cadiz	Jerez de la Front.	Gardener.
83. Francisco Cobes Pineros	29	Algar	Cadiz	Jerez d. Front.	Shop-keeper.
84. Antonio Sabino Corrales	49	Cadiz	Cadiz	Cadiz	Shop-keeper.
85. Bartolomé Sanchez Burgos	59	Jerez de la Front.	Cadiz	Jerez de la Front.	Shop-keeper.
86. Manuel Sanchez Alvarez	58	Jerez de la Front.	Cadiz	Jerez de la Front.	Farmer.
87. Adrian Riesa Mayo	34	Tarifa	Cadiz	Jerez de la Front.	House servant.
88. Francisco Huerta Torres	47	Turique	Malaga	Alcalá de Cadiz	Labourer.
89. Manuel Delgado Ruiz	30	Alcala d. Gazules	Cadiz	Alcala de Cadiz	Tanner.
90. Manuel Henesa Fernandez	37	Alcala d. Gazules	Cadiz	Alcala de Cadiz	Farmer.
91. Juan Molina Camacho	22	Turique	Malaga	Alcala de Cadiz	Labourer.
92. José Carasco Lopez	40	Alcala d. Gazules	Cadiz	Alcala de Cadiz	Tailor.
*93. Juan Roche Llevano	40	Jerez de la Front.	Cadiz	Jerez de la Front.	Farmer.
94. Vicente Roche Llevano	29	Jerez de la Front.	Cadiz	Jerez de la Front.	Farmer.
95. José Castello Ponez	38	Pto. de Sta. Maria	Cadiz	His town	Barber.

96. Francisco Soriano Rodriguez	25	Alanaz de la Sora	Sevilla	Cadiz	Mason.
97. Ricardo Alcalá Gautiere	30	Cadiz	Cadiz	Cadiz	Pilot.
98. Miguel de Cala Tano	27	Pto. de Sta. Maria	Cadiz	His town	Soap-maker.
99. Francisco Fernandez Garcia	55	Grecan	Murcia	Pto Sta. Maria	House-servant.
100. Diego Maestre Ortega	55	S. Lucar de Barr.	Cadiz	His town	Farmer.
101. Juan Ybañez Toscano	40	S. Lucar de Barr.	Cadiz	His town	Farmer.
102. José Montero Vega	30	S. Lucar de Barr.	Cadiz	His town	Carpenter.
103. Francisco Cordero Garcia	45	S. Lucar de Barr.	Cadiz	His town	Mason.
104. Miguel Paterneque Galan	23	S. Lucar de Barr.	Cadiz	His town.	Labourer.
105. José Gimenes Perez	45	Anos de la Frontera	Cadiz	S. Lucar de Barr.	Labourer.
106. Antonio Brito Diaz	22	S. Lucar de Barr.	Cadiz	S. Lucar de Barr.	Labourer.
107. Antonio Romero Villega	24	S. Lucar de Barr.	Cadiz	S. Lucar de Barr.	Farmer.
108. Alfonso Martínez Acina	26	Carabasa	Murcia	His town	Charcoal-maker.
109. Antonio Martínez Gimenes	25	Carabasa	Murcia	His town	Charcoal-maker.
110. José Catalan Lopez	45	Granada	Granada	Guadaluja (Murcia)	Farmer.
111. Pablo Carpena Rubio	30	Cartejena	Murcia	Ysla (Murcia)	Stone-cutter.
112. José Sanchez Garcia	27	Menuvar	Alicante	His town	Farmer.
113. Saturnino Blanco Mota	42	Elda	Alicante	His town	Farmer.
114. Pedro Olinedo Rubio	19	Murcia	Murcia	His town	Weaver.
*115. Salvador Aleman Yode	33	Muchunial	Alicante	Manizar (Alicante)	Stone-cutter.
116. Genaro Gimenez Vidal	25	Monenar	Alicante	His town	Farmer.
117. Pascual Amat Rede	25	Petrel	Alicante	His town	Farmer.
118. Francisco Boller Bernabez	25	Petrel	Alicante	His town	Spinner.
119. Fernando Cánovas Tasa	19	Murcia	Murcia	His town	Mason.
120. Camilo Navarro Luna	35	Murcia	Murcia	His town	Mason.
121. Alfonso Martínez Costa	18	Mazarón	Murcia	Villa de la Union	Carpenter.
122. Francisco Montero Lajasin	22	Alama	Murcia	Villa de la Union	Blacksmith.
123. Toribio de S. Nicolas	38	Murcia	Murcia	Murcia	Shoe-maker.
124. Antonio Austin Marquez	28	Alcantarillo	Murcia	Allumbres	Stone-cutter.
125. José Pastrana Vidal	54	Cartagena	Murcia	Soria	Shoe-maker.
126. Francisco Saenz Bergarete	22	Etturia	Murcia	Hos town	Spinner.
127. Patricio Navarro Briones	40	Lonas	Murcia	His town	Farmer.
128. Pedro Perez Bustillos	23	Alcantarilla	Murcia	His town	Baker.
129. Enrique Perez ...	25	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Painter.
130. Francisco Lozano Perez	27	Tumilla	Murcia	His town	Mechanic.
131. Francisco Garcia Castillo	36	Cartagena	Murcia	Pto. Lambrerasuc	Farmer.
132. Antonio Valcanel Garcia	44	Murcia	Murcia	Villa de la Union	Shoe-maker.
133. José Salmeron Rios	32	Ciena	Murcia	Calarpana (Murcia)	Tailor.
*134. Gabriel Toledano Marigano	56	Galias	Almeria	Adra (M.)	Cooper.
135. Vicente Lopez Santos	25	Berja	Almeria	Villa de la Union	Mason.
136. Tomas Fuster Alca	47	Tutiva	Valencia	His town	Telegraph operator.
137. Manuel Ochando Ladera	22	Almeria	Almeria	His town	Farmer.
138. Francisco Ballester Rodenas	23	Murcia	Murcia	His town	Farmer.
139. Antonio Francisco Tejedor	35	Santiago de Cuba	Santiago de Cuba	Zaragoza	Farmer.
140. Manuel Rover Perez	35	Santiago de Cuba	Santiago de Cuba	Cartagena	Carpenter.
141. Antonio Conesa Ruinonero	32	Aguilas	Murcia	Cartagena	Blacksmith.
142. Francisco Montesino Gonzales	50	Torquera	Alicante	Cartagena	Carpenter.
143. Gaspar Martínez Resello	38	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Stone-cutter.
144. Juan Miragorez Ayala	41	Lorea	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
145. Mario Antonio Cantero Perez	26	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Painter.
146. José Garcia Gomez	42	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.

147. Francisco Gueberas Torres	50	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
148. Julian Delgado Leuquera	44	Puente Camberan	Segovia	Cartagena	Clerk.
*149. Felix Brabo Garcia	45	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
150. Yldefonso Sanches Frias	52	Toledo	Toledo	Cartagena	Braid-maker.
151. Ysidoro Segovia Perez	46	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
152. José? Guites Santos	33	Libia	Alicante	Cartagena	Hejira
153. Tomas Soto Garcia	40	Lorea	Murcia	Cartagena	Barber.
154. José Alcaza Guerrero	49	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Labourer.
155. Santiago Bretan Yabador	45	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Carpenter.
*156. Jaime Miró Tunes	41	Buciano Castellon d.	Plana	Cartagena	Mason.
157. José Navarro Lebrel	22	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Shoe-maker.
158. Angel Pastor Nicolas	33	Murcia	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
159. Pascual Garcia Muñoz	42	Mazaron	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
160. Joaquin Serrano Peñalues	44	Murcia	Murcia	Cartagena	Shoe-maker.
161. Juan Cuba Rodriguez	52	Pozo Estrecho	Murcia	Cartagena	Carter.
162. Ysidoro Sauza Rodriguez	19	Pozo Estrecho	Murcia	Cartagena	Farmer.
163. José María George	53	Madrid	Madrid	Cartagena	Sculptor.
164. Joaquin Gonzales Sanchez	26	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Carpenter.
165. Jaime Carbajal Alonera	28	Tigon	Oviedo	Cartagena	Founderer.
166. José Garcia Cañavate	21	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
167. Pedro Gimenes Soler	34	Vera	Alerreera	Cartagena	Carpenter.
*168. Francisco Fernandez Cortez	41		Burgos	Burgos Cartagena	Shoe-maker.
169. Salvador Alcoytia	48	Murcia	Murcia	Cartagena	Weaver.
170. Federico Fernandez Perez	24	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Clerk.
171. José Sanchez Soriano	51	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Carpenter.
172. Alejandro Cortes Bonilla	52	Granada	Granada	Madrid	Carpenter.
173. Agustin Soler Gonzales	25	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Sailor.
174. Juan Soler Gonzales	32	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Sailor.
175. Juan Canas Corruo	40	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Sailor.
176. Joaquin Mammerien Garcia	49	Castellon d. Plana	Castellon d.Plana	Madrid	Farmer.
177. Nicolas Blanquer Pagan	47	Murcia	Murcia	Madrid	Farmer.
178. José María Tumillo Fenez	48	Murcia	Murcia	Madrid	Caulker.
179. Tomas Ramires Periago	40	Lorea	Murcia	Madrid	Blacksmith.
180. José Ramires Periago	33	Lorea	Murcia	Madrid	Blacksmith.
181. Francisco Cania Navarro	27	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Cooper.
182. Francisco Ruiz Perez	40	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Farmer.
183. Urbano Naniero Gil	40	Murcia	Murcia	Madrid	Printer.
184. Diego Martinez Crerrea	27	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Farmer.
185. Cristobal Guerrero Rivera	33	Merida	Malaga	Madrid	Shoe-maker.
186. José Peran Mateo	54	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Mason.
187. Antonio Contreras Molina	32	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Sailor.
188. José Triviño Hoboada	17	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Sailor.
189. Juan Tomas Hernandez	46	Murcia	Murcia	Madrid	Sawyer.
190. Juan Juen Mondeja	54	Lorea	Murcia	Madrid	Weaver.
191. Claudio Gallego Horteza	30	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Weaver.
192. Fabian de San Nicolas	23	Murcia	Murcia	Madrid	Grinder.
193. Francisco Carrion Gallego	37	Hillin	Murcia	Madrid	Mason.
194. Asencio Buen Martinez	55	Carabaia	Murcia	Madrid	Charcoal-maker.
195. Juan Bretan Cañas	36	Cartagena	Murcia	Madrid	Blacksmith.
196. Juan Nieto Martinez	46	Campos	Murcia	Madrid	Farmer.
197. Francisco Sevilla Arudez	30	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.

198. Joaquin Bastian Covinas	40	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Carpenter.
199. Francisco Baredes Garcia	24	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Carpenter.
*200. José Prieto Martinez	34	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Carpenter.
201. Fernando Fernandez Sanchez	35	Masaron	Murcia	Cartagena	Founder.
202. Juan Molina Hernandez	47	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
203. Tomas Navarro Cabos	55	Larceia	Valladolid	Cartagena	Cooper.
204. Fernando Valero Martinez	34	Larea	Murcia	Cartagena	Farmer.
205. Francisco Lopez y Lopez	42	Sta. Ma. Anevada	Lugo	Cartagena	Labourer.
206. José Navarro Zaragoza	50	Elda	Alicante	Cartagena	Labourer.
207. José Suarez Manguineza	50	Murcia	Murcia	Cartagena	Farmer.
208. Mariano Juan Muñoz	22	Murcia	Murcia	Cartagena	Farmer.
209. Cristobal Say Rodriguez	38	Vera	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
210. Alfonso Andres Tudela	57	Totana	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
211. Antonio Fonniz Simon	50	Elda	Alicante	Cartagena	Assistant.
212. Manuel Gomes Gabel	30	Honda, Castellon de la Plana	Cartagena		Carpenter.
213. Baldomero Basquez Zandrana	26	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Blacksmith.
214. Tomas Miretes Anton	55	Murcia	Murcia	Cartagena	Sorter.
215. Antonio Miretes Peres	22	Murcia	Murcia	Cartagena	Sorter.
216. Francisco Miretes Torres	28	Murcia	Murcia	Cartagena	Sorter.
217. Andres Bonel Rubio	40	Luran	Jaen	Cartagena	Miller.
218. José Pascual ...	26	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Farmer.
219. Agustin Guillen ...	50	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Painter.
220. Matias Segovia --tina	28	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Blacksmith.
221. Abelardo Sanchez Garcia	26	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Stone-cutter.
222. Juan Varea Morales	26	Jaen	Jaen	Cartagena	Shoe-maker.
223. Antonio Balaguer Martinez	34	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Farmer.
224. Fulgencio Gallardo Sanchez	33	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	House-servant.
225. Luis Cabos Aullon	39	Binedorra	Alicante	Cartagena	Watchman.
226. Juan Callejas Solano	19	Alcaras	Albarete	Cartagena	Farmer.
227. Joaquin Gomez Martinez	19	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Farmer.
*228. Tomas Suares Aranjuez	42	Velez Rubio	Almeria	Cartagena	Miner.
229. José Gomez Martinez	24	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Blacksmith.
230. Santiago Triviño Sanchez	45	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Mason.
231. José Antonio Correa Gimenes	49	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Carpenter.
232. Matias Enas Perez	31	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Carpenter.
233. Simon Baneton	23	Cartagena	Murcia	Cartagena	Caulker.
Women.					
234. Paulina Dominguez Canillo	50	Valencia	Valencia	Madrid	Seamstress.
235. Ursula Siyana Guiavella	22	Valencia	Valencia	Madrid	Seamstress.
236. Josefa Lara Mello	28	Toledo	Toledo	Madrid	Seamstress.
237. Gertrudis Lozano Beltran	33	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid	Seamstress.

 Agaña, 30 August 1874.

Eduardo Beaumont¹

1 Ed. note: This 1874 group had come mostly from Madrid (27%), from Sevilla (11%), and from Cartagena (29%). Their average age was 36 years, the youngest being 17 and the oldest 64 years old.

Documents 1874I

The cruise of HMS Rosario, Captain Dupuis, in search of Bully Hayes

II. Article published in Honolulu

Source: Article in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, reproduced in The Friend, March 1875.

Captain Hayes.

This person, who was for a number of years past a notorious character

“As he sailed, as he sailed,”

Among the islands of the Pacific, was recently “interviewed” by the Commander of H.B.M.’s S.S. **Rosario**, at Strong’s [Kosrae] Island. As he was an American citizen, and nothing tangible was charged against him, he was not detained. Subsequently the Commander of the **Rosario** told the King of the island and the missionary that if they would present a written statement to the effect that Hayes was a nuisance, he would take him away to Sydney.

We do not learn that this was done, but probably anticipating that it would, Hayes put to sea in a small boat with but one companion. After the **Rosario** had departed he returned to the island and presenting himself to the missionary declared that, repenting of past misdeeds, he intended to lead a correct life in the future. It is not a matter for surprise that, until Hayes had given some real proofs of reformation the missionaries, were slow to believe in his conversion.

II. Official letters regarding Bully Hayes

Source: Queensland Government Gazette, 28 August 1875.

Letter of King of Kosrae Island, dated 30 September 1874.

Strong’s Island,
September 30, 1874.

To Captain A. E. Dupuis, Kaptin, Inglish man of Wa **Rosario**.

My Kind Friend,

I am glad to see you ship to my island at this time. I think because you come Kaptin Hayes he go. I am very glad for this. What for he fraid man o wa? Suppose he good man he no fraid. We think Kaptin Hayes one bad man. Suppose he no run away, I like very much you take him on board your ship and carry him off.

Another thing make me glad, because you take away Mr. Becke. That man no speak true. He tell Mr. Snow 'I belong America,' then when your ship come he tell you he belong England. No good man when he talk all same that. I thank you plenty cause you help me make my island good.

I am, (signed) Togusa (X his mark),
King of Strong's Island.

Witness: (Signed) B. G. Snow, Missionary, A.B.C.F.M.

Letter of Commander Dupuis, dated 10 October 1874.

H.M. Ship **Rosario**, at Sea,
October 10th, 1875.

To Commodore J. G. Goodenough,
H.M. Ship **Pearl**.
Sir,

With reference to Mr. Hayes, master of the American brig **Leonora**, I beg to forward the following statement of facts relative to him that I have been able to collect among the different islands visited during the present cruise of H.M. ship under my command.

1. There can be no doubt that Mr. Hayes is a most unprincipled but shrewd man, one who has (I now have no doubt) committed many shocking acts of violence on the natives, and to say the least of them been guilty of many acts of dishonesty towards other persons, yet so clever is he in methods of proceeding, and so much has his name got to be feared by both natives and white residents on the islands, that though it was evident that at nearly all the islands I visited he was well known, yet it was impossible to find out much about him or his deeds. I was perfectly convinced that nearly the whole of the whites and natives were afraid to speak out.

2. With regard to Mr. Daly's business, what evidence I could get was rather in Hayes' favour, and tended to show that Daly's agents at the different islands had sold the trade to Hayes, instead of Hayes stealing it.

3. On leaving the Marshall Group for Providence [Ujelang] Island I felt that my case against Hayes was very weak, that I had gained no evidence worth mentioning against him, and that if I found him on Providence Island I could hardly arrest him. At Providence Island I heard the first direct evidence against him in a case of shockingly brutal treatment of a young girl whom he brought from the island of Pingelap.

4. On entering Chabrol Harbour (Strong's Island) Mr. Hayes (as I have reported in my letter of proceedings) came out to meet the ship in a boat. He told me that his vessel had been wrecked in South Harbour of the island on March 15th this year, and that since he had been living on shore and collecting oil. Living on shore was Mr. Snow (American missionary), who had just arrived from Ebon Island, and numerous white men, part of the crew of the late vessel **Leonora**, part residents on the islands. In harbour was a schooner under the German flag, Mr. Milne (an Englishman) master.

5. I commenced making inquiries as quickly and as quietly as I could about Hayes, but here, as at other places, I met with the same disinclination from all parties to tell anything they might know. Mr. Milne, though hinting that Hayes had robbed him not long since, would at first say nothing, nor was it till after considerable persuasion and the delay of some days that I got the enclosed statement, with the evidence of various witnesses in the matter, from him. But as he was sailing under German colours I could not believe my duty was to do more than receive his statement and forward it through you to the German Consul at Sydney. I also accidentally heard of another case of rape and shocking cruelty on the person of a young native girl, and satisfied myself of its correctness. The king, or chief, of the place, through FMr. Snow, also told me he should like me to remove Hayes from his island, as he was afraid of him. Hayes, alarmed by hearing from some of his crew of the inquiries that had been made, left the island in a boat on the night of the 27th, taking one man with him. His design was, I believe, either to make the island of Ponape (Ascension) or Pingelap (McAskill).¹

6. At their own request, and also considering it a good thing to rid the island of them, I took fiive of the crew of the **Leonora** on board for passage to Sydney, and one other (Louis Becke) who had been a passenger on board, and from what I could hear was a great friend of Hayes. This Becke was the person who had been sent by Mr. Williams, British Consul at Samoa, as supercargo of the ketch that I met at Mille² (reported in the letter of proceedings), but, leaving his charge there, he had gone to sea with Hayes, and had been with him since Jnauary. I considered it desirable that he should be removed, there being no chance of his getting back to Mille from Strong's Island, also because the chief particularly urged his removal as a man likely to stir up much trouble in the island. These six persons are now on board.

7. I visited Mr. Hayes' residence at South Harbour; he had made a regular settlement of it, and had collected a large quantity of oil. No less than five young women or girls were living in his house, who had all, with one exception, been living on board the **Leonora** with him. That vessel was sunk in 14 fathoms, topmasthead a few feet above water.

8. The first mate I left on the island, recommending him to take charge of Hayes' property. The second mate ran away into the bush just before I sailed, and could not be found, or I should have taken him to Sydney with the others.

1 Ed. note: Apparently, he simply returned to Kosrae after the Rosario had left.

2 Ed. note: The E. A. Williams (see below).

9. Thinking the case overquietly afterwards, I cannot see how I could have arrested Hayes. It is, therefore, with regret that I am obliged to report my failure to collect sufficient evidence against him to warrant my doing so. The case of Mr. Daly must have failed for want of such evidence. Mr. Milne's case was one against a German subject. The cases of cruelty to the native girls could have been proved, I think; but I considered it would have been exceeding my instructions to apprehend an American subject on such charges, and being doubtful whether the Sydney law would have been able to deal with such cases. Enclosed is a list of the crew of the brig **Leonora**, also several letters and statements relative to Hayes that I collected at Strong's Island.

I have, etc.

(Signed) A. E. Dupuis, Commander.

List of the Crew of the late Brig Leonora

William Hayes, American, master. Left Strong's Island in a boat.

N. Nahnsen, Dane, first mate. Left on the island.

Will Hicks, Fiji half-caste, second mate. Left on the island.

Joe Carston, German, seaman. On board **Rosario**.

John McDonald, English, seaman. On board **Rosario**.

Ah-So, Chinaman, carpenter. On board **Rosario**.

Ah-Ho, Chinaman, cook and steward. On board **Rosario**.

Bob, Malay, seaman. On board **Rosario**.

Louis Becke, English, passenger. On board **Rosario**.

Proceedings of H.M.S. Rosario in the South Sea Islands.—Criminal acts of Mr. W. H. Hayes, master of the brig Leonora.

H.M.S. **Pearl**,

16th November 1874.

To the Secretary,

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a Report and various papers furnished to me by Commander Dupuis of H.M.S. **Rosario**, concerning a Mr. William H. Hayes, master of the late American brig **Leonora**.

2. This Mr. Hayes has long been known among the Pacific Islands as a collector of produce, and has the reputation of defrauding natives and lifting produce collected by other traders. He has been spoken of in correspondence between this and the Chine Station as 'the notorious Captain Hayes,

but hitherto no evidence on which he could be convicted of any piratical act has been brought before me.

3. It seemed possible that Commander Dupuis, while cruising in H.M.S. **Rosario** among the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, and watching the labour traffic, might be able to

gather some evidence which would enable him to detain this person, who is doing much harm among the islands. A copy of my orders to Commander Dupuis is enclosed.

4. Commander Dupuis seems only to have obtained the evidence which he desired against Hayes after he had learned of his escape, and he is satisfied from inspection of Hayes' papers that he is an American citizen.

5. Commander Dupuis brought away with him from Strong's Island the crew of Hayes' vessel, the **Leonora**, which was wrecked there in March last, and also one Louis Becke, who had proceeded from Samoa to Mille as supercargo of a vessel called the **E. A. Williams**, and belonging to the sons and daughters of Mr. Williams, H.M. Consul from Samoa.

6. This Mr. Becke carried with him from Samoa orders from Mr. Williams to put the **E. A. Williams** and the cargo into Hayes' hands to be sold, and in course of business appears to have become so mixed up in Hayes' affairs that the latter made him his agent and entrusted him with letters to all his subordinate agents, informing them that he had been seized by the **Rosario** for conveyance to Sydney.

7. I was in Samoa in H.M.S. **Pearl** in November 1873. The ketch **E. A. Williams** was then there under repairs. Mr. S. D. Williams told me nothing of his intentions regarding the vessel, but gave me to understand that Mr. Hayes was a great rascal, who had cleverly outwitted all inquiries. He offered to obtain evidence from a half-caste, and at my desire took the statements (which proved valueless) on oath. Yet on December 3rd, 1873 he enters into communication with this man, against whom he had pretended to give me information.

8. I consider the whole affair as most unsatisfactory, even regarding Mr. Williams as a trader. In the position of Her Majesty's Acting Consul, I consider that he has been guilty of improper behaviour, rendering him unworthy to occupy such a position. The desirability of appointing a non-trading Consul in Samoa has already been pointed out by both myself and my predecessor on this Station.

9. The papers I enclose concerning Hayes will illustrate the life of a modern South Sea filibuster.

I have the honour to be,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) James G. Goodenough,
Captain and Commodore, 2nd Class,
Commanding Australian Station.

...

[Copies of Commander Dupuis' letter with attachments were sent to Rear-Admiral A. A. Cochrane, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Station, then aboard the **Repulse** at Callao, who in turn forward the documents to the American Admiral of the North Pacific Station, as "the islands where the occurrences referred to took place are not included in the Pacific Station." The French and German authorities were similarly advised by the British Government in London. TMr. A. Macalister, Colonial Secretary at

Brisbane, was the man who, on 20 August 1875, transmitted the above documents to the Editor of the Queensland Government Gazette, to be published therein.]

I3. Letter of proceedings, of Commander Dupuis

Source: PRO London (not copied by AJCP).

...

[Perhaps same as Letter of 16 Nov. 1874 above. The logbook of the Rosario, by J. T. Daly, is in the National Maritime Museum, UK, under LOG/N/R/3.9.10.]



Louis Becke.



The *Leonora* (formerly the *Pioneer*) at sea
From a contemporary sketch



Natives of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, where Hayes traded

Documents 1874J

Louis Becke, the former supercargo of Captain Hayes—His stay at Kosrae

Source: Louis Becke. Notes from my South Sea Log.

J1. Adrift in the North Pacific

In March 1874, the brig **Leonora**, of which vessel the writer was supercargo, was wrecked on Kusaie (Strong's Island), the eastern outlier of the great Caroline Archipelago in the North Pacific. The master and owner of the **Leonora** was the notorious Captain "Bully" Hayes, with whom, a few months after the brig was cast away, I had a serious quarrel, which resulted in our parting company. The "difference," I may mention, arose out of Hayes' treatment of the natives; he and some of his numerous and ruffianly crew acting so cruelly to them—I and a few others of the ship's company (Samoan seamen) protesting.

During these four months I had made many friends among the scanty population—less than 500—of this beautiful and fertile island, and so when Hayes and I parted in hot anger, I eagerly accepted the invitation of a native named Kuis to come and reside at his village, which was ten miles distant. It was called Leassé,¹ and was situated on the shores of a lovely little bay, one of the many nooks of Caquille harbour. The village, of which my friend Kuis was the head man, consisted of less than a score of houses, inhabited by some of the kindest and most amiable people I have ever known in the South Seas, and here I spent some of the happiest months of my existence, undisturbed by the licence and bloodshed which was distracting that portion of the island in which Hayes and the majority of his ship's company had settled.²

The household of my host consisted of himself, his wife Tulpé, and their daughter Kinie—a charming, vivacious, and very handsome child of eleven years of age, who was the mimic and life of the village. She and I soon became fast comrades, and in all my shooting and fishing excursions she invariably accompanied me. Sometimes—especially when I was bent on shooting wild pig in the mountain forest—we would be joined by a sturdy boy of fourteen, named Nân, and nothing gave the two greater plea-

1 Ed. note: Lias, or Las, former village, D-114 in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: They had settled at Port Lottin, or South Harbor.

sure than for me to let them have a shot at a pig with my much-prized Winchester carbine—one of my few belongings saved from the wreck.

The villagers had built and presented me with a fishing canoe—a valuable piece of property on Strong's Island—and in this canoe my host Kuis, Kinie, Nân and I, would sometimes voyage right round the island; calling at each village (except that in which Captain Hayes was located), spending a night at each place, and returning to my beloved Leass, 140 after a three to five days' absence. Everywhere I was treated with the most unbounded hospitality; no-one could do enough for me, and the presents of food we received during our trip would have laden a small cutter to her waterways.

One evening in September, six months after the loss of the *Leonora*, the boy Nân, Kinie and I set out for an all-night fishing excursion to a favourite spot outside the barrier reef, and about three miles from Cap Vauvilier, the western cape of the island. Here at a depth of from 80 to 120 fathoms we used to catch on moonless nights a huge nocturnal-feeding fish called "palu" (*Rivettus*),¹ much prized by the natives on account of the valuable oil it yielded, apart from the richness of its flesh. We took with us a basketful of cooked food, a piece of baked pork, a fowl, one pineapple, ten young drinking coconuts, and about half-a-dozen large sweet potatoes.

Just as we were about to start, Kuis and Tulpé, who had been at work on their banana plantation for the day, came home, and called out to us to be careful to keep well in under the lee of Cap Vauvillier, as from the mountains they had seen indications of heavy rain squalls coming from the east or windward side of the island, and that "it was an easy thing to be blown off the land."

Pushing off from the beach we paddled along the shore for a couple of miles, under the light of myriad stars, and over water as smooth as the surface of a mirror; then, bearing to the starboard hand, we entered a narrow passage through the reef, and gained the open sea; and an hour later were on the fishing ground and let go our stone killick in sixty fathoms of water.

For an hour we fished without success, catching only a few small fish of the grouper species; then Nân hooked a fine "palu" of over 60 lbs, which, after some trouble, we safely landed and placed in the canoe amidships.

I had just refilled my pipe, and the boy and girl had lit their cigarettes of black tobacco rolled in dried banana leaf, when the sky rapidly became overcast, and we saw the white wall of a heavy rain squall coming down from the lofty heights of Mount Crozer [rather Crocker] nearly three thousand feet above. In ten minutes it was upon us with a rush and a roar, for there was wind as well as rain with it. It lasted barely a quarter of an hour, during which time Kinie was constantly employed in bailing the canoe, for, in addition to the terrific downpour of rain, we were shipping water over the sides of our little craft, which was straining and pitching at the thin cable of coir rope, and Nân and I had great trouble in keeping her head on to the sea, which had risen with the usual rapidity of the tropics.

1 Ed. note: Now written "epal."

Just as the last of the fierce, stinging, rain had swet away with a dull hum to leeward, and the stars had come to life again, another gust of wind struck us with such violence that the killick line parted, and in an instant we broached-to, the outrigger rose clean out of the water, went up in the air, and over went the canoe, bottom up.

We all three came to the surface and held on to the canoe, which we soon righted and freed of water by jerking her backwards and forwards until she was half emptied; then Kinie, who was lightest and who had stuck to the wooden scoop (bailer), clambered in and shot out the rest of the water, whilst Nân and I at bow and stern kept the light craft head on to the seas. Watching our chance for a lull in the now lumpy waves we succeeded in getting on board again—only just in time, as a second rain squall come upon us.

“We must run before it,” shouted Nân to me through the roar of the rain and the howling of the wind, “we cannot face wind and sea like this.”

Very carefully with our two paddles the boy and I (Kinie had lost her paddle) “wore” the canoe. He sat on the for’ard thwart, which was the canoe end of the for’ard outrigger pole, and I astern, whilst Kinie, still bailing, was on her knees amidships.

Up to this time none of us had felt any alarm, for we knew that, although we might have to run before the successive squalls, they would not last more than an hour or two, and that it would only mean an eight or ten miles’ wearisome paddling back to land. We little dreamt of what lay before us.

This second rain and wind squall lasted quite half-an-hour, during which time we were travelling quite three knots, the outrigger every now and then lifting out of the sea in an alarming manner, or else burying itself a couple of feet under the surface—equally as dangerous. Then once more (although the wind still kept its force) the stas came out, and shone down upon us from a vault of cloudless blue, and we were able to observe our condition.

Almost everything had been lost in the way of food except the bunch of ten young coconuts and the sweet potatoes, which were in a cane basket. This had luckily been tied on to the grating of the outrigger, and so had escaped, together with a small wooden box of mine containing my extra fishing tackle, a spare (clay) pipe and three sticks of twist tobacco.

“Nân,” I said, “the wind does not abate, and we are now seven miles or more from the land.”

The boy turned to me, and I saw that he looked troubled.

“Rui, I fear for us. I fear greatly that because of the steadiness of the wind and the bright sky that it is the strong easterly *matagi* (gales) which have come upon us, and which last sometimes for thirty days. Feel,” and he put up his open hand, “it is cool and dry.”

“No,” I said, “it is too soon yet” not for another ten days.”

He shook his head. “Sometimes the easterly *matagi* come before their usual time. And look at the sky.”

I confess I felt a sinking at heart, for, even as the boy spoke, I remembered that Hayes had once told me about the erratic weather in the Carolines during the latter months of the year.

áRui," said Kinie, "Nân is right. I knew it when we saw the clear sky so soon. We cannot get back to Kusaie. But Pingelap and Mokil and Ponape lie before us—and God is overhead."

Pingelap, a group of three small low islands enclosed in a barrier reef, was 200 miles distant; beyond was Mokil, another 100, and another 200 further west the high land of Ponape, the principal of the Caroline Group—any one of them a long cry from Strong's Island in a small fishing canoe manned by three people, and with a day's food between them!

"Nân," I said, "cannot we turn and try to get back under the lee of the land?"

"We can try," he replied.

We did try, and in less than an hour had to give up from exhaustion, and again wear the canoe round to save us from capsizing or being swamped, for the wind had now settled down into a steady half-gale, and the short, choppy seas raised by the first squalls had given place to a long, mountainous swell, capped by "white horses." Every now and then as we sank into the trough we lost sight of the high land astern, and when as we mounted again upon a heaving crest the silence and darkness of those gloomy watery valleys was followed by the whistling of the wind and the showers of spume which smote upon our backs.

We each drank a coconut, and ate the thin lining of the nut, letting the canoe run meanwhile steadily to the W. and N., dead before the wind. She steered beautifully over the long rollers, and now took in but very little water, for the sea was fast "setting" into a steady sweep, i.e. becoming more regular. But as I glanced astern and saw the lofty mountains of Kusaie becoming more and more indistinct, my courage failed me.

"Nyn," I said, "let us tie one paddle to the cane basket, and make a sea-anchor, so that we can lie-to to the wind and sea until daylight."

He shook his head. "That will not do, Rui; the sea drives too fast, and we should swamp. And we cannot do aught else but go on before the wind till we come to Pingelap, for never can we get back to Kusaie in face of an easterly *malagi.á*

And then, to cheer me, both the boy and girl—whose dauntless courage shamed me—told me of fishing parties who had been blown off the island, and reached either Pingelap, Mokil, and even Ponape in safety, though they had suffered fearfully from hunger and thirst.

All that night we ran before the gale. Kinie at dawn, and when the mountain-tops of her island home were just visible above the sea-rim, lay down for'ard and slept for a couple of hours, and I followed suit in the body of the canoe amidships, leaving Nân to steer. When I awoke it must have been nine o'clock, and Kinie was steering, Nân having gone for'ard for his sleep.

Towards noon we each ate a sweet potato, and shared one of the remaining seven drinking coconuts between us, and although there was nothing, not even a sea bird in

sight, I felt my spirits rise, when Nân asked me if I would not be glad of a smoke. I had lost my wooden pipe when we capsized, but I still had the stumpy old clay left in my fishing-tackle box, though my matches had gone, as I thought. Then, as I saw the gleam in the boy's dark eyes, I remembered that on the preceding night I had given him my box of Swedish matches, which were in a tin that had once held curry powder, and was watertight. He had stuck the tin for security under one of the sinnet lashings of the outrigger, and had just found it with all the contents quite dry. Oh, the delight of that smoke of soddened, negro-head tobacco!

All that day we kept on a steady W. by N. course, making nearly three knots, sometimes paddling, sometimes resting, and at dusk, whilst the boy and girl were saying their evening prayer, and I was steering, there came a flight of flying-fish right across the canoe, and the unlucky number of thirteen fell into the canoe. We ate one each, raw and then cut open the others and spread them on the outrigger grating to dry.

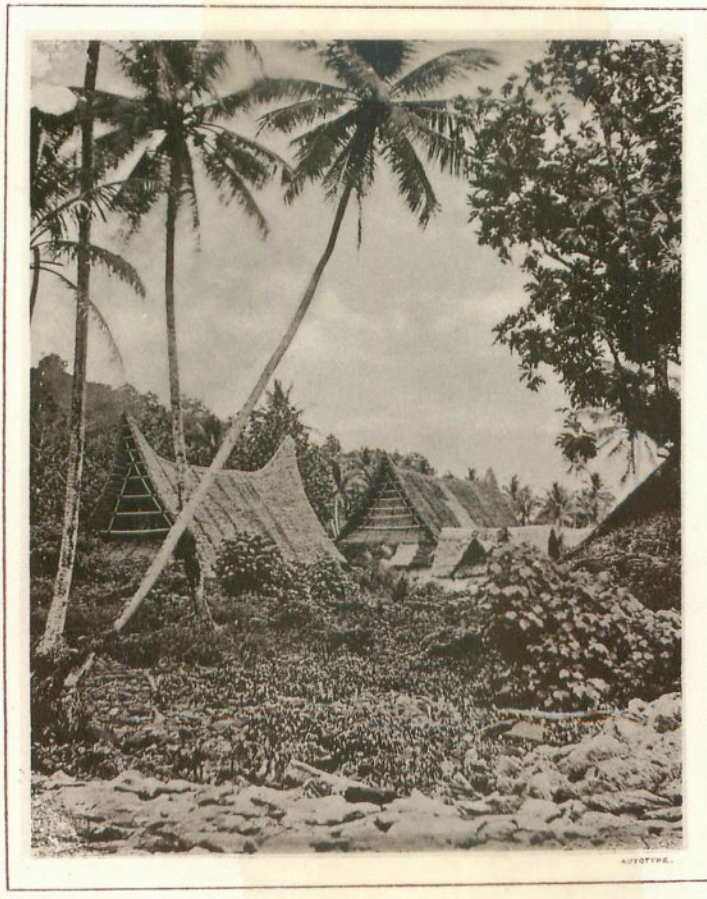
About midnight the wind moderated somewhat, and I felt so tired out that I again suggested the sea-anchor to Nân. He protested most energetically, and pointed to certain stars under which lay Mokil and Ponape. I laid myself down in the bottom of the canoe amidships, and was soon fast asleep, whilst this brave boy and girl, tired out as they were, remained and kept our tiny craft on her course.

Some time after dawn, and whilst I was still in a sound slumber, I was awakened by Nân crying out that a ship was in sight. Confused and stupid from my sudden awakening, I rose, missed my balance and fell over on the outrigger platform, and in another three seconds the canoe had upset, and we again had the task of freeing her of water, and getting on board again. Fortunately every The ship, I saw, was hull down and steering south, so there was no hope of our being seen. In a few hours she was out of sight, and we were again alone upon the ocean.

All that day the wind blew with steady force, the sky was a cloudless blue, and the sun so fiercely hot that whenever the sea water touched our skins a white rime of salt formed upon it in a few minutes, and poor little Kinie's skin from her head to her waist began to turn from a light brown to an angry red. I, despite her remonstrances, cut out the front of my shirt from the collar down, and made a sort of poncho, which I slipped over her head.

The night passed without incident. Overhead, the same still, wonderful dome of unflecked blue, lit up by its shining stars; below and with us the long, long lines of sweeping mountain seas, flecked with white and shining bright on their crests, black, dismal and terrifying in the deep valleys of the trough.

During the day Nân and I had contrived to make a small sail from the major portion of my dungaree pants, and his own waist cloth. We set it upon sheer-legs of cane taken from the outrigger platform, and lashed and stayed it securely to the for'ard outrigger pole, with two back-stays of stout fishing-line made fast to the sides of the 'midship seat. Small as it was, it helped us splendidly, and we leapt and spun along over the seas, making at least four knots, though there was an easterly current of two knots against us.



The king's house at Kosrae Island.

During that day, although we were suffering severely from thirst, we drank but two coconuts between us, for N, 131n and I feared that we might pass to leeward of Pingelap, or perhaps even not sight it, and be compelled to run on for Mokil Island—another hundred miles.

Soon after daylight, whilst Nân and Kinie were taking their “watch below” and I was steering, I saw three mound-like hummocks abreast of us, just showing above the sea-rim, and about fifteen or twenty miles distant. They were the three islands of Pingelap—and we were hopelessly to leeward!

Rousing up the boy and girl I pointed silently to the gray loom of the island. That my face wore a despairing look I have no doubt.

“It does not matter, Rui,” said the girl—“Not for us is Pingelap.”

For an hour or two we scarcely spoke a word in our bitter disappointment. Suddenly Nân, who was for’ard, stood up and gazed at something ahead, then he gave a shout:

“Another ship, another ship!” he cried.

It was indeed another ship—a brig beating to windward, and not more than five miles distant. The blinding glare of the sun had prevented us from seeing her sooner than we did. In a few minutes to our joy, we saw her go about, and then felt certain that she was beating up to Pingelap, and could not fail to see us.

Half-an-hour later we were seen, and the brig backed her main yard, and we were taken on board and most kindly treated. The vessel was a whaler, the **Kamehameha IV**, of Honolulu, Captain Fred Wicks,¹ and was beating up to Pingelap for wood and water.

A fortnight later we were landed—canoe as well—at Port Lele on Strong’s Island, and the same day went home to Leassé, when the village went mad with joy, for no-one doubted but that we had perished.

Five months after I left the island in **H.M.S. Rosario**, bound to Sydney, N.S.W.

J2. The Deadly "Oap"—Fishing with poison at Kosrae

In all the mountainous islands of the Caroline Archipelago there grows on the littoral a slender and straight-limbed plant which is of the highest value to the natives. It is called “Oap,”² and on Kusaie (Strong’s Island) it is especially abundant. Yet although by its use the people can capture immense quantities of fish with the greatest ease in half-an-hour, the pious American missionaries who “labour” among the Micronesians have made many efforts to have the plant eradicated on account of its being employed for Malthusian purposes. But Nature was too strong and bountiful to be overridden by the silly, well-meaning gentlemen from Boston; and, despite all the uprootings and

1 Ed. note: Rather the Kamehameha V, Captain Fred Weeks.

2 EEd. note: This Kosraean word is now written “Op.”

burnings, the "oap" continued to flourish in open defiance of the pious men who wished to suppress it.

During the áseventies," when I was shipwrecked on Strong's Island, I had many opportunities of witnessing the method of capturing fish by means of the "oap," and was also inducted into the manner of preparing it by my native "father"—genial-hearted stalwart Kuis. After the loss of the vessel I took up my quarters in Leassé village, of which Kuis was head man. He was a great fisherman, and therefore a man after my own heart, and many, many happy days we spent together either in deep-sea fishing, miles from the land in over a hundred fathoms of water, or inside the curiously-shaped lagoon which runs along the coast from Port Lottin to Cap Wauvillier. Ostensibly a "brand plucked from the burning" by the Boston missionaries, and never smoking on Sundays (except *in camera*), he was really a very decent whole-souled heathen, who longed for the old times of his boyhood, with the merry nocturnal dances, and other concomitant allurements thereof "when the heart is young."

"I had three wives when I was a young man and a heathen," he said meditatively one day, "and they worked hard on my land and kept my house full of food. Now I have but one, and all the money I make by selling my yams and pigs to the whaleships I have to give to Likiak Sa (the native pastor). I am indeed a poor wretch." Then he flamed into sudden anger—"American missionaries are no good! They are not like the English missionaries in Tahiti and Samoa. I have lived there, and know. There, if you do not go to church, you are not fined. Here in Kusaie, if you do not go to church through sickness you must pay \$2 to Likiak Sa. And the white missionaries who come here every year from Boston in the **Morning Star** are worse. 'Money, money, money, give us money!' they cry; 'give us money to help to make other people Christians as we have made you Christians.' They have eaten at our guts and so now we are gutless" (poverty-stricken).

Poor Kuis! I could only console him by saying that in Tonga the natives were just as badly off under missionary rule. Smoking on Sunday was punished by a fine of \$5, and if a child of tender years laughed loudly in public on the Sabbath day, the parents had to pay a fine of \$3, or do three days' work on the public roads.

Still Kuis, though the glory of the old times had vanished, enjoyed life. He bunted the wild mountain pigs, caught turtle, and was the moving spirit in all "oap" fishing parties—about which I began to write until I was led into religious matters.

A calm, windless day with a very low tide is a *sine qua non*. Discarding their European clothing (that is if neither the white missionary nor native teacher is anywhere in the vicinity of the village) the men, women and children don waist girdles of *dracæna* leaves or long grass. Then the "oap"—cut the previous day, and tied up in bundles like withes—is placed upon flat stones and pounded with wooden or stone mallets. A thick, viscid and milky-white juice exudes from the bruised plants, which are then rolled up into balls about the size of a large orange, and tied up in green banana leaves, softened by being held over a fire—making an almost perfect substitute for oiled silk or mackintosh. Then the preparations are complete, and off we start to the barrier reef, a mile

distant, the women and girls carrying the bundles of "oap" in baskets slung over their smooth, red-brown shoulders, the men and boys with their fish spears.

The great, wide expanse of reef is bare, and only a gentle, heaving swell of the ocean is laving its "steep-to" seaward face. All over the reef are deep pools, some with bottoms of pure white, shining sand, some with brilliant many-hued forests of coral, all literally teeming with fish of such shape and colours that would delight the heart of Mr. Savile Kent. In one pool, for instance, there would be perhaps a school of silvery mullet swimming on the surface; below them, and moving to and fro among the gorgeous coral forest, scores of scarlet-scaled, yellow-finned rock-cod, ranging from 5 lbs. to 30 lbs., with countless hundreds of wrasse, parrot, and other rock fish. Colour! All the colours in Nature! Green, barred with gold; fold, barred with jet black; bright blue with crimson spots; green with vertical stripes of orange and some a pale, iridescent pink. In the shallower ponds swarms of silvery bream with broad wavy fins and tails herded together in masses, feeding upon a short, fleshy marine weed growing upon the bottom; here and there, in the very deep pools would be a hawk-bill turtle or two, and huge fierce-eyed green eels protruded their narrow, vicious heads from out the cricks and crannies of the coral walls—well knowing that the shadows of the humans above them meant a great repast after the "oap" had done its work.

Kuis apportioned a certain number of his people to each pool. The women hand the bundles of "oap" to the men, and stand by. Then, at a signal from Kuis, each man, holding a bundle of "oap" in his hand, slips quietly over the ledge of his particular pool, dives to the bottom, and tears open the leaf covering. Almost before the men rise to the surface again, the crystal-clear water is discoloured to the resemblance of well-watered London milk, and then in two or three minutes fish appear, most of them swimming feebly upon their sides, or else, coming to the surface in their natural position, blindly running head-on against the sides of the coral walls, where they are either gaffed or speared. The largest—a kind of huge red-scaled fish much like a sea-perch, and weighing up to 30 lbs. or 40 lbs.—were not so much affected by the "oap" as their smaller brethren, and although they swam to and fro in a semi-dazed condition they evaded the gaff and had to be speared. Hundreds of large and many-hued "leather-jackets," however, came to the surface inert and apparently dead, but on being thrown into a pool free of "oap" soon recovered. With them were thousands of very small fry of all sorts of shapes and colours—these floated about dead; the great eels, upon which the Strong's Islanders look with horror, were the least susceptible of all to the influence of the plant, and appeared last of all, swimming with their heads erected a few inches out of the water, and making for the edges of the pools.

In one long, narrow and deep fissure of the reef, which was open to the sea, several hawkbill turtle were seen; quickly a net was placed in front of the opening. Three natives dived and soon turned the water into a dull milky white, then two others followed with more "oap," and in ten minutes four good-sized hawkbills came gasping to the surface. They were quickly seized.

It is a curious fact that “oap” has no effect upon the natives when they are using it in fishing. Administered internally, however, its effects, even in a minute dose, are drastic and serious.¹

¹ Ed. note: That is how Mr. Smith of the ship **Emily Morgan** was poisoned in December 1850 (see Doc. 1850M).

Documents 1875A

The letters of Captain Holcomb, Yap trader

Source: Holcomb's Papers, in the possession of Louis Gutierrez of Buffalo, New York, a descendant of Captain Holcomb's sister, Arlesta Holcomb Gutierrez.

Notes: For a short biography of Captain Crayton Philo Holcomb, see Hezel's article entitled "A Yankee Trader in Yap: Crayton Philo Holcomb" in JPH, vol. 10 (1975). For letters about his death, see Doc. 1886C.

The ships captained and partly-owned by Captain Holcomb

The first was the whaler **Chandler Price**, in 1859-60; then the ship **Scotland**, from 1873-76; the **Arabia**, formerly owned by Captain Hayes, and renamed **Rachel**, 1876-85; and finally the **Dofia Bartola**, 1885, in honor of his wife, Bartola Taisague Garrido.

Some letters from and about Captain Holcomb

—Letter to his mother, dated Hong Kong, 27 January 1873 (written aboard the Schooner **Scotland** before departing for Borneo);

1Letter to his sister, dated Hai Mun Bay, 10 May 1875 (see A1 below);

—Letter to his mother, dated Hong Kong 12 July 1875 (see A2 below);

—Letter to his sister, dated Hong Kong 15 August 1876;

—Letter to his brother, dated Hong Kong 29 June 1877 (he announces that he has lost the **Scotland** and has "a good trading station or two among the Islands and I am going to open more.");

—Letter to his mother, dated Hong Kong 12 April 1878 (see A3 below);

—Letter to his mother, dated Hong Kong 12 January 1879 (see A4 below);

—Letter to his sister, dated Hong Kong 27 January 1879 (see A5 below);

—Letter to his sister, dated Hong Kong 12 November 1880 (see A6 below);

—Letter to his mother, dated Hong Kong 26 November 1880 (see A7 below);

—Letter to his brother, dated Yap 7 July 1882 (see A8 below);

—Letter to his sister, dated Guap 29 August 1883 (see A9 below);

—Letter to ..., dated ... 7 November 1884 (see A10 below);

—His last letter, to his sister, dated Manila 6 November 1884 (see A11 below);

A1. Holcomb, the Wrecker—Letter to his sister, dated Hai Mun Bay 10 May 1875

Hai Mun Bay May 10th 1875

Dear Sister

I received your kind letter of Feb 21st and neglected to answer it for a few days as I have been very busy over the wreck of the **Japan** P.M. Steamer that was burnt December 18th. I started from Hong Kong last Jan to search for the wreck by dredging the bottom of the sea as it was known that the burnt mass of steamer lay in comparative shoal water. After six weeks of very rough disagreeable weather I found the wreck and then the trouble begun with the divers. In the first place the water is 120 feet deep over the wreck and then there is a strong current most of the time. Besides this the first diver had no experience in water of this depth and was not reliable in other respects. So he left and then we had to employ another this took a long time as we had to get one out from Europe belonging to the Great Northern Telegraph Company. During this time I was obliged to lay at an anchor in my vessel over the wreck to prevent other parties from going over her and setting up a claim as there has been five more vessels looking for the wreck but I happened to be fortunate enough to find it. You will recollect that here is \$375,000 in treasure on board of the wreck besides a large amount of other valuable property. I don't know if we shall be able to get any of it up but if we do I shall come home soon if not I shall go back down to the little cottage upon the Island where money is of no value and all men are rich inasmuch that the food grows for all and the people don't expect to carry it away with them to the next world; as for clothing a piece of cotton cloth dresses a person as well there as silk does at home. But I must not get to thinking about the Islands as I am really in love with them. You write me taht you have not been home for two years now I am sure if I lived in Brookin you would expect me to go home oftener than that. So don't take me to task about duty as you are where you can see and comfort our mother once in a while whilst I am so far off it is impossible for me to do so. But never mind Sister dear if I ever get money enough I will come and see you all if not pray feel that my love is with you still; there are very few ties to bind me to Connecticut and those sleigh rides the least of all. I don't know what I would do in a snow storm now and I am in hpes never to be at home in the winter again for I should start south as soon as winter set in. I am sure to let you overhaul my trunk where I return and of course you will find something in it so don't begin to be disappointed before I come. I am trying to get enough together for to keep me in my old age as I have nothing to fall back on by & bye in the shape of funds or family but this is not my fault as the women all refused me. I am in tolerable health and spirits but getting old I am in hopes to get something out of the **Japan** but the prospect is very poor at present. But I shall know in a few days and then either go to Swatow or Hong Kong when I will write you again. If I don't get anything I am off down to the Islands again. Give my regards to Manuel and love to all your little ones and if you do go to Granby tell Mother that I shall be home as soon as I get money enough to come with and she can't expect me

to come before. I am in hopes Nelson is improving his place and paying in the rent yearly to Mother, as that would be a great help to her.

Should you see any of our folks tell them to write to me care of American Consul Hong Kong China.

Hoping this will find you and yours in the best of good health I remain your loving Brother

Crayton P. Holcomb

P.S. I direct this to Granby as I have misslaid your address in Brooklyn. So Good-bye and God bless you ever.

C. P. Holcomb

A2. Letter to his mother, dated Hong Kong 12 July 1875

Hong Kong July 12th 1875

Dear Mother

As I am about to leave her for a voyage among the Islands to last about eight months I thought I would inform you of my proceedings. I have [been] looking for the treasure lost in the Steamer **Japan** last winter but have not been successful, but on the contrary have lost about \$2,000 by the operation and consequently have got to go off on another voyage to earn some money to come home with. I shall not be able to write you again before I arrive in San Francisco so don't be disappointed if you do not hear from me for a long time. I have pretty good health and only want a little good luck to be home with you again. Sorry, I shall try to be at home on the 4th of July next year if I have the good luck to meet with no accidents. Give my best regards to all of my old friends and acquaintances and believe me I should like very much to be at home if I had money enough to stay there. But there is [no] use to be a poor man in Granby because the getting a living is too hard. I suppose that Tim and Nelson are joking along as usual and digging out a living but I cannot do it yet I don't know ehere to direct you to write me as I may not come back here again and have no place to tell you of where a letter would reach me. Hoping this will find you all in good health and spirits I remain, dear mother, yours as ever

C. P. Holcomb

A3. Letter to his mother, dated Hong Kong 12 April 1878

Hong Kong April 12th 1878

Dear Mother,

I received your letter of last year while upon the Island of Guap and was very glad to hear from you. The letter had been overlooked in the Coinsulate here which accounts for my not receiving it sooner.

I am in good health but that is all that is good about it. I have lost my vessel with all on board and am now as poor as I was when I left home. Had I met with ordinary suc-

cess the last year I should be on my way home now but as it is I do not feel like coming home as poor as when I left. I am going back to Guap again for another year as I can earn something there. Please write often as I shall get your letters in time. I was in hopes to have some money to send you but owing to my back luck in losing my vessel am unable to do so at present. I sent the vessel away under the 1st mate and since then have not heard from her. I am going to try and find her in a small steamer from this port. I am in hopes that in settling up Uncle Sherman's affairs that you took under consideration my claim that I paid Chauncey Holcomb when I took over the conservator's duties from him. As for Nelson if you wish to turn him off from the place, do so but think first of his poor wife and children and whether they should suffer through his neglect. I cannot say when I can come home but I am in hopes to surprise you some morning when you least expect it. Hoping this will find you and all the folks in good health and that you will write again soon I remain as ever, your affectionate son. Excuse my brevity as I am very busy fitting out for the next voyage and expect to sail next morning.

C. P. Holcomb

A4. Letter to his mother, dated Hong Kong 12 January 1879

Hong Kong Jan 12th 1879

Dear Mother

I arrived here on the 9th of this month from a voyage to the Caroline Islands and found your letter awaiting me here and was very glad to hear from you. I also received letters from Nelson and the girls. I have not time to write much as the Steamer sails today and I am very busy at present delivering cargo. I am in good health and was glad to hear that you were the same, I do not know when I shall return as there is nothing for me to do at home and the world dispises a poor man. I have some thoughts of selling the vessel. If I do I shall return to San Francisco and perhaps home. I see a chance now to make some money if I do not sell and so long as I can pay my way and make something it is better than being at home and spending what is already earned but as the mail closes in an hour I must close this. I shall write more definitely by the next mail and shall answer the other letters also. I hear that Uncle Sherman is dead. Did he make a will and f not what disposition has been made of his property if it is acted upon please see that my claim is put in, the amount is on the town records as it was entered there when I was appointed his conservator. Hoping this will find you all well, I remain, your affectionate son,

C. P. Holcomb

P.S. My love to Grand Mother, Tim and all the rest that inquire for me.

C. P. H.

A5. Letter to his sister, dated Hong Kong 27 January 1879

Hong Kong Jan 27th 1879

Dear Sister

Upon my arrival here I found several letters from home and two or three from you for which I am very thankful. I have been to the Pelew [Palau] Islands and on to the coast of New Guinea where the natives go nearly naked and appear to enjoy life as well as the fashionables of New York where the earth produces all that is required to sustain life without labor and where although it is sometimes warm there is never any cold to freeze a person where that fruit is always in season and is free to all. This is the land that suits me and I dread coming home to the frozen regions of New England to remain for the rest of my days although they may be few. I am bound on another voyage to the same part of the world and if successful this time I shall be at home next winter but if not I cannot come home poorer than I went away. I suppose that mine is a life of pleasure but you are greatly mistaken for if there is any class of people that work hard for their money it is sailors and they are not to be envied by the rag pickers of New York. I am very sorry to hear of the sickness and trouble that you have had to contend with and you can be assured of my sympathy, but unfortunately I am too far away to be of any avail during your troubles. I am sorry to hear that Nelson is in the habit of drinking to excess and am afraid that his wife may get discouraged and follow his example. You know that I have tried to help him as much as I was able and mother also which I have never regretted and when I was trying to make a home for all years ago, it was the greatest pleasure that I ever had to think that we all had a home to go to. And dear sister remember that so long as I have a home you are welcome to share it with me and if I have a meal you can share it with me also. I am in tolerable good health and hoping your affairs will improve, I remain as ever, your more than bother.

Direct to me at Hong Kong as before as I shall be back next fall. Give my regards to Manuel and all that inquire for me.

C. P. Holcomb

P.S. I open this to send you a photo. So good-bye,
C. P. Holcomb

A6. Letter to his sister, dated Hong Kong 12 November 1880

Hong Kong Nov 12th 1880

Dear Sister

It is with regret that I hear from the American Consul that you have been obliged to write to him asking for information about me. Had you sent your letters to me I should have received them as well. I have been living at Guap one of the Caroline Group for about 3 years among the natives as my vessel was lost with all on board three years ago last August or at least that is the last that has been heard of her. I lost about \$4,000 dollars by her and have been since trying to earn enough to make myself good; but have not succeeded yet, I should like to come home but what is the use unless I can bring some money. I want to see you and Mother and it is with grief that I remain here or

rather at the Islands. I am in hopes to come home at some time but when I can not say. I suppose that Mother is getting old and would like to see me, but circumstances are such that I cannot come now; I am going back to the Islands in about ten days from now and probably shall not return here for one year. But should you feel disposed to write to me direct to me Care of Blackhead & Co. Hong Kong and they will forward all letters and papers you may send as they have direct communications with the place that I am stopping at.

...

I have bought an island at Guap and have my wharfs and store house and everything complete, only I have not you and my friends with me but we can never get all we want in this world and must do the best we can. Give my best love and regards to all. I have written to Mother often but have got no answer until I thought you had forgotten me...

...

Your affectionate brother
C. P. Holcomb

A7. Letter to his mother, dated Hong Kong 26 November 1880

Hong Kong Nov 26th 1880

Dear Mother

It is with regret that I must inform you that I am about to start back to the Island of Guap. It has been my intention to come home for a long time but owing to business considerations I have been unable to do so. I have made some money since I have been out here but unfortunately I have lost a great part of it through the loss of my Schooner with all on board. This was a great drawback upon me as the vessel and outfit of trade amounted to about \$9,000 dollars so that I was left as poo as when I left home, as I had no insurance on vessel nor cargo. I have still my station with Dwelling-house and out-buildings and a limited amount of trade, say about \$3,000 dollars [5-6 words unreadable] this amount I shall lay out as trade adapted to the Islands and go back next Tuesday and hope to dispose of my place if I can do so without loo great a loss. I can get a very good living and very easy as I have no taxes to pay nor fashions to follow and the finest climate in the world. Such a thing as coughs and colds are unknown to me when there whereas in Connecticut I was very seldom without one. The only drawback to my happiness is that I am debarred from the society of my friends at home. I have been to the American Consul for letters from home but found none but was informed that Arlesta had been writting to him inquiring whether I was alive or not. Now you must recollect that at this Island that I am living on is not in direct mail communications with any place...

...

I am enjoying good health and, dear Mother, believe me, it is one of the dearest wishes of my heart to see you again as I know you are getting old and I begin myself

[to feel] the effects of age. Tell Nelson to write me; if he can't do it himself, tell him to get somebody else to do it for him...

...
Your affectionate son, although a rambling man, have always a thought of you lingering in my heart. Give my best regards to all and do not fail to write. Your dearest son,

C. P. Holcomb

A8. Letter to his brother, dated Yap 7 July 1882

Yap July 7th 1882

Dear Brother

Your letter of May 1881 came to hand in June of 1882 so that you need not be surprised, that you have not heard from me before. At the same time that I wrote to you from Jaluit I wrote to Mother and sent her a power of attorney. Do you know if she received that letter or not? I also wrote to Arlesta, and to Harry Holcomb, in New York, none of these letters have been answered. I have only received one letter from Ruth and one from Lydia Ann which was very kind of her. I would advise to you to change my address to Hong Kong again as my letters have been laying in Jaluit for one year and perhaps others may be as long there. Now direct to me in the care of Blackhead & Co., Hong Kong, China who will forward them to me, and while speaking or writing about matters please use a pen and ink in future, as a lead pencil mark soon becomes erased or effaced so that it is almost impossible to decipher what has been written. In your next please to give me all of the particulars in regards to the lawsuit that is going on and what the prospects are in regards to judgment; it is the greatest piece of swindling that I have heard of for years as I never received any value for the notes given to Matick. I was to have had one fourth of the Schooner **Scotland** and a bill of sale was made out to that effect and the vessel was fitted with this understanding but upon clearing from the Custom HOuse Mr. C. L. Taylor refused to have my name put upon the register or to have her registered in San Francisco at all; so we sailed under the old register from Gloucester although there was not one dollar of her owned in Gloucester at the time, but C. L. Taylor the agent, Sol Davis & Louis Matick the real owners all residents of San Francisco escaped paying taxes to the Government by representing the vessel as being owned in Gloucester. I left the insurance as security for my interest but Mr. Taylor not being satisfied with that also kept my bill of sale for the one fourth so that actually I never received anything for threse notes that Matick is suing on; Taylor promised to send me power to sell the vessel in Japan; but instead he sent it to some one else, and as the vessel was lost afterwards he claimed that the insurance policy had run out on the vessel and had not been renewed although he reminded me all time that I was sailing the vessel that there was six thousand dollars insured at 10 percent or six hundred dollard a year to pay and he looked to me to pay it out of the earnings of the vessel but as soon as the vessel was lost the insurance had expired now this shows, fraud upon the face of it. And furthermore if they were honest men why did not they not ap-

prise me that they were agoing to commence proceedings against me, as they had my address and could have corresponded with me at any time, but the whole has been done in a blind underhanded manner, for Matick and Taylor both knew that if I was there to bring evidence to refute them what they would not have an easy time of it in clearing themselves from the imputation of swindling and that Taylor has systematically swindled the government can be proved and why should he not do the same by me? But I hear he has failed in business since I left and he has my good wishes that he may fail again.

Please write all the news next time about all the folks that are gone to their long home and how times are at home; I am trying to get a little oof my property into such shape that I can leave it for a while and make a flying visit home even if I do not remain long I should so much like to see you all, and Mother in particular; but I cannot set a time as I do not want to disappoint you. Since I wrote you before I have been to New Britain, New Ireland, and the Admiralty Groups, I went as pilot of a German man-of-war as that was about the only way there was of getting back here and it was HERNSHEIM & Co.'s interest to keep me away as long as possible as they are in the same business here that I am. But I have got here and been trading nearly a year and they forwarded my trade last month in very bad condition so that I do not feel much obliged to them.

There is an English Schooner here now called the **Beatrice** owned by the Captain [Williams] and he offers to go into partnershship with me and ship our stuff to Hongkong and Europe. I have not made up my mind yet but I think I shall close with him. If I do so then I shall have facilities of going where I iplease and not be oblige to wait for HERNSHEIM who has not done according to agreement for the past year. This is a beautiful Island and good natives and a climate that cannot be beat by any place that I know of; there is no consumption here. I do not know what a cough is since I have been here no colds; can go in the very lightest clothing the year around and there is no law to compel you to wear any clothes unless your like. Give my love to Mother, and Susan and best respects to all that remember me & How is my old chum Pete Reed? Tell him to write; I should like to have him out here as I think this life would suit him. Look out for Mother and tell her this letter is as much to her and to let her know how I am as it is to you. Hoping this will find you all well as it leaves me (in fact I do no know what sickness is since I have been here) I remain, dear Brother, yours affectionally

C. P. Holcomb

P.S. Give my love to those \$500 dollar girls of yours and tell them the old uncle will come bye & bye.

C. P. H.

A9. Letter to his sister, dated Guap 29 August 1883

Guap Aug 29th 1883

Dear Sister

I received your letter dated last November and should judge you were well by the scolding you gave me. You appear to think that I can fly like a bird and leave here at any time and come home but you are laboring under a great mistake; I have my trials and tribulations here as well as anywhere else; and do not suppose that every day is sunshine with me here any more than it is with you at home. I do not want to alarm you or Mother but when I tell you that I have been laying upon my back for three or four months from the effects of a gun shot wound that I got from a native while punishing them for attacking a friend of mine and nearly drowning him, you may see that my path is not strewn with roses. I am not in a position to come home now as from various reasons my business is not so profitable as formerly and I have a great deal to attend to here. About the affairs at home I have heard very little and that from Harry in New York two years ago; at the same time I sent to Mother a full power of attorney to do with every thing that belong to me as she thought proper. If she wants Nelson to pay rent she can oblige him to or to leave as they may agree. I should like to have a letter from some one that can give me full information on the state of my affairs and theirs. I should know what to write to be done. That Mother is getting old I am well aware and so am I but this cannot be helped if it is in God's good providence that I shall be in circumstances to come home and see her alive. I shall be very thankful if not then his will be done. You complain in your letter that it is two years since you heard from me. I have answered every letter that I have received from you or any one else, you must remember that some letters miscarry I don't know what difficulties there are between you and Nelson but hope nothing serious you neither seem to speak very respectful of each other. You write me that you husband has gone to Florida for his health and I hear from some source that Nora is married. Where is Florence and the other of your children? I am in tolerable good health now and building a new house for a dwelling and store. Hope to finish in one month should like to have you and some more of my old friends here when it is done. Now you are urging me to come home all the time. How does it strike you if I should turn around and urge you to come out here? Do you think it would pay? Remember it is no further one way than the other. But cheer up, dear girl, we will meet again sometime and then we will talk over matters to our hearts content.

We have lately been visited by a British man-of-war¹ but they took the natives' part and punished the few Englishmen here for attacking and burning some of the canoe-house for the attempt made to rob and drown one of them; now if this is English law, thank God I am not an Englishman. They talked to me about it and no doubt would liked to have punished me but I told them I wanted none of their help one way or the other as I was none of their subjects, and they left me alone.

Give my love to all that inquire and let me hear from you son and believe me, your affectionate Brother

C. P. Holcomb

1 Ed. note: Which one? HMS Comus? HMS Lily?

A10. Letter to his sister, dated ... 7 October 1884

... Oct. 7th 1884

My dear Sister

...

last Feb ... not luckier that letter ...

the news you wrote there was ... do not blame me for that. How you so if it lies in my power to come home for God's and let the Islands go to thunder, this no doubt is very good advice from your pint of view; but let us consider the matter a little first. I suppose that I have about four or five thousand dollars worth of property if there was no incumbrances apait(?) in Granby but --- the Sharpers' frm S. Francisco and the Lawyers of Connecticut havenot hold of it I do not suppose that there is more left to pay the expense of a journey home. On the other hand, I have here in the Islands --- in goods about \$1,000 dollars besides real estate at \$2,000 dollars and a Schooner that cost me in money last April \$4000 dollars besides boats and other gear about Yap. And besides this I have station at Pellew Island with \$1,500 dollars worth to trade making a total of \$14,500 dollars, this not in cash but in property that must be looked after and taken care of to make it pay(?). I have no one here that can do it but myself; the schooner must be sailed and navigated to make her pay, or else she would soon run me in debt. 2nd., there are my stations at different Islands where I have European traders. These must be attended to at least once in six months or they will feel neglected or sell my trade and clear out with the produce. 3rd, there is my head station at Yap where there is plenty of competition so that if I am long away everything goes wrong there. We have some great roges out here as well as anywhere else 2ho will take advantage of my absence or any false move that I may make as soon or sooner than they would do an honest action. 4th I am used to this climate which is always spring or summer and to this kind of life which suits me much better than freezing six months in the year and having a cough all the time. Now which do you think would be the best for me to do to throw up my vesel and let her lie and rot or be pillaged by the natives and let my other property go to thunder or for God bake(?) (a gentleman that I am unacquainted with) to come home and be bullied by a parcel of Lawyers and scolded by you, to have I don't know what, this is a pecuniary view of the matter.

Now there is another side to look at, there is my dear old MOther to be taken into consideration and there is where I am troubled most if it was not for her Granby and the property that I have there might go to you or the lawyers or any one else that wanted it even to the Devil before that I would come back to look for it. But Mother must be looked after and as I perhaps am the best off although the least able to do so I will endeavour to do so before long although I want it distinctly understood that I never intend to lend one cent to pay lawyers who know nothing or else wish to keep the suit in court until the place is eat up by their fees and the expenses of court.

Now, I will write you the particulars about the note that the whole thing hinges upon. In 1872 Louis Matick of San Francisco was principal owner of the bark **Scotland** of Gloucester, Mass. a man by the name of S. Davis -----k at C. L. Taylor's office owned

1/4th and a man by the name of Babson 1/4th the latter person was living in Gloucester. Mr. Matick wishes to fit the vessel but for a fishing voyage to the Okoshk Sea but Mr. Babson would not consent to fit his part as the vessel had earned him no money for the two or three years that she had been sailing from Frisco. C. L. Taylor was agent for the vessel and I believe for Babson also at any rate. Matick with whom I was well acquainted and who knew me well asked me to buy one fourth of the vessel and take charge of her for a sealing and fishing voyage. I replied that I had no ready money and that I was not disposed to sell my property east to put into any vessel. He told me it was not necessary for if I could find any one with money to lend he would sign the note or indorse it for me and then take my note himself, he holding a lien on the vessel as security. I found parties to loan the money and our notes were given for it and a bill of sale was made out from Mr. Babson through C. L. Taylor, but never given to me at the last day or two before sailing Matick wanted my note of hand for the 1/4 of the vessel. I asked where was the bill of sale, he replied it was at C. L. Taylor's and we would go and get it. We went there and saw Taylor and told him that I wanted the bill of sale and also my name on the register as the vessel was now all owned in San Francisco. He told that it would be foolish to change the register at all as the vessel hailed from Gloucester she or the owner paid no taxes in San Francisco and she was off of the books in the custom house in Gloucester or in other words that the vessel paid no taxes in other(?) ports and I went with Mr. Taylor to the custom house and he assured them that the Government tax was still paid in Gloucester. Therefore it was not necessary to change the register to San Francisco. The next day I was to sail an insurance was effected and the policy left in the hands of Mr. Taylor as security to Matick in case of loss of the vessel and I should be unable to pay him. ON the morning of sailing I again applied for my bill of sale for my part of the vessel as Matick had my note for value received. I went to Mr. Taylor for the bill of sale but he then told me after showing me the bill of sale that he and Matick had concluded to keep this also as security as well as the insurance policy but that they would send it to me with power of attorney to Japan in care of George Lane Esq. in the fall. As my crew were on board at the time ready to sail I took these words and started on my voyage. Now one object of the voyage was to obtain a cargo of fish and fur and then go to Japan and repair and sell the vessel hence the power of attorney. I accomplished my season north and returned to Japan, shipped my furs to London and drew money against them sufficient to repair the vessel having been instructed verbally to throw all the expense of repairs upon the underwriters if possible. This was told me by Mr. Matick and consented to by Mr. Taylor who still is ---ed to act as agent for the vessel. I told them that I didnt need such instructions. I repaired the vessel to the extent of three thousand dollars and paid it out of my summer work. Mr. Taylor got a remittance from London on the skins and I sent him I believe \$1370 dollars from Hong Kong the first year I found there was no sale fo the vessel in Japan and I went to Hong Kong to sell my fish. The power of attorney was sent to Mr. Lane at Yok ha and I never saw it nor the bill of sale for my 1/4 of the vessel and therefore claim that as my note was given for value received and I never received anything for it that

it is a swindle from the beginning and the note was over four years old before that it was acted upon and a note expires by limitation in four years in California. But to carry on the story about the **Scotland** I sailed her for over four years with varied success, the second year more repairs and alterations used up all the earned, the third year better luck and remitted from Hong Kong about \$3500 dollars. I then had a chance to sell the vessel at a good figure and telegraphed to Mr. Taylor for instructions. He answered me to do what I thought best, so the sale was made and the money deposited in the bank and Messrs. Frazer & Co. were notified of the same in writing as they were Mr. Taylor's corresponding agents in Hong Kong. This was pending the receipt of a power of attorney or a bill of sale. In the meantime the Steamer **Japan** was burnt on the coast of China with a large amount of treasure on board and got a charter for to go with divers to try and salvage the money and every one in Hong Kong thought that had a good chance of success. Mr. Lyndsey of Freer & Co. informed C. L. Taylor of this and he, instead of sending power to complete the sale he wrote me that when he telegraphed me to do what I thought best he meant the best for all concerned and not for myself, and as there was little doubt that I saw a way to make money he would not consent to sell the vessel. I tried six months and then went away to the Islands but this time I met with no success and when I returned to Hong Kong I was obliged to draw money to fit her out for a fishing voyage. This I did with the consent of Mr. Taylor by Telegraph. When she was fitted I gave her to my Chief Mate Wm. -aler a man that had sailed the **Scotland** from Gloucester to San Francisco for Mr. Matick and sailed her about two years after her arrival there for the same parties. I appised Mr. Matick and also Mr. Taylor of what I had done so that they could effect insurance accordingly. The vessel was lost after obtaining a cargo of fish on the coast of Kamchatka and then I received information from Mr. Taylor that the cargo was insured for \$40,000 dollars but that the policy on the vessel had expired and that -- had no claim for myself I dont want--- as I had no interest further than my lay or share as Master whichnot -- was to of the net proceeds as can be prised by the articles of the vessel I hadar-- in Mr. Taylors possession on had souht to or the ---never received any share of the earnings of the **Scotland's** nor wages for the time that I sailed her from Hong Kong. I tried to make every thing as inexpensive as possible and live in fact I gave to Matick and Taylor 4 of the last years of my lifetime and now they claim that I owe them money. If the lawyer took money and rent in the matters(?) except to draw their fees they might have got all the information necessary from San Francisco to have thrown it out of court long ago if the property were turned over to them they would not be long in finding a way to get rid of Mr. Matick's very quick. Any way I am not agoing to throw good dollars after bad ones, nor will I earn money in the South Sea Islands, and sa speared and shot as I have been to keep a law suit running in Connecticut.

You wrote me that a lawyer would write me for information but I have not received any letter from the said Lawyer and I dont know that it is necessary as I have given you all the particulars here. This you can show the lawyer if you like to; if not I dont care, the place is not worth the trouble that you are taking aftrit(?) it and if it is --- giving you

as much as you say in your letter, why dont you have leave it alone and let them do their worst or best or whatever they please and be damned to them. I am on my way to Manila and may write again from there. O you wrote me that it had pleased the devil to take one of your worest enemies last Feb and Nora writes me that brother Nelson died at that time, I suppose you meant him; and if I should come home I expect you would be praying to the Devil or some others of your friend in the other world to take me. I thank you I wont come for any such purpose.

C. P. Holcomb

A11. Last letter, to his sister, dated Manila 6 November 1884

Manila Philippine Islands Nov 6th 1884

Dear Sister

Your letter of June 11th came duly to hand having been forwarded here from Hong Kong. I am very sorry to hear that you are all in such a continual strain of distress. I am sure that whenever I have had the means that I never refused to contribute to the comfort of all but now that we have all come to mature years and my circumstances are changed I cannot be in strict justice that I should be called upon with a cry of anguish every time that a baby cuts a tooth or looses a toe-nail. Cannot any of you help yourselves without appealing to me? You are continually asking me to come home, dont you think I would like to come? You appear to think that life with me is running very smooth and that I am having a perfect holyday all my life but I can assure you to the contrary that I am obliged to work hard and go into many dangers to get a living. For the first time since I have been here an I getting a little success and for to leave now and give up everything would be a great piece of folly that I would like to be you all is very true but it would not make things any better. With a little more good luck I may be able to come home next year but I do not promise. You do not write where Manuel is or if he is alive perhaps you are a widow. You write me that your youngest boy is 8 years old and the firl is 16 now, I went away to live when I was 7 years old and I never heard that anybodies heart was broken over it. Put the boy out and do the best you can with him. As for the girl she is old enough to take care of N^o 1. I am sure you didnt ask much advice from Mother at that age or if you did you dinot take it. You write me about the lots of trouble you have as though you were the only afflicted one in the world but remember that there is no one exempt and we must all bear them the best way we can. It was my intention to have sent home money to Mother from here but owing to there being no freights and a great amount of expense on the vessel I shall be unable to do so. As for the lawsuit I wrote you fully in my last what my conslusions were in regards to it. I leave here for Yap on the 10th of this month. Remember me to all and believe [me] as ever, your affectionate brother.

C. P. Holcomb

Direct as before.

Documents 1875B

Political exiles sent to Marianas, 1875-77 period

Source: AHN Ultramar 5222, various sub-files. Note: For the list of the 1874 exiles, see Doc. 1874H.

Summary of this file.

A total of 275 deportees arrived at Manila aboard the steamship **León** for transfer to the Marianas; this ship had left Cadiz on 23 November 1874. The ships **San Antonio** and **Yrurac-bat** had previously left Cadiz with similar batches. To carry 268 deportees from the León to the Marianas, the Manila Government chartered the steamship **Panay**, owned by Reyes & Co. The Governor General of the Philippines protested in many letters, telling the home government that it was undesirable to ship political prisoners to the Philippines. Some prisoners asked to join the Philippine Artillery for 4 years, and this may explain why fewer prisoners were sent to Guam than had been received in Manila.

In Letter n° 293 dated 7 June 1875, the Governor General of the Philippines announced that three Spanish deportees had died in the Marianas: Manuel Prefumo, Francisco La Rosa, and Ramon Chaves. In Letter n° 313 dated 6 July 1875, he further announced the death of three more Spanish deportees in the Marianas: Gabriel Tolodano, Diego Marín Fernandez, and Francisco Fernandez Cortés.

Beginning in June 1875, the Spanish Government began to grant some pardon to a few deportees at a time. Meanwhile, deportees kept dying off regularly, over the following year, while awaiting their repatriation. The logistical problems caused on the Philippine government by so many prisoners were overwhelming. Finally, in Letter 595 dated 4 April 1876, the Governor General announced that a few of the pardoned deportees had left Manila for Spain aboard the steamship **Buenaventura**. In a letter dated 1 May 1876, the Governor General announced that a few more had been sent home aboard the steamship **Victoria**. The latter men were to create a disturbance while crossing the Suez Canal in 1877. Meanwhile, back in the Marianas, still more prisoners kept dying; in Letter n° 673 dated 12 June 1876, the Governor General announced the death of José Mastrillo Delicado, Juan Prieto Martinez, Fernando (de) Castro, Tomas Suarez, Bautista Galtario [or Galsacio], and José Camino (Camacho).

Sometimes, the case of each deportee led to the creation of one file, and the paperwork became overwhelming. Some of the prisoners had aliases that further complicated

the reckoning. Micronesian history should only be concerned with the prisoners who chose to remain behind in the Marianas after being pardoned, if any.

One woman prisoner, named Catalina Fernandez García, born in Madrid, had been condemned for receiving stolen goods, not for political activities. Under Document N° 177 is reproduced a letter from the Governor General, dated 12 November 1876, relating an incident that she caused in an effort to obtain permission to be sent back to Spain. She was immediately pardoned by the Governor General, and this pardon was later confirmed by Madrid. N° 178, the names are given of 10 more prisoners who had died in the Marianas in 1876. Meanwhile, the steamship **Aurora** brought a few others back to Spain, and some others who had participated as soldiers in the expedition to Jolo died of wounds or sickness.

Finally, the Council of Ministers issued a general pardon on 20 January 1877, confirmed by Royal decree dated 5 February; most of the remaining deportees were to be repatriated within 6 months.

By August 1876, the Spanish Consul in Singapore was cabling information to the effect that former deportees were on the way to Spain aboard the ship **Gloria**, 590 of whom were aboard the steamship **Victoria**. The Gloria having become shipwrecked, the survivors were to be transferred to the Victoria. Some others who had remained in Manila on account of sickness were to be sent home later aboard the steamships **León** and **Cádiz**.

B1. Royal decree of 13 February 1875

Original text in Spanish.

Ministerio de la Gobernación.

Exposición.

Señr:

Los deseos que V.M. ha expresado á su Gobierno responsable de que se alivien cuantos sufrimientos deban su origen á sucesos políticos pasados, encontrando así alguna compensacion á las crueles exigencias de la guerra civil, que tanto contristan su ánimo, en los beneficios y en los consuelos de la clemencia, pueden ser satisfechos en gran parte sin comprometer los elevados intereses del óden público.

La necesidad de acudir á la defensa de la sociedad, amenazada de cerca, obligó á Gobiernos anteriores á apercibirse con medios proporcionados á la referencia del ataque; se realizaron numerosas deportaciones, y aun se encuentran detenidos gubernativamente en cárceles, arsenales y presidios muchos desgraciados, instrumentos los más de las turbulencias y agitaciones pasadas.

No cree el Gobierno que deba extenderse la espontánea y generosa clemencia de V.M. á los que sean ó puedan resultar reos de delitos comunes; pero aquellos que sólo hayan tenido participacion en sucesos políticos, de funesto recuerdo para nuestras ciudades, castigados están con la prision ó la deportacion sufridas, y los que sólo hayan sido envueltos en esas medidas generales por la triste necesidad de acudir á la salvacion

del orden público, ántes que á las investigaciones minuciosas de la culpabilidad individual, acreedores son á que se les devuelva su perdida libertad.

A proponer á V.M. estos medios de satisfacer, hasta cierto punto, sus sentimientos de benignidad y de olvido del pasado, no podia prescindir el Gobierno de los elevados intereses del orden, y ha tenido que mantener en ellos los principios esenciales de su política en esta cuestion ya públicamente consignados.

No ha encontrado peligro en que la clemencia de V.M. se extienda, hasta con prodigalidad, sobre esas masas populares que han sufrido en estos últimos años toda suerte de desgracias; que parecian poseidas de pasiones tan insensatas como invencibles, y que han recobrado su calma, y prestan el poderoso concurso de su laboriosidad á la obra comun de la vida nacional desde que han dejado de recibir el funesto impulso de unos pocos que habian explotado su sencillez.

No teme tampoco el Gobierno que esa benignidad alarme los intereses en cuya defensa se ejerciera la represion que ella suaviza, porque es ya notorio que no son los instintos populares ni las pasiones demagógicas los que pueden amenazar el orden en España, si á esa clemencia con las muchedumbres extraviadas se une inalterable y permanente energía para reprimir con mano fuerte la despreocupada ambicion de unos pocos.

Espero tambien que no necesitará acudir de nuevo al empleo de esa energía; pero si fuera preciso, el olvido con que V.M. ha cubierto las responsabilidades de los sucesos pasados seria una justificacion más para que el Gobierno hiciera uso, con inflexible rigor, de todas sus facultades.

Tales consideraciones, que son del dominio de la comun opinion, permiten el ejercicio de la clemencia que V.M. tan vivamente desea, sin lastimar por eso los fueros sagrados de la ley, ya que por ahora no se extiendan los beneficios de aquella á los que resulten justiciables por verdaderos delitos ante los Tribunales ordinarios, á los cuales deberán ser entregados para que procedan en la forma que corresponda.

En su virtud, el Ministro de la Gobernacion, de acuerdo con el Consejo de Ministros, tiene la honra de proponer á V.M. el siguiente proyecto de decreto.

Madrid 13 de Febrero de 1875.

Señor:

A L.R.P. de V.M.

Francisco Romero y Robledo.

Real Decreto.

En atencion á las razones expuestas por Mi Ministro de la Gobernacion, de acuerdo con el Consejo de Ministros,

Vengo en decretar lo siguiente:

Artículo 1.º Los Gobernadores de las provincias donde hubiera detenidos por sucesos políticos en cárceles, arsenales y presidios sin carácter de prisioneros de guerra practicarán una informacion para hacer constar el número y condiciones de aquellos, entregarán inmediatamente á disposicion de los Tribunales competentes los que resulten sujetos á responsabilidad criminal para que se siga respecto de ellos el procedimien-

to á que haya lugar, y de los demás darán cuenta al Gobierno para que este acuerde su libertad.

Art. 2.º Se extenderá la informacion á los deportados á las provincias de Ultramar que de cada depósito ó establecimiento penal hayan salido, y los Capitanes generales de aquellas islas darán cuenta de los que en ellas se encuentren, en la forma establecida en el art. 1.º para los detenidos, á fin de que el Gobierno acuerde su regreso á la Peninsula.

Art. 3.º Por los Ministerios de la Gobernacion y de Ultramar se comunicarán todas las disposiciones necesarias para la ejecucion y cumplimiento de este decreto.

Dado en Palacio á trece de Febrero de mil ochocientos setenta y cinco.

Está rubricado de la Real mano.

*El Ministro de la Gobernacion,
Francisco Romero y Robledo.*

Translation.

Ministry of the Interior.

Exposition.

Sire:

The wishes that Y.M. has expressed to your responsible Government for the relief of the sufferings that have their origin in past political events, that they could be excused somewhat by the cruel exigencies of the civil war, that has saddened your spirits, and could be tempered by the advantages and the consolation brought by clemency, and might be satisfied to a large extent, without compromising the high interests of public order.

The need to take care of the defence of the society, acutely threatened, obliged former Governments to adopt measures that were proportionate to the violence of the attack; many persons were deported, and some unfortunate ones who were detained preventively are still in jails, arsenals and fortified places, most of whom being mere instruments in past riots and rebellions.

The Government does not believe that the spontaneous and generous clemency of Y.M. should extend to those who are or may be guilty of common crimes; however, those who have only taken part in political events, that have brought grief to many of our cities, have been punished by imprisonment or deportation, and those who have only been subjected to those general measures through the sad requirement of taking care of public order, rather than through detailed investigations that might have ascertained their individual guilt, deserve to be released.

Upon recommending those measures to Y.M., to satisfy your feelings of benignity and, to a certain extent, to forget the past, the Government could not disregard the high interests of public order, and has had to maintain in them the essential principles of its policies regarding this question, already made public.

No risk has been found in letting the clemency of Y.M. extend itself, even in a generous manner, toward those popular masses who have suffered in these last few years all

kinds of misfortunes; who have been possessed by passions as senseless as they were invincible, and who have since calmed down, and now work diligently for the common national good, having abandoned the advice given by a few hotheads who had abused their simplicity.

Neither does the Government think that such a benignity could harm the interests the defence of which might bring repression rather than relaxation, because it is already well known that it is neither the instincts of the masses nor the passions of the demagogues that might threaten public order in Spain, if clemency toward these wayward masses goes hand in hand with a strong and permanent energy to repress the disproportionate ambition of the few.

The Government sincerely hopes that it will not have to resort to such energy in future; however, if necessary, the desire of Y.M. to forget the responsibilities for the past events would be one more reason for it to make use, with unflinching vigor, of all its powers.

Such considerations, which are part of the common opinion, may open the door to the clemency that Y.M. wishes so strongly, without compromising the justice that belong to the courts of law, now that it will not apply to those who should be truly punished by the ordinary tribunals for their real crimes and will indeed be prosecuted in the manner required.

In this wise, the Minister of the Interior, with the consent of the Council of Ministers, has the honor of presenting to Y.M. the draft of the following decree.

Madrid, 13 February 1875.

Sire,

He who kisses the feet of Y.M.

Francisco Romero y Robledo.

Royal Decree.

Given the reasons expressed by My Minister of the Interior, with the consent of the Council of Ministers,

I have decided to issue the following decree:

Article 1.—The Governors of the provinces where there might be some detainees, on account of political events, in jails, arsenals and fortified places, but not as prisoners of war, shall carry out an investigation to ascertain their number and conditions, immediately turn over to the competent courts of law those who turn out to be subject to criminal proceedings so that due process may follow the proper course, and shall inform the Government about the rest so that they may be released.

Art. 2.—The investigation shall be extended to those who have been deported overseas, no matter from which detention camp or penal establishment they had come from, and the Captains General of those islands shall report those who are found therein, in the manner stated in Art. 1 for detainees, so that the Government may arrange for their return to Spain.

Art. 3.—The Ministries of the Interior and Overseas shall communicate all the necessary arrangements for the execution and accomplishment of this decree.

Given at Madrid on the 13th of February 1875.

Original signed by His Majesty.

The Minister of the Interior,
Francisco Romero y Robledo.

B2. N° 218.—Letter from the Governor General, dated 30 June 1877

Note: Example of a letter announcing the death of some exiles who had died in the Marianas and aboard the bark Conchita.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Tengo el honor de poner en el Superior conocimiento de V.E. han fallecido en las Yslas Marianas los deportados peninsulares que espresa la adjunta relacion, esceptuando los tres últimos que ha ocurrido á bordo de la barca "Conchita" en su viage de las mismas á esta Capital, y de los cuales adjunto remito á V.E. las actas levantadas á bordo del espresado buque del fallecimiento de los tres referidos individuales.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Manila 30 de Junio de 1877.

Exmo. Sor.

Domingo Moriones

[A] Exmo. Sor. Ministro de Ultramar.

Relacion nominal de los deportados peninsulares que han fallecido en las Islas Marianas

Nombres

José Peyus Marin

Juan Vasquez Bermudez

José Humanes Gimenes

Salvador Aleman

Joaquin Bastidas

Jaime Miró Tunes

Pedro Manuel Castillo

Yd. á bordo de la barca Conchita

Joaquin Vazquez Gomes

Manuel Herrera Fernandez

José Vidal Esposito

Manila 30 de junio de 1877

Aguirre.

Provincias

Murcia

Cartagena

Sevilla

Alicante

Murcia

Castellon la Plana

Murcia

Granada

Cadiz

Sevilla

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor of informing Y.E. of the death in the Mariana Islands of the exiles from Spain whose names appear in the list below, except for the last three persons who have died aboard the ship **Conchita** while she was on her way from there to this Capital, and regarding the last three mentioned individuals I remit to Y.E. enclosed copies of their death certificates written aboard said ship.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 30 June 1877.

Your Excellency.

Domingo Moriones

[To] His Excellency the Minister of Overseas.

List of the names of the exiles from Spain who have died in the Mariana Islands.

Names	Provinces
José Peyus Marin	Murcia
Juan Vasquez Bermudez	Cartagena
José Humanes Gimenes	Sevilla
Salvador Aleman	Alicante
Joaquin Bastidas	Murcia
Jaime Miró Tunes	Castellon la Plana
Pedro Manuel Castillo	Murcia
Idem. Aboard the ship Conchita .	
Joaquin Vazquez Gomes	Granada
Manuel Herrera Fernandez	Cadiz
José Vidal Esposito	Sevilla
Manila, 30 June 1877.	
Aguirre.	

B3. N° 224.—Letter from the Governor General, dated 19 July 1877

Note: Giving the names of 4 more deportees who died in the Marianas.

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Sor.

Tengo el honor de poner en el Superior conocimiento de V.E. han fallecido en las Yslas Marianas, donde residian, los deportados peninsulares Juan Roche Llebano, natural de Cadiz, Miguel Bustemente Asensio, natural de Murcia, Felix Brabo Garcia, id. de id. y Miguel Saez Rodriguez, natural de Alicante.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Manila 19 de Julio de 1877

Exmo. Sor.

Domingo Moriones

[Al] Exmo. Sor. Ministro de Ultramar

Translation.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform Y.E. of the death at the Mariana Islands, where they resided, of the exiles from Spain named Juan Roche Ibane, from Cadiz, Miguel Bustamente Asensio, from Murcia, Felix Brabo Garcia, also from Murcia, and Miguel Saez Rodriguez, from Alicante.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Manila, 19 July 1877.

Your Excellency.

Domingo Moriones

[To] His Excellency the Minister of Overseas.

Documents 1875C

Protests by Germany and Great Britain against Spain regarding the Carolines

Source: Unless otherwise mentioned, AHN Ultramar 5352, part 2.

Note: About the voyage of the Coeran, see Doc. 1874K.

C1. Letter from the Minister of State to the Minister of Overseas, dated 21 April 1875

Original text in Spanish.

Ministerio de Estado. Sección política.

Exmo. Señor.

Tengo la honra de pasar à manos de V.E. traduccion de las Notas que con fecha 4 de Marzo último han dirigido, separadamente, à este Ministerio los Representantes de Alemania y de la Gran Bretaña y en las cuales el primero, con pretexto de unas contestaciones que han mediado entre el Consul de España en Hong-Kong y los fletadores del bergantin aleman "Corean" [sic] al ser despachado para las Yslas Carolinas y las de Palao, protesta contra la soberanía de España en aquellas Yslas por no aparecer sancionada por los tratados.

Ygual protesta y por la misma razon hace en la respectiva Nota el Ministro Plenipotenciario de la Gran Bretaña, declarando que no reconoce el derecho de España respecto de las indicadas Yslas, sobre las cuales nunca ha tenido nuestra Nacion dominio alguno ni debe ejercerlo actualmente.

De la circunstancia de estar fechadas ambas Notas en el mismo dia y de la identidad en el fondo de la protesta pudiera deducirse cierta comunidad de pensamiento entre los dos Gobiernos en provocar una discusion que serviria, tal vez mas adelante, como punto de partida para exigencias ó reclamaciones cuya indole no es posible fijar en este momento pero contra las cuales la prudencia aconseja estar precavidos para la defensa de nuestros derechos.

A este fin, ruego à V.E. encarecidamente se sirva dar las ordenes necesarias para que por los Archivos de la dependencia del Ministerio de su digno cargo se remitan al de Estado, à la brevedad posible, todos los antecedentes y noticias que V.E. estime conducentes à probar la soberanía de España sobre las Yslas Carolinas y de Palao.

De Real orden comunicada por el Sr. Ministro de Estado para su conocimiento y efectos oportunos.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Palacio 21 de Abril de 1875.

El Subsecretario,

Marqués de San Carlos.

[Al] Sr. Ministro de Ultramar.

Translation.

Ministry of State—Political Section.

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to forward to Y.E. the Notes dated 4 Maarch ult., that have been addressed, separately, to this Ministry by the Representatives of Germany and Great Britain. The first of these, under the pretext of an exchange of letters between the Consul of Spain in Hong-Kong and the owners of the German brig **Corean** [sic]¹ upon being despatched to the Caroline Islands and the Palau Islands, is a protest against the sovereignty of Spain in those Islands, on account of it not being sanctioned by treaties.

A similar protest, for the same reason, was made in a respective Note by the Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain in which he declares that he does not recognize the right of Spain with respect to said Islands, which our Nation has never held possession of, nor exercises any dominion over them at present.

The fact that both Notes bear the same date and basically use the same language may indicate a community of thinking between these two Governments, designed to trigger a discussion, perhaps in future, as a starting point for some requests or claims whose character we cannot predict at the moment, but against which prudence tells us that we should be prepared for in order to defend our rights.

To this effect, I dearly beg Y.E. to please give the necessary orders to the Archives that depend on the Ministry under your worthy command to remit to the Ministry of State, as soon as possible, all the background information and news that Y.E. judges conducive to prove the sovereignty of Spain over the Caroline Islands and the Palau Islands.

Communicated by royal order by the Minister of State for your information and timely action.

May God save Y.E. fore many years.

Palace, 21 April 1875.

The Under-Secretary,

Marquis of San Carlos.

[To] the Minister of Overseas.

1 Ed. note: Actually, the Coeran, owned by E. Hershheim.

C2. The German note

Official French text.

Notes: Such diplomatic notes were then written in French, the international language that continued to be used by European nations until at least the First World War. The partial text is taken from the article by Alfred Renouard entitled: "Les îles Carolines" published in the journal of the Society of Geography of Lille, 1885.

*A Son Excellence le Ministre d'État du roi d'Espagne
M. A. de Castro, etc.*

Madrid, 4 mars 1875.

Monsieur le Ministre,

*Par des rapports du consulat allemand à Hong-Kong, le gouvernement allemand a reçu connaissance que le consul espagnol dans cet endroit, au sujet du refus d'acquitter les droits douaniers du navire de commerce allemand **Coervan** [sic], dans les îles Palaos ou Pelews, a émis la prétension d'étendre la souveraineté et l'autorité douanières de l'Espagne sur le territoire supposé des îles Carolines, et spécialement des îles Palaos ou Pelews, tandis que jusqu'à présent ces îles sont considérées par le monde commercial comme n'appartenant à aucune puissance civilisée, et ont toujours été visitées librement par les vaisseaux de l'Allemagne et des autres États.*

D'après les principes généraux du droit des gens moderne, le gouvernement impérial ne serait pas en situation de reconnaître la souveraineté sur ces îles, réclamée par le consul espagnol à Hong-Kong, tant que cette souveraineté n'aura pas été sanctionnée par un traité relatif aux possessions espagnoles dans l'Océan Pacifique, dans lequel les îles Carolines ou Pelews (Palaos) soient mentionnées, et une occupation effective, c'est-à-dire une installation administrative, par laquelle l'Espagne aurait indiqué sa volonté d'exercer sa souveraineté sur les Pelews (Palaos), n'est, du reste, pas invoquée comme argument par le consulat de Hong-Kong.

Au contraire, il est établi, par des affirmations dignes de toute croyance, que l'archipel, depuis des années, a été visité, sans que personne y mette obstacle, par des navires de commerce de toutes les nations, et qu'à l'exception de l'Angleterre aucune autre puissance n'y a envoyé des vaisseaux de guerre. Il en résulte donc ce fait que sur les îles Pelews (Palaos), comme sur les îles Carolines, il n'y a pas de fonctionnaires espagnols, et qu'il n'y existe donc pas d'administration espagnole.

...

Le gouvernement espagnol [plutôt impérial] croit pouvoir espérer que la revendication de souveraineté sur les îles Carolines et les îles Pelews ou Palaos, soulevée par le consulat espagnol de Hong-Kong, [ne] repose donc que sur une interprétation erronée de ses instructions. Le gouvernement impérial m'ayant chargé d'appeler l'attention de Votre Excellence sur ce point et d'ajouter qu'il ne peut reconnaître pour les raisons ci-dessus exposées, le bien fondé de la réclamation de consul espagnol de Hong-Kong, j'ai l'honneur, au nom de mon gouvernement, d'exprimer l'espoir que le gouvernement es-

pagnol voudra bien ordonner à ses autorités coloniales et aux commandants des navires stationnés dans les eaux de ces îles, ainsi qu'à ses consuls dans l'Asie orientale et en Polynésie, de ne mettre aucun obstacle au transit direct des navires et au commerce des négociants allemands dans ces îles.

Veillez agréer, etc.

De Hatzfeldt.

Original Spanish version.

Note: Another translation was published in the Revista de geografía comercial (1886), p. 268.

Legacion del Imperio Aleman en España.

Madrid 4 de Marzo de 1875.

Por noticias del Consulado de Hong-Kong, ha tenido conocimiento el Gobierno Imperial que el Consul español en aquel puerto, con motivo del despacho del buque mercante alemán "Coeran" para las Islas Palao, ha manifestado la pretension de que la soberania del Gobierno español se estiende à todo el territorio de las Carolinas y en especial à dichas islas Palao siendo asi que hasta el presente han sido consideradas los referidos territorios por el mundo comercial como independientes de toda Potencia civilizada habiendo sido visitados siempre por buques alemanes y de otras naciones sin inconveniente alguno.

Conforme à los principios del Derecho internacional moderno, no está el Gobierno imperial en el caso de reconocer la soberania sobre aquellas islas que sostiene el Consulado de España en Hong-Kong, mientras no aparezca sancionada por los Tratados, ó cuando menos ejercida de hecho. No se conoce ningun Tratado, relativo à las posesiones coloniales de España en el mar Pacifico, en el que se mencionen las Islas Carolinas ó Palao y tampoco sostiene el Consulado de España en Hong-Kong que existia una posesion de hecho, es decir, una organizacion administrativa, por medio de la cual haya manifestado España su ánimo de ejercer la soberania sobre las Islas Palao.

Existe por el contrario la circunstancia, segun informes fidedignas de que este grupo de Islas ha sido frecuentado por buques mercantes de todas las Naciones y nunca por los de guerra, excepcion hecha de los ingleses, y es tambien un hecho notorio que en las Palao como en las Carolinas no hay ningun empleado español, ni por lo tanto ningun gobierno español de hecho.

El Gobierno Imperial, que por su parte en nada se ha fijado menos que en la adquisicion de Posesiones ultramarinas, vé con satisfaccion el que otros estados civilizados cifren sus propósitos en someter à su poder fértiles territorios hasta el presente desconocidos, para ponerlos en contacto con la civilizacion y el comercio del resto del mundo, y no formula ninguna protesta, cuando un poder colonial impone contribuciones que tienen por objeto subvenir à los gastos ocasionados por el establecimiento de una organizacion administrativa en dichas posesiones, y son un equivalente de la proteccion acordada à los súbditos alemanes. Considera por tanto un deber asegurar

al comercio aleman la libertad de sus movimientos contra restricciones infundadas, como sucediria si una Nacion colonial, alegando teorías antiguamente válidas, se declarase en un momento dado, dueña de un archipiélago abierto al libre tráfico y de hecho independiente, y pretendiese fundandose en los derechos que de aqui emanan sacar partido de las relaciones comerciales establecidas con grandes gastos, trabajos y peligros por súbditos alemanes y de las factorias por los mismos establecidas, creando impuestos, que solo pueden reconocer como fundamento los sacrificios que se hayan hecho y la proteccion real y efectiva del Estado.

Aun menos admisible seria la pretension de cerrar este territorio por una simple declaracion, al comercio extranjero; imponiendo a este para visitar un archipiélago que cuenta con mas de cien Islas, la obligacion de obtener una autorizacion especial de unos funcionarios situados a larga distancia y de tocar en determinados puertos fuera de su rumbo.

El Gobierno Imperial abriga la esperanza de que la pretension del Consulado de España en Hong-Kong, al despachar el buque mercante aleman "Coeran" respecto a despachar de las Islas Carolinas ó Palao, procede una mala inteligencia de las órdenes que ha recibido. Al llamar la atencion de V.E. sobre esta cuestion por encargo de mi Gobierno, y al manifestar que este no puede aceptar la soberania que el Consul de España en Hong-Kong, alega sobre aquellas islas, tengo la honra de expresar la esperanza de que el Gobierno de España comunicará las oportunas órdenes a las autoridades coloniales, y a los Comandantes de los buques de guerra, allí estacionados, asi como tambien a los Consulados del Asia Oriental y de la Polinesia, para que no pongan obstáculo al tráfico directo de los buques y súbditos alemanes con ó en el expresado archipiélago.

*Aprovecho &
Firmado Hatzfeldt.*

English translation.

Legation of the German Empire in Spain.

Madrid, 4 March 1875.

By reports made by the German Consulate in Hong-Kong, the German Government has been informed that the Spanish Consul at that place, on the occasion of the refusal of the German merchant ship **Coeran** to pay customs duties in the Palau Islands, has expressed the claim that Spanish sovereignty and the right to collect customs duties by the Spanish Government extend to the whole territory of the Caroline Islands, specially the said Palau Islands, whereas said islands have until now been considered by global traders as independent of any civilized Power and have always been visited freely by ships from Germany and other States.

In accordance with the principles of modern International Law, the Imperial Government is not able to recognize the sovereignty over those islands that is claimed by the Spanish Consul in Hong-Kong, as long as such has not been sanctioned by a Treaty,

and even less so when such sovereignty has not been exercised *de facto*. Indeed, there is no known Treaty regarding the colonial possessions of Spain in the Pacific Ocean, which mentions the Caroline or Palau Islands, and neither does the Spanish Consul in Hong-Kong claim that there is an effective possession, that is, an administrative organization through which Spain has shown her desire to exercise sovereignty over the Palau Islands.

To the contrary, there exist trustworthy reports, to the effect that this archipelago has been visited by trading ships of all nations without hindrance, but never by warships, except English ones. It is also a well-known fact that there is not one Spanish official in the Palau or Caroline Islands, and therefore no Spanish administration.

The Imperial Government, which, for its part, does not in any way intend to acquire overseas possessions, is satisfied to see other civilized states have such intentions to submit to their power some fertile territories, formerly unknown, in order to introduce them with civilization and open them to the commerce of the rest of the world, and does not object when a colonial power imposes taxes for the purpose of defraying the expenditures occasioned by the establishment of an administrative organization in said possessions, and in exchange for the protection afforded to German subjects. Consequently, it considers it a duty to ensure for the German trade a freedom of movement without undue restrictions, such as would occur if a colonial state, alleging theories that were valid in the past, were to declare itself at a given time, master of an archipelago that is open to free trade and, in fact, independent, and from then on were to lay claims on commercial relations that have been set up at great expenses, labor and risks by German subjects and on the trade stations that they have set up, by creating duties that can only be proper if they recognize the sacrifices already made and a real and effective protection of the State.

It would even be less acceptable, if this territory were to be closed to foreign trade, as a result of a simple declaration, for instance, imposing the need for a special authorization for traders to visit over one hundred islands from some officials located at a long distance, and to touch at some specific ports that are out of their way.

The Imperial Government believes that the claim of sovereignty over the Caroline Islands and the Palau Islands by the Spanish Consul in Hong-Kong is therefore based on a wrong interpretation of his instructions. The Imperial Government having asked me to notify Your Excellency of this point and to add that it cannot reconize, for the above-mentioned reasons, the basis for the claim made by the Spanish Consul in Hong-Kong, I have the honor, on behalf of my Government, to express the hope that the Spanish Government will deign to order its colonial authorities and the commanders of its ships stationed in the waters of those islands, as well as its consuls in East Asia and in Polynesia, to offer no obstacle to the direct passage of ships and to trading by German traders in those islands.

I take this opportunity, etc.

(Signed) De Hatzfeldt.

C3. Background information on the ship Coeran

Original text in Spanish.

Antecedentes de la "Coeran."

Habiendo publicado un periodico de Hong-Kong la noticia de que la goleta Alemana "Coeran" habia sido despachada para el puerto de Palao, en las Islas Carolinas, se dirigió el Consul de España en Hong-Kong al de Alemania, manifestandole que siendo las islas Carolinas uno de los grupos de que se compone el Archipiélago Filipino, parecia natural que hubiera intervenido en el despacho del buque dicho Consulado de España.

A esta comunicacion contestó el Consul de Alemania (el 19 de Agosto último), limitandose á preguntar si el Gobierno Español tenia algun derecho de soberania sobre las costas de la Nueva Guinea; y posteriormente, con la misma fecha, dirigió á nuestro Consul una nueva comunicacion en la que, despues de consignar que el buque habia sido debidamente despachado por la Autoridad competente del puerto, manifestaba "que no sabia que la denominacion de Archipiélago Filipino se hubiere extendido por el Gobierno Español al grupo de Islas conocidas con el nombre de Palau ó Carolinas, y que mal podia saberlo cuando ninguno de los mapas ingleses y alemanes de que disponia el Consulado menciona este derecho de soberania del Gobierno Español." "No teniendo tampoco noticia de que España hubiera tomado realmente posesion de las mencionadas Islas—añadia el Consul Aleman—ni de que esta posesion haya sido reconocida conforme á las reglas del Derecho de gentes, no puede este Consulado prohibir el comercio directo, que han ejercido hace años los alemanes con países que ni siquiera estan poblados de españoles, debiendo por tanto someter la cuestion á la resolucion del Gobierno Imperial."

El Señor Tejado contestó: "que si bien las Islas Carolinas estaban separadas del gran Archipiélago se hallaban, sin embargo, bajo el dominio español como las Marianas, y que las cartas geográficas no eran ninguna autoridad para resolver una cuestion de derecho;" acompañando algunos textos de autores de Geografía que reconocen el derecho de España sobre las Carolinas.

La contestacion del Consul Aleman fué que sometia á su Gobierno la resolucion de esta cuestion, y que renunciaba por su parte á discutirla, asi como á citar las opiniones de otros autores que contradecian las reproducidas por el Consul de España.

Y continuando dice el Consul: "Las Islas Carolinas que estan menos atendidas aunque las Marianas, y en donde segun la comunicacion del Consul de Alemania en esta residencia, de fecha 19 del actual se hallan ya establecidas algunos de sus compatriotas (que á manera de avalancha, se han repartido por todas estas mares) necesitan una vigilancia especial porque por su situacion impunamente armarse expediciones contra cualquiera de los puertos del Archipiélago de las Marianas, pero sobre todo contra Agaña, donde se hallan los deportados. Pero prescindiendo de este punto tan importante y que pudiera exerse un temor infundado, hay el de que no teniendo en ninguna de las numerosas islas de que se compone el Archipiélago de las Carolinas y Palaos, siquiera un

español delegado del Gobierno, se han acostumbrado á ir libremente muchos buques á hacer el comercio pero particularmente los Alemanes, y concluido por negar que aquellas posesiones pertenezcan á España, y los naturales del pais por no conocer apenas á los españoles, pues unicamente les tratan cuando hacen viages á Marianas.” “Por esto el viage de la “Coeran” estaba perfectamente meditado, pues parece que en Junio último fueron traídos á este puerto desde el de Tamuan (Formosa) algunos naufragos, que pudieran inferir, despues de muchas investigaciones que, eran naturales de las Islas Palaos, anojados por las fuertes corrientes. Este Gobierno los recogió y alimentó y se hallan aun en su poder y sea porque realmente conceptuase que los Palaos no pertenecen á España ó por causas que desconozco, nada avisó al Consulado y por consecuencia nada tampoco supo este. Pero los Alemanes mas enterados quizá, hicieron saber al Gobierno que habiendo de ir una goleta á aquellas Islas, podian llevarse los naufragos á la vez; de este modo tenian unos excelentes praticos para ambos archipiélagos de las Carolinas y Marianas y les persuadian que ellos y unicamente ellos eran, sino sus primeros al menos sus mejores protectores, puesto que les restituyan á su pais natal.”

Y resume de este modo: “Los Alemanes que desean á toda costa adquirir por estas mares una colonia, no hay medio que para investigar no pongan en planta; y como ademas en este puerto como libre, puede hacerse toda clase de comercio, pues todos los medios son licitos y no teniendo muy propicio tampoco, sus autoridades, celosas de que nuestra bandera disfrute en Filipinas el beneficio del derecho deferencial, se necesita ejercer una continua vigilancia porque continuamente hemos de tener cuestiones desagradables y por esto en el despacho que hoy tengo el honor de dirigir á V.E. emito mi humilde opinion encareciendo la necesidad de que aqui haya un funcionario de inteligencia y respetabilidad.

Translation.

Background information on the Coeran affair.

A Hong-Kong newspaper having published the news that the German schooner **Coeran** had been despatched to the port of Palau, in the Caroline Islands, the Spanish Consul in Hong-Kong wrote to the German Consul to tell him that the Caroline Islands were one of the groups that make up the Philippine Archipelago, and it seemed natural that he should have intervened in the despatch of said ship.

The German Consul answered this letter, on 19 August last, limiting himself to ask if the Spanish Government had any right of sovereignty over the coasts of New Guinea; and later on, on the same date, he sent another letter to our Consul in which, after declaring that the ship had been duly despatched by the competent Port Authority, he said "that he did not know that the word Philippine Archipelago meant that the Spanish Government extended its authority to the group of islands known under the name of Palau or Carolines, and that he could not possibly know this, when none of the English and German charts that the Consulate had in its possession mentioned the right of sovereignty of the Spanish Government." The German Consul added that "he had not heard either that Spain had really taken possession of the above-said islands, nor that

this possession had been recognized in accordance with the rules of International Law, that this Consulate cannot prohibit direct trade, that Germans have for years have treated with countries that are not even populated by Spaniards, and that he must therefore refer the matter to the Imperial Government.”

Mr. Tejado replied: “that, although the Caroline Islands are separated from the great Archipelago, they are nevertheless under the Spanish dominion, the same as the Marianas, and that the geographic charts are not any authority in legal questions,” and he enclosed a few quotations from books on geography that recognize the right of Spain over the Carolines.

The answer of the German Consul was that he was referring the matter to his Government, and that he refused to discuss it further, any more than quoting for his part the opinions of other authors who contradict those cited by the Spanish Consul.

And the Spanish Consul adds: “The Caroline Islands, though they are less looked after than the Marianas, and where, according to the letter of the German Consul at this place, dated 19th inst., some of his countrymen have already settled (as they have spread like lightning through all those seas) need to be watched closely because, on account of their situation, some expeditions can be made from there with impunity to attack any port in the Marianas Archipelago, but above all against Guam, where the exiles are to be found. However, even disregarding this so important point, there is the fact that, not having a single Spanish Government official in any of the numerous islands of the Carolina and Palau Archipelago, many ships have become accustomed to go freely to trade there, but above all German ones, and have concluded by denying that those possessions belong to Spain, and the local natives, since they hardly ever meet Spaniards, except when they visit the Marianas.” “That is why the voyage of the **Coeran** was perfectly premeditated; indeed, it appears that last June, there were brought to this port from Tamuan (Formosa) a few shipwrecked people,¹ and, after some investigation, they would have been found to be natives of those Palau Islands, who had drifted off on account of strong currents. This [English] Government picked them up and fed them and they are still in their power. Why is this? Is it because they think that the Palau Islands do not belong to Spain or, for reasons unknown to me, they did not inform this Consulate and therefore I did not know anything about it. However, the Germans, perhaps better informed, made it known to the Government that, since one of their schooners had to go to those islands, they could take the shipwrecked people at the same time. In this way, they got excellent pilots for both Caroline and Maariana archipelagos and they persuaded them of the idea that they were, if not the first, at least their best protectors, given that they were returning them to their native country.”

And he concludes thus: “The Germans, who wish at all cost to acquire a colony in these seas, do not stop at anything to find a way to do so, and since this port is a free

1 Ed. note: Some Palauans who had drifted there and had been taken to Hong-Kong by Captain Bax (see Doc. 1874C).

port, they can carry on any kind of trade; indeed, all means are legitimate and their authorities do not look favorably either on the Philippines, envious as they are that our flag enjoys a differential treatment there. We must always be on our guard to prevent disagreeable disputes with them and that is why, in the despatch that I have today the honor of addressing to Y.E. I emit the humble opinion that there ought to be based here an official with intelligence and respectability.¹

C4. The English note of 4 March 1875

Original Spanish version.

Madrid 4 Marzo 1875

Señor Ministro.

Ha llamado la atencion del Gobierno de S.M. Británica una reciente correspondencia entre el Consul de España en Hong-Kong y las Autoridades británicas en aquella Isla en la cual el primero presenta una reclamacion relativa á la Soberania por parte de España sobre la Carolina ó Islas de Palao.—Esta correspondencia ha surgido [debido a la llegada] á la Colonia de algunos hombres, que se supone son naturales de las Islas Palao y que se han visto obligados á arribar en sus canoas y al anuncio de que un buque aleman, el "Coeran", intentaba una expedicion comercial á aquellas Islas, el Consul de España manifiesta que los mencionados sugetos debian serle entregados como súbditos españoles e informó al Gobernador de Hong-Kong que las Islas Carolinas pertenecientes á España como parte de las de Filipinas, cualquier buque mercante que se dirija á ellas, debe primero tocar en uno de los puertos de aquel Archipiélago abierto al tráfico. El Gobernador rehusó admitir estas pretensiones.

Tengo el honor de manifestar á V.E. que he recibido instrucciones para hacer presente al Gobierno español que el de S.M. no admite el derecho presentado [pretendido?] por España sobre la Carolina, ó Islas Palao, sobre las cuales nunca ha tenido dominio ni debe tenerlo actualmente.

Aprovecho &

Firmado Layard.

Translation.

Madrid, 4 March 1875.

Minister:

A recent correspondence between the Consul of Spain in Hong-Kong and the British Authorities in that Island has called the attention of the Government of H.B.M. The first letter is a claim regarding the Sovereignty of Spain over the Caroline or Palau Islands.—

1 Ed. note: It appears that Tejedó was a trader and only an honorary consul.

This correspondence resulted from the arrival at this Colony of a few men who were supposed to be natives of the Palau Islands (they had been forcibly drifted with their canoes), and from the announcement that a German ship, the **Coeran**, was preparing an trading expedition to those Islands. The Spanish Consul pretended that the above-mentioned individuals should be turned over to him, as they were Spanish subjects, and he informed the Governor of Hong-Kong that the Caroline Islands belong to Spain as they are part of the Philippines, any trading ship bound to them must first touch at one of the ports of that Archipelago that is open to commerce. The Governor refused to admit such pretensions.

I have the honor to inform Y.E. that I have received instructions to advise the Spanish Government that H.M. does not admit the right claimed by Spain over the Caroline or Palau Islands, over which she has never held dominion nor must hold it at present.

I take this opportunity, etc.

(Signed) Layard.

Summary of the rest of this file.

Immediately after receiving these diplomatic notes, the Ministry of Overseas asked the Archives of the Indies to provide documental proofs of Spanish dominion over the Carolines, and also asked the Hydrographic Department for any manuscript or printed documents that could be used to clarify this point.

The latter submitted a short bibliography, that included references to Captain Wilson's "An Account of the Pelew Islands" edited by Keate (1789) in which, on page IX of the Introduction, it is recognized that Spaniards from the Philippines were the first Europeans in Palau. Secondly, they mentioned Fr. Le Gobien's "Lettres édifiantes" (Paris, 1701) in which was printed the 1697 letter by Fr. Clain, and the efforts made in the decade of the 1710s to colonize the islands, then those of Fr. Cantova, between 1722 and 1731. Thirdly, they refer to Captain Burney's "A Chronological History" (London, 1803) in which he refers to an archipelago discovered by Villalobos and Legazpi. Finally, they presented two maps: that of Fr. Cantova's Islands of Los Dolores (i.e. Uli-thi), and that of José Vazquez, pilot of the **Buen Fin**, made in 1773.

As for the contribution by the Archives of the Indies in Seville, it was extensive. Besides the covering letter reproduced below, there were mailed to Madrid, on 20 October 1875, one historical summary, made up of 38 folios, accompanied by two sets of documents, the first of which is a 78-folio file on Father Cantova, and the rest are extracts from the logbooks of the voyages of Magellan, Loaysa, Saavedra, Villalobos, Legazpi, as well as extracts from letters from the Governors of the Marianas.

C5. Letter from the Director of the Archives of the Indies, dated Seville 6 July 1875

Original text in Spanish.

Archivo General de Indias.

Reservado.*Exmo. Sor.*

En virtud de la Real orden comunicada por V.E. y de que se me dió traslado por el Ilmo. Sor. Subsecretario con fecha 7 de Marzo último, á fin de recabar de este Archivo de mi cargo, cuantos documentos á probar la soberania de España sobre las Islas Carolinas y de Palaos, de que han protestado el Representante de Alemania y Ministro Plenipotenciario de la Gran Bretaña, en notas de que se adjuntaron copias á la comunicacion de la citada Real orden; se procedió á la busqueda de los deseados antecedentes, tan detenida como scrupulosa como exigian de consuno el cumplimiento del deber y la importancia y gravedad del asunto.

Al comenzar la investigacion de las referidas noticias, no he creido impertinente tomar como punto de partida la expedicion de Magallanes, quien descubrió las Filipinas en 1521, dandoles desde luego el nombre de Archipiélago de San Lázaro que sustituyo despues con el de Filipinas en obsequio de Felipe Segundo; antes me ha parecido indispensable, no solo porque él abrió el gran archipiélago á nuestras exploraciones y conquistas sucesivas, y á su ejemplo Loaysa; Saavedra y Villalobos continuaron surcando aquellos mares y posesionandose de sus islas, hallando este último las Carolinas ó nuevas Filipinas en 1543, y mas tarde Miguel Lopez de Legazpi en 1565; sino porque no debe ofrecer género alguno de duda, que el Archipiélago Filipino, esa gran porcion de mar sembrada de multitud de islas poco distantes entre las que se encuentran las Carolinas y Palaos, fué descubierto por los Españoles; quienes desde el primer momento ejercieron en todo él como en sus islas dominios, más que por el valor y lo invencible de sus armas, por la influencia de la religion y cultura de sus costumbres.

Puede esto asegurarse conociendo á fondo la historia de nuestros descubrimientos y conquistas; y no abrigando propósito deliberado é intencion dañosa de alegar datos inexactos, quizá para llenar algun vacío que no pueda atestiguar la carencia de justificantes; ó de interpretar torcida y malamente algunos de los hechos consignados entre la varia y numerosa documentacion que puede patentizar los derechos de España.

Todos los antecedentes y noticias obrantes en este Archivo, relativos á la cuestion que al parecer intentan provocar hoy los Representantes de Alemania y la Gran Bretaña, hállame dentro del periodo de 1521 á 1734. Son la mayor parte de estos documentos derroteros ó diarios de navegacion algunos de ellos voluminosisimos. Se han leído con el mayor detenimiento y se han hecho extractos de lo mas interesante que contienen; los cuales certificados, tengo la honra de acompañar á V.E.

...
Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Sevilla 6 de Julio de 1875.

El Archivero Gefé,

Francisco Paula Juarez.

[A] Exmo. Sor. Ministro de Ultramar.

Translation.

General Archives of the Indies

Confidential.

Your Excellency:

By virtue of the Royal order communicated by Y.E., the official copy of which was forwarded to me by the Illustrious Under-Secretary on 7 March ult., in order to obtain from these Archives under my care as many documents as possible to prove the sovereignty of Spain over the Caroline and Palau Islands, about which the Representatives of Germany and the Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain have protested in notes that were enclosed with the above-mentioned Royal order. A search was made of the desired background information; this search was done as carefully and thoroughly as the accomplishment of duty required, altogether with the importance and gravity of the matter.

As for the starting point of the investigation, I did not believe myself impertinent by beginning with the expedition of Magellan, who discovered the Philippines in 1521, which he then named the Archipelago of St. Lazarus, a name that was later changed to Philippines in honor of Philip II. In fact, this seemed indispensable, not only because he opened the great archipelago to our successive explorations and conquests, e.g. those of Loaysa, Saavedra and Villalobos who continued to plough those seas and taking possession of their islands (the latter discovering the Carolines or New Philippines in 1543), and later Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in 1565, but also because there is no doubt whatever that the Philippine Archipelago, that great portion of the sea seeded with a multitude of islands little separated from one another, among which are found the Caroline and Palau Islands, was discovered by the Spanish, who, from the first moment, exercised their right of possession in the whole and part thereof, not so much by force of arms as by the influence of religion and the culture of their customs.

All of this gives us a deep knowledge of the history of our discoveries and conquests, and there is no way that deliberation or harmful intention could allege incorrect data, perhaps to fill some empty space that might prove the lack of proofs, or that might open the way to bad or twisted interpretations of some of the facts included among the various and abundant documentation that can prove the rights of Spain.

All of the background documents that are found in these Archives, regarding the question that the Representatives of Germany and Great Britain are trying to raise today, date from the period from 1521 to 1734. These documents are for the most part ship logbooks or navigation journals, some very voluminous. They have been read with great attention and extracts have been made of the most interesting ones. Such extracts, certified, I have the honor to enclose for Y.E.'s attention.

...¹

1 Ed. note: All of these documents have already been published in the first series of the History of Micronesia.

May God save Y.E. for many years.
 Seville, 6 July 1875.
 The Head Archivist,
 Francisco Paula Juarez.
 [To] His Excellency the Minister of Overseas.

C6. Other English notes, 1876 and 1885

Sources: Revista de geografía comercial (1886), pp. 209-210; S. Marengo's book entitled: La ficción y la verdad de lo ocurrido en Yap (Madrid, 1886).

Note: The original English versions were supposedly published in the Foreign Office Bluebook, in 1882. Apparently, Sir Layard did pay a visit to the Chairman of the Spanish Council of Ministers on 13 November 1876, and, the next day, sent the following despatch to the Foreign Office.

Spanish versions.

El Sr. Cánovas del Castillo se ha extrañado de la reclamación colectiva de Inglaterra y Alemania, y mostrado deseos de conocer los motivos.

Hice notar al Sr. Cánovas que el comercio inglés se hallaba establecido desde hacia mucho tiempo en las islas de Joló, y que el alemán tenta también factorías y representación desde época más reciente.

No era, por lo tanto, de extrañar que Inglaterra y Alemania no tolerasen los obstáculos opuestos á su comercio por la administración española. Hice comprender, además, al Sr. Cánovas del Castillo que las pretensiones de España á la soberanía de las otras partes del Archipiélago oriental no podían ser reconocidas por Inglaterra y Alemania, y le recordé que la nota del 4 de Marzo de 1875, entregada por el conde de Hatzfeld y por mí, había quedado sin respuesta.

Añadí que no había nuevas órdenes para continuar en estas reclamaciones, pero que tenía buenas razones para creer que los buques de guerra y los funcionarios españoles intentarían ejercer en las Carolinas derechos de inspección y jurisdicción, á los cuales por ningún concepto se someterían ni Inglaterra ni Alemania.

El Presidente del Consejo me declaró no saber nada del particular, y añadió que nunca España había tenido pretensiones á la soberanía de las Carolinas.

Para mayor seguridad logré que S.E. repitiese esta declaración.

Señor Ministro:

Tengo la honra de remitir adjunto á V.E. un Memorandum acerca de una conversación que medió en 1876 (el 13 de Noviembre) entre el Excmo. Señor Presidente del Consejo de Ministros y el enviado extraordinario Ministro plenipotenciario de S.M.B. en Madrid, relativamente á la libertad de comercio de ciertos archipiélagos del Pacífico occidental.

V.E. podrá apreciar que al final de esta conversación, de que Sir A. H. Layard dió cuenta al Gobierno de S.M. la Reina, al día siguiente el Presidente del Consejo afirmó

repetidamente que España nunca había reclamado soberanía sobre el archipiélago carolino.

Al recordar á V.E., por tanto, esta entrevista, el principal Secretario de Estado de S.M. la Reina para los negocios extranjeros, me encarga haga observar á V.E. que el Gobierno británico no acierta á comprender cómo el de S. M. C. puede sostener ahora una reclamación de soberanía que tan explícitamente había rechazado.

.Aprovecho, etc.

Maurice de Bunsen.

Memorandum.

Al final de una conversación que medió entre el Presidente del Consejo de Ministros y el enviado extraordinario y Ministro plenipotenciario británico el día 13 de Noviembre de 1876, respecto á la libertad de comercio en ciertos archipiélagos de Pacífico occidental, Sir A. H. Layard, recordó á S.E. que el Gobierno español ni siquiera se había dado por entendido de la protesta que él (Sir A. H. Layard) había dirigido al Sr. D. Alejandro Castro el día 4 de Marzo de 1875 contra las pretensiones de España á la soberanía de España en las islas Carolinas, y repitió que el Gobierno de S.M. la Reina estaba resuelto á resistir toda tentativa que por parte de las autoridades españolas pudiera hacerse para afirmar esas pretensiones.

En respuesta á la observación que precede, el Sr. Cánovas del Castillo confirmó categórica y reiteradamente que España nunca había tenido la soberanía sobre el grupo de las Carolinas.

Madrid 17 de Setiembre de 1885.

Translation.

Mr. Cánovas del Castillo was surprised by the collective claim of England and Germany and expressed his wish to know the reasons for it.

I let Mr. Cánovas know that the English trade had been established in the islands of Jolo for a long time, and that the Germanse also had trading stations and representatives but for a shorter time.

It is not therefore surprising that England and Germany would not tolerate the obstacles opposed to their trade by the Spanish administration. I also let Mr. Cántovas know that the pretensions of Spain to sobereignty in the other parts of the eastern archipelago could not be recognized by England and Germany, and I reminded him that the note of 4 March 1874, delivered by Count Hatzfeld and by me, had not received any reply.

I added that I had not received any new orders to push these claims, but that I had good reasons to believe that the Spanish warships and officials would attempt to exercise in the Carolines rights of inspection and jurisdiction, and that England and Germany would resist any such attempts.

The Chairman of the Council told me that he did not know anything about this, but he added that Spain had never had pretensions to sovereignty over the Carolines.

In order to be doubly sure that I had heard him right, I asked H.E. to repeat this declaration.

Minister:

I have the honor to enclose for Y.E. a Memorandum regarding a conversation that took place in 1876 (on the 13th of November) between His Excellency the President of the Council of Ministers and the special envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. B. M. in Madrid, regarding the freedom of trade in certain archipelagos of the western Pacific.

Y.E. will appreciate the fact that, at the end of this conversation, Sir A. H. Layard reported to the Government of H.M. the Queen, the next day the President of the Council affirmed repeatedly that Spain never had claimed sovereignty over the Caroline archipelago.

At the same time as I bring this interview to the attention of Y.E., the principal Secretary of State of H.M. the Queen for foreign affairs has entrusted me with the task of letting Y.E. know that the British Government does not succeed in understanding how the government of H.C.M. may now make a claim of sovereignty that it so explicitly rejected.

I take this opportunity, etc.

Maurice de Bunsen [sic].

Memorandum.

At the end of a conversation that was held between the President of the Council of Ministers and the special envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary on 13 November 1876, regarding the freedom of trade in certain archipelagos of the western Pacific, Sir A. H. Layard recalled to H.E. that the Spanish Government had not reacted to the protest sent by him (Sir Layard) to Mr. Alejandro Castro on 4 March 1875 against the pretensions of Spain to Spanish sovereignty over the Caroline Islands, and he repeated that the Government of H.M. the Queen was decided to resist any attempt on the part of the Spanish authorities to assert such pretensions.

In answer to the preceding remark, Mr. Cánovas del Castillo confirmed categorically and repeatedly that Spain had never held sovereignty over the Caroline Group.

Madrid, 17 September 1885.

C7. Spanish memorandum of 19 September 1885

Source: Revista de geografía comercial (1886), p. 209.

Original text in Spanish.

Las palabras que se atribuyen al actual Presidente del consejo en el Memorandum remitido al ministro de estado en 17 de este mes por el encardado de Negocios de Inglaterra, presentan, atendamente consideradas, distinto sentido del que se les supone.

Reconócese desde luego que era el asunto de dicha conversación la libertad de comercio en ciertos Archipiélagos del Pacífico Occidental, ó lo que es lo mismo, en el de Joló y en el de Carolinas. Trantando de esta cuestióm, recordó Sir A. H. Layard, según afirma en su Memorandum, la note que, de conformidad con otra del de Alemania, dirigió el Ministro plenipotenciario de la Gran Bretaña en 4 de Marzo de 1875 al Gobierno español, reclamando no contra acto alguno de éste, que ninguno había ordenado á su consul en Hong-Kong tocante á las Carolinas, sino contra ciertas tentativas referentes al comercio de aquellas islas, que al referido funcionario le inspirá exclusivamente su propio celo.

*A ellas y otras posibles de autoridades españoles aludió indudablemente el presidente del Consejo cuando se afirma que declaró que no se permitirían, como no se han permitido efectivamente después, á causa de no considerar el Gobierno compatibles con el **estado de hecho** en que las Carolinas se encontraban entonces, las exigencias de su consul en Hong-Kong ni otras semejantes.*

Hace ya días que sin la menor idea de que pudiera existir un documento semejante al Memorandum de Sir A. H. Layard, e xplicó el Gobierno español de idéntica manera su actitud después de las citadas notas de Marzo de 1875, en uno de los párrafos de que puede darse copia especial al encargado de Negocios de INglaterra, de la nota dirigida con fecha 10 del mes presente al Gobierno imperial de Alemania.

*Allí se ha hecho ya constar que el Gobierno español nunca admitió, por su parte, que ni tratándose del archipiélago de Joló, ni del de las Carolinas, se debatiera otra cosa que el ejercicio de su soberanía con relación á la libertad del comercio extranjero (asunto especial, según se ha visto, de la conversación á que Sir A. H. Layard hace referencia), mientras que ciertas condiciones de *facto* no estuviesen cumplidas por España.*

Nunca se manifestó tampoco por las potencias con quienes negociaba, la menor pretensión de ocuparlas. Necesiamente, pues, debió reservar el Presidente del Consjo en sus palabras, como se venía constantemente reservando España, el exclusivo derecho de ocupar como soberana los dos referidos archipiélagos, cualesquiera que fuesen las objeciones que hicieran al ejercicio de su soberanía las potencias con quienes, á propósito de Joló, especialmente, se hallaba á la sazón en negociaciones.

*La conversación del ministro plenipotenciario de Inglaterra con el Presidente del Consejo, que no tenía á su cargo entonces la dirección de los Negocios extranjeros, **fué una conversación particular, sin ningún valor diplomático**, que sólo podía darle á nombre de España el Ministro á la sazón de Estado, D. Fernando Calderón Collantes, y seguramente entonces se hubieran fijado mejor en ella, así las respectivas opiniones como los hechos.*

En este caso, tampoco el honorable Sir A. H. Layar hubiera dejado de leer el memorandum de tal conversación á la persona con quien la había tenido, según es constante costumbre, aun tratándose de materias mucho menos graves, con lo cual no hubiera sido posible ninguna mala inteligencia, de otro modo siempre fácil.

Madrid 19 de Setiembre de 1885.

Translation.

The words that are attributed to the actual Chairman of the Council in the Memorandum addressed to the Minister of State on the 17th instant by the Chargé d'Affaires of England, offer, when carefully considered, a meaning that is different than is supposed.

Nevertheless, it is granted that the subject of said conversation was freedom of trade in certain archipelagos in the western Pacific, or, what is the same thing, in that of Jolo and that of the Carolines. When treating this question, Sir A. H. Layard recalled, according to his Memorandum, the note that the Minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain had addressed to the Spanish government, at the same time as Germany, on 4 March 1875, in which there was no claim against any action on the part of the Spanish government, that had not issued any order to its consul in Hong-Kong regarding the Carolines, but rather against certain attempts referring to trade in those islands which said official brought forward exclusively on his own initiative, motivated by his personal zeal.

The Chairman of the Council undoubtedly made reference to this example and possibly others on the part of the Spanish authorities, when he declared that such actions as those of the consul in Hong-Kong would not be permitted, as in fact they have not been afterwards, because the government did not consider them compatible with the **actual situation** in which the Carolines were then.

A few days ago, and without the least knowledge that a document such as the despatch of Sir A. H. Layard could have existed, the Spanish government explained its position after the above-mentioned notes of March 1875, in one of the notes sent to the Imperial Government of Germany on the 10th instant, a special copy of which could be made available to the Chargé d'Affaires of England.

Therein was already mentioned that the Spanish government never accepted, for its part, that anything other than its sovereignty with respect to the freedom of foreign trade (as we have seen, the special subject matter of the conversation to which Sir A. H. Layard refers), not over the archipelago of Jolo or that of the Carolines, as long as certain **existing** conditions were not complied with by Spain.

It was never mentioned either by the powers with whom it was negotiating the least pretension of occupying them. It necessarily follows, therefore, that the Chairman of the Council, by his words, must have reserved for himself, as Spain had constantly reserved for herself, the exclusive right of occupation and sovereignty over the two archipelagos in question, no matter what the objections over the exercise of her sovereignty may have been by the powers with which she was then negotiating, specifically regarding Jolo.

The conversation of the Minister Plenipotentiary of England with the Chairman of the Council, who was not then in charge of Foreign Affairs, **was a mere private conversation, without any diplomatic value**, which could only have had an official character, if given by the then Minister of State, Mr. Fernando Calderón Collantes; had it

been the case, the matter would surely have been given a more correct basis, with regards to both opinions and facts.

In any case, the honorable Sir A. H. Layard did not at the time let the person with whom he had spoken read the memorandum of their conversation, according to custom, even for less serious matters; had he done so, a bad interpretation would not have been possible, something that can easily occur.

Madrid, 19 September 1885.¹

1 Ed. note: In 1877, the Spanish had recognized the sovereignty of England over the island of Borneo (their real purpose), and in turn England had recognized the sovereignty of Spain over the Sulu and Caroline archipelagoes. As for the on-going claims by Germany, see the 1885 documents regarding the Yap Conflict and the Caroline Question.

Document 1875D

The schooner *Rupak*, Captain Gall

Source: Russell Robertson. "The Caroline Islands" in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. 5:1 (1877), pp. 41-63.

The narrative of Mr. Skinner**"The Caroline Islands."**

Read before the Asiatic Society of Japan, on the 13th December, 1876,

by

Russell Robertson, Esq.

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The following notes of the voyage of the British schooner **Rupak** amongst the Caroline Islands have been kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Skinner of Singapore (part owner of the vessel), who was on board her throughout the cruise. They furnish a narrative which will, I think, be read with interest by many here, treating as they do of lands and people which are not so very remote from these shores. The Caroline Islands consist of several groups spread out in a direction from West to East, and measuring between those extremes somewhere about 2,000 miles, while from North to South they extend also for a distance of about 200 miles.

They may be said to be contained between the 7th and 10th parallel of North Latitude and extend from 134 degrees to 160 degrees East Longitude, and lie, to put it roughly, about 1,600 miles distant from this. In the course of this paper I shall have occasion to refer to some of the Philippine Islands and to the Mariana group, the latter lying between this and the Carolines. Mention will also be made of some of the Islands close to the Solomon group, to the southward of the Carolines.

The British schooner **Rupak**, Mr. B. E. Gall, Master, left Singapore on the 10th January, 1875, bound on a trading and fishing voyage to the Caroline Islands, and to the islands lying to the north of the equator as far as 154° E.

On the 30th January the schooner was off the Island of Gebe, from which canoes were seen to put off. When alongside, the crews were invited on board. The head-men were found to be Bugis, natives of the Celebes, and their language was Malay, while

the rowers or paddlers were Papuans. One of the head-men introduced himself as the Captain of Gebe and was anxious that the foreigners should go on shore. The invitation was, however, declined. These people had several sorts of fruits and vegetables and a few fowls in their canoes; they had also some wild nutmegs of which they said plenty were to be had on shore. Rice was apparently very scarce with them, and an offer was made to exchange three piculs of pearl-shell for one of rice, and though the offer was a tempting one, it was withstood as it would have been impossible to procure rice at any of the other Islands it was intended to visit. A little tobacco and coffee, gunpowder and percussion caps were given to the head-men; some vegetables were purchased, and in addition some seed pearls of good water but of small size.

On the 15th of February the **Rupak** arrived off the Pellew Islands and anchored in the harbour of Malakan. This island is said to have been purchased from the natives by the late Captain Cheyne, and the papers relating to the purchase are, or were lately, at the British Consulate at Manila. The natives also consider the Island of Errakong¹ near which the British ship **Antelope** was wrecked some ninety years ago, as belonging to the British Government.

Since a prior visit made by the **Rupak** to these islands,² it was found that the natives had been turbulent and quarrelsome, and had robbed three of the European traders residing on the group. It would appear that a representation was made to the British Admiral, who availed himself of the good offices of Captain Knorr of the German corvette **Hertha**, which vessel recently visited the CAROLINES to enquire into the above circumstance. I understand that, while at the Pellews, Captain Knorr called the chiefs together on board the **Hertha** and gave them a severe admonition in the presence of the Europeans, telling them that any future outrages upon, or robberies of, the white men would be most surely and rigorously punished.

The northern part of the Pellew Islands, from Corror upwards, is moderately high, and could with a more industrious class of inhabitants be made very productive, as the soil is extremely fertile. The southern portion of the group, with the exception of the Pillelew and Ngour, is uninhabited. The islands are, as a rule, small and of basaltic formation, densely covered with hard-wood trees, the cabbage-palm, etc. Pillelew has a little tarro land; but the root is small, and the natives of this island are dependent in a great measure on the northern islands for their food during certain seasons of the year. The bread-fruit, however, is more plentiful here than in the other parts of the group. The cocoa-nut is also abundant, and from its fruit the Pillelew people make oil and molasses which they exchange with the northern people.

The Pellew Islands produce *bêche-de-mer*, tortoise-shell and pearl-shell, the latter, however, of inferior quality and known in commerce as the *áblack-lipped*." The soil from Corror northwards is rich and produces a great many tropical fruits (most of which

1 Ed. note: Rather Oroolong, or Ulong, Islet.

2 Ed. note: Later on, while visited Melanesia, it is mentioned that the schooner had visited the year before, 1874.

were introduced by Capt. Cheyne) in abundance and without any cultivation. Tobacco of a superior quality is grown by the natives, and coffee could be raised with very little trouble.

The staple food of the natives is taro, which is grown in the swampy or marshy land, and the tending of which falls upon the women. Pigs and goats, introduced by H.M. ships many years ago, are plentiful in most parts of the group, and except under extraordinary circumstances can be procured cheaply. The only indigenous animal is the rat. Dogs and cats are found, but as the native names for them are corrupted Spanish words,¹ they were most probably introduced by vessels from Manila which came to trade here formerly. Two kinds of snakes, neither of which is venomous, are found here. There are also a few alligators, but only in one portion of the large island called Babelthoup. Green pigeons are very plentiful in the season; a few teal are got occasionally, and a small species of the flying-fish [sic] is also found, which is considered a great delicacy by the natives.²

The Pellew Islands are divided into several petty districts, each of which has its own ruler and staff of chiefs; but whatever may have been the case in former times, they have now very little authority. The succession of chiefs does not appear to be regulated by any fixed rule, and we generally find that those men whom we considered the most wealthy (from a native point of view) attain the highest positions. There are certain families which claim to be noble. Their nobility, however, procures them no privileges beyond the bare title, and they have to do their share of work and pay their proportion of the expenses that fall upon the community of which they are members. Polygamy is practised but to a small extent. Should a man have more than one wife, separate establishments are kept for each.

The Pellew Islanders have but a vague idea of a future state, for they believe that only those men who have been chiefs will be admitted to it. Every tribe has its own God, to whom all questions of moment are referred, the medium of communication in nearly every case being a woman known as the "Kaleeth," or God's wife. These women, by a rude sort of ventriloquism, manage to deceive the people and have a great deal of influence in their councils.

The natives have a currency amongst themselves, of which they are very jealous, and foreigners can rarely procure specimens of it. It consists of beads of various descriptions, and of which no account as to their manufacture nor of the material of which they are composed can be found, and the only way in which the natives account for them is that they came from the heavens. The most probable conjecture is that they were brought by the Arabs who are supposed to have traded here in days gone by.

1 Ed. note: No longer for 'dog', but the words for 'cat' are corrupted from the Pilipino "pusa" and the Spanish "gato."

2 Ed. note: This remark could be about the fruit-bat rather than flying-fish.

The whole of the Pacific Islands are being gradually depopulated; in the Pellews the principal cause at work is an epidemic which takes the form of a species of influenza. This, or a modification of it, appears from time to time throughout the Caroline group and sometimes attacks the Europeans living on the islands.

In the Pellews and Uap—an island close to the Pellew and known as Pillula kap,¹—there are institutions known to Europeans as “big houses,” which are also potent adjuncts to depopulation. The primary object of these houses is to keep the fighting men together in the event of an attack being made on the village during the night, the time usually chosen by these people for making raids on each other. They are, however, merely brothels, the inmates being, as a rule, those taken prisoners in the wars, those hired from other towns, and women who have left their husbands. There are many customs regulating these houses and their inmates which are unintelligible to Europeans; and on occasions all women, even of the highest class, have to spend some time in them. As a natural consequence there are but few people married. Of the married women it may be safely said that not two women in five bear children. Two or three children are considered a large family.

In common with most of the Pacific Islanders these people have solemn dances, generally at the conclusion of a war or feast; and there are also dances in which women alone perform, but they are rare and usually scenes of debauchery, great licence being allowed on such occasions.

The men all wear the *tappa*, or loin-cloth, common to the whole of the Pacific Islands, red and blue cloth being most esteemed. The women wear a kind of apron made of various leaves and grasses, principally from the Pandanus or screew-pine, dried and shredded out. Some of the principal families have the privilege of dyeing the dresses of the women of various colours; this privilege is much esteemed and encroachments on it are punished with a fine.

All the people are tattooed on the hands, arms, and legs, and a rude system of heraldry may be traced in this and in the decoration of the canoes of the chiefs and principal people.

Wars, so called, are frequent, and a settled enmity exists between the natives of the northern and southern portions of the group. Some two or three years ago, the King (so called) of Artingnal (the most important place in the north) married the head-woman of Corror. It was thought that this would have brought about a lasting peace, but this has not proved to be the case hitherto.

In former times the spear was the only offensive weapon, but of late years the natives have been supplied with fire-arms, and generally show considerable skill in their use.

The Pellews are sparsely inhabited by a race of less stature than the other Caroline Islands, with the exception of the Island of Uap or Yap, a small Island lying to the

1 Ed. note: Rather "Beluuchad" (from Beluu el chad), meaning "the land of man" or "inhabited country."

north-east of the Pellews. They are also darker in colour, although occasionally some of light colour are found amongst them, principally among the chief families. The men are lazy and do little else than fish, leaving the cultivation of the tarro to the women; and it is noteworthy that the women attached to the "big houses" are not allowed to work in the tarro grounds.

Great care is taken of the children, of whom, however, there are very few. At the age of 30 or 35 years the people commence to look old, and it is rare to find a man or woman above the age of fifty. There are several half-breeds on the island, descendants of European sailors and others who have taken up their abode in these islands. There are also descendants of white women and natives on the group though no account of how the women got here is extant; but as the natives are known to have attacked several ships about fifty or sixty years ago, the women were probably taken from some captured vessel.

The villages are almost without exception built at a short distance from the sea, the houses being neatly constructed some two or three feet from the ground, the roofs of which are thatched with grass and the leaves of the pandanus. In front of each house are seen the graves of deceased members of the family. The houses go with the titles, each chief in succession occupying the residence of his predecessor. In the centre of the villages there are paved squares in which consultations take place and dances are performed. There are paved roads through every village of the group, and when repairs are needed these are done by the community, any person absenting himself being fined. In front of every village of importance are large sea-walls or piers built out on to reefs, and some of these are apparently very ancient.

That at Corror, the most important of the towns, is very substantially built of stone and coral and in about a quarter of a mile long. The "big houses" before mentioned are also substantially built of hard wood and are well thatched, being from sixty to seventy feet long, and from twelve to fifteen broad. In these buildings the cross-beams and supports are rudely carved in relief, which carvings record the history of the people, and purport to chronicle any remarkable occurrence. There are, however, but few of the natives who can explain them.

The language of the Pellews is idiomatic and apparently difficult of acquirement by Europeans. A sufficient knowledge for trading purposes is, however, soon obtained.

From the Pellews the schooner **Rupak** shaped her course to the Matelotas [Ngulu]. These will be observed on the map to be a group to the eastward and northward of the Pellews, but still to the southward of the island of Uap previously mentioned. The Matelotas are also known under the name of the Gulus, and are inhabited by a few light-complexioned people resembling the other Caroline Islanders. Some six or seven years ago this group, and the neighbouring one of the Mackenzies [Ulithi], almost due north of the Matelotas, were all but entirely swept away by a severe cyclone which destroyed nearly the whole of the cocoa-nut palms,—the fruit of which, with fish, is the only food of the natives.

The Mackenzie group is also sparsely peopled by a light-coloured race. On one of these islands the Jesuit father CANTOVA was killed, and the few natives remaining still look for his return, thinking that he will restore the islands to their original state.

The Uap group, lying between the Matelotas and the Mackenzies, consist of three principal islands, which are comparatively high, and are thickly inhabited by a people similar in appearance to those of the Pellews; their manners and custom also in a great measure resemble those of the Pellew natives, but they are, however, a superior class of men and far more industrious. They cultivate large quantities of yams and sweet potatoes, tobacco and some of the tropical fruits. The whole of the coast is thickly planted with cocoa-nut palms and a large quantity of *coppra is produced annually*; *coppra* being, I may mention, the dried fruit of the cocoa-nut. The reefs surrounding the group formerly furnished *bêche-de-mer*, but at present only a very little can be procured. Pigs are plentiful, and there is also a kind of half domesticated fowl which can be procured cheaply. Deer and goats are seen, but the natives do not protect them, as they destroy their plantations.¹ The rat appears to be the only indigenous animal, and the large edible *iguana* is found in the jungle, but is protected by the natives, who regard it as sacred. The money of these people consists of large worked pieces (in the shape of a mill stone) of a semi-transparent spar, which is procured from the Pellew Islands and esteemed very highly; its principal uses are to pay war indemnities and the funeral expenses of the chiefs. Pearl-shell of large size is greatly valued and much sought after, and vessels trading in this group can supply themselves with a considerable quantity of provisions for a few pieces of pearl-shell.

Until of late years these people have borne a very bad character, in consequence of their having boarded and captured several vessels from Manila and murdered their crews. Now, however, they are generally well disposed towards Europeans, of whom there are nearly always three or four living on the group. The government is similar to that of the Pellews, but the natives acknowledge one supreme chief. This office appears to be hereditary, and the present holder of it is a young man very well disposed towards Europeans, to whom it is customary for all trading vessels to make some trifling present. In Uap, as a rule, the chiefs appear to have considerable authority, and the absolute control of life and death.

The people have a few fire-arms in their possession, but they are not skilful in the use of them, preferring the spear, in the handling of which they are very expert. Their wars are conducted with energy, and a single battle (so called) is generally decisive.

The dress of the Uap natives is somewhat like that of the Pellew Islanders; the women wear petticoats made of leaves and grasses reaching to the ankle, the men wear the *tappa*, with the addition of bunches of bark of the bread-fruit and other trees. Tattooing is practised by them—the pattern and figures being more elaborate than those of the Pellew people.

1 Ed. note: Deer and goats must have been recently brought from Guam, perhaps by Chamorros, such as Mrs. Holcomb, aboard the Arabia.

Uap is about 108 miles from the Pellews. Until recently the inhabitants travelled across to the Pellews in their canoes, many of which were lost annually. Recently, however, the number of European vessels trading to these islands has been greater than formerly, and passages are readily granted to the islanders to and from Uap to the Pellews, where they dig out and fashion what serves to them as a currency, the vessels returning and picking them up a few months later.

The German corvette **Hertha** called at this group.¹ It happened that a few days before her arrival an Englishman trading on these islands for the Hamburg firm of Godefroi and Sons was robbed and roughly handled by the natives of the northern portion of the group. Captain Knorr, of the **Hertha**, sent for the chiefs, but all the natives young and old hid themselves in the jungle, and it was three days before he could get any of them to come before him, and then only by dint of threats. He made them restore the stolen property and fined them a quantity of *coppra*, telling them that any further outrages on Europeans would be severely punished.

On the 28th March the schooner called at Ulleai [Woleai], which is a group of low coral islands almost surrounded by reefs. There is an Englishman living on this group who informed those on board the schooner that a Spanish man-of-war² had been there shortly before, the crew of which had cut down half the bread-fruit trees and a large number of cocoa-nut trees, and that the people were consequently starving and dying at the rate of five and six a day. The commander of the vessel also ordered Williams, the Englishman above referred to, to haul down a flag that he kept hoisted there, and on his refusing to do so a boat's crew was sent on shore to pull the flag down. The commander then gave the natives a Spanish flag and took them to allow no other to be hoisted, but on the departure of the vessel the natives killed the man who had piloted her in and burnt the Spanish flag.

At the time of the **Rupak's** visit to Ouellai, the epidemic above alluded to was raging. This, together with the scarcity of food, was making great havoc among the people, and Williams, the Englishman, stated that he did not expect more than half the natives would survive. They are a fine, well-made race, good featured, light in colour, and are most harmless and inoffensive. This group has at one time been thickly inhabited and there are remains of piers and breakwaters similar to those found in the Pellews. The dress of the natives consists of a species of fine mat which they weave from the fibre of the pandanus. This group produces nothing but cocoa-nuts, which with fish is the sole food of the natives.

On the 31st March the schooner hove to off Evalouk [Ifaluk] and several canoes came alongside. There is nothing to remark about these islands; they are low and of

1 Ed. note: Since this ship visited the Carolines many months after the Rupak, this paragraph must be an addition to the story made by Robertson.

2 Ed. note: None of the Spanish ships that visited Guam in 1874 or 1875 are known to have visited Woleai. This story may have been invented by the local white resident.

coral formation, producing nothing but the cocoa-nut. The natives traded off flying-fish against tobacco. They are a tall, handsome race, of light colour, their bodies being closely tattooed all over, their dress being the same as that of the Ulleai people.

On the 14th April the schooner anchored in the Hogoleu [Chuuk] group under the Island of Tol. The inhabitants of this group have always had a bad reputation, and in 1872 Captain Simpson, of H.M.S. *Blanche*, had occasion to administer a pretty severe chastisement to them. A few canoes came off, but brought only a small quantity of bananas and cocoa-nuts, for which they wanted tobacco. The natives are slightly built, but tall and of fair complexion. Their canoes are very rudely made, when compared with those of their neighbours to the westward, and everything about them seemed to point to a lower type of civilization.

This group is inhabited by two distinct races of people, that to the westward as described above, while to the eastward they are more like Papuans or Negroes, having woolly hair and dark complexions. These two tribes are continually at war with each other, and their notorious inhospitality to strangers is the reason that so little is known of the group; one of the most important in size in the Caroline range. The larger islands exhibited much high land, but very little signs of cultivation were seen. The houses are built on the summit of the hills, which fact is of itself sufficient evidence of the predatory nature of the people. Tortoise-shell can be procured in this group, but only in small quantities. *Bêche-de-mer* is found on the northern group, but fishing would not be remunerative while the natives continue so hostile.

The schooner remained at this group three days, during which time large canoes full of men were seen passing to and fro; and as, from the treacherous nature of the people, apprehensions of an attack were entertained, it was determined to leave, although all the people who came on board had their faces smeared over with red turmeric, the use of which root is an emblem of peace, or of peaceful intentions in the Pacific. The much valued orange cowrie is found here, but none were procured.

On the 19th April the Namalouk [Namoluk] Islands were sighted, but as they were surrounded by a barrier reef it was found to be impossible to enter the lagoon. These islands are covered with cocoa-nut trees and are of the usual low coral formation. The natives do not bear a very good character, no canoes coming off, which is in itself a bad sign.

Leaving Namalouk, the schooner was steered for the Mortlock Islands, which were reached on the 30th [rather 20th] April. Although in former years the inhabitants of these islands bore a bad character, they are at present a most harmless and inoffensive race. The Mortlocks consist of three groups, all of low coral formation and thinly inhabited. At the time of the **Rupak**'s visit the cocoa-nut crop had failed and the people were very badly off for food. Fish is scarce here, which is seldom the case in the Pacific. A native of Pornapite [Pohnpei], or Ascension, is living in the Soatone [Satawan] por-

tion of this group in the capacity of missionary teacher, and there is also an European living on one of the islands.

Shortly after the schooner anchored, a chief came on board and made a statement to the effect that a vessel had been there some three years previously and had taken away about forty men and women. Probably reference was made to a German vessel which is reported to have taken away some of the inhabitants of these islands to Samoa, to work on the cotton plantations there. The people of the group are well built and fair in colour, but of smaller stature than those to the westward. They have a few taro patches, but these were apparently neglected and seemed to produce but little, and their habitations are nothing more than miserable huts with a hole at one end for ingress and egress. The people were shy; the dress is similar to that worn on the Ulleai group. *Bêche-de-mer* was found in the lagoon, but not in large quantities.

On the 27th April the **Rupak** anchored in the lagoon at Nongoura [Nukuoro], being the first foreign vessel that had ever visited there.¹ Nongoura is a small group of low coral islands about five miles in breadth. The people of this group are without exception the finest-looking, and most friendly and hospitable of all met with in the course of the schooner's cruise,² and as the vessel remained there about a month, there was ample opportunity of testing their good qualities.

The islands, however, are very poor, producing nothing but cocoa-nut and a little *brack* (a kind of root). Pearl-shell of a quality superior to that usually found in the Carolines was formerly to be got here, but the supply is exhausted. *Bêche-de-mer* is obtainable in small quantities only, but of a very superior description.

A Dane was living on this group at the time of the **Rupak's** visit, and confirmed the good opinion formed of the natives. There were only about one hundred and forty or fifty inhabitants on the group, and it seems probable that in the course of sixty or seventy years they will be almost extinct. These people have some knowledge of the division of time and of days and years; they have also a form of religion, and a temple in which are some rude carved images. The chief priest is never allowed to leave his house except on extraordinary occasions, but the arrival of the **Rupak** in the lagoon was looked upon as one, and he was allowed to go on board. The number of rats on these islands is almost beyond belief, and they are so tame that when the people are eating they come and sit round them waiting for any morsels that fall. The houses are built without sides, being merely roofed, and the supports are carefully smoothed down to prevent the rats climbing up and eating the provisions which are stored away on shelves above.

The chief personage on this group is always a woman, and the honour is hereditary. The islands were left with regret, the kindness of the natives having endeared them to all on board, and standing out in marked contrast to the behaviour of the other Caroline Islanders.

1 Ed. note: Inside the lagoon, that is.

2 Ed. note: They are Polynesian in origin.

From Nongoura the schooner made for the Greenwich [Kapingamarangi] Islands. On the 24th May the schooner anchored in a lagoon of considerable size and under the lee of a small island. The group was found to consist of about thirty low coral islands, on most of which were plenty of cocoa-nut palms and bread-fruit trees. Shortly after anchoring, a canoe with twelve men approached the vessel; they appeared very much frightened, and it was with great difficulty that they were ultimately induced to come alongside. A few beads and some tobacco were given them, but they did not seem to know much about either.

These people appeared to be of an entirely different race to any that had hitherto been met with, the men being well built but shorter than most of the other Caroline Islanders. They wear their hair very short, use no description of ornament whatever and are not tattooed. The women have their heads shaved close and are dressed in mats which they wear tied round the waist. The islands produce a little taro and brack, but the principal food of the people is the cocoa-nut, of which they have several varieties. No iron implements were seen in use amongst them, and no weapons, with the exception of a small javelin used for striking fish, the chisels with which they fashion their canoes and paddles, and shape wood for building purposes, being made from the shell of the *kima*. There are not more than two hundred inhabitants on the group. More consideration appears to be shown to the women here than to those in most of the Pacific Islands, and the people are hospitable. The **Rupak** remained at the Greenwich Islands about a month, and then endeavoured to go to the Paed Islands, but was prevented by adverse winds and strong currents.¹

...
[The schooner went next to the Kaans Island (near the east coast of New Ireland), then coasted northwest along New Ireland without stopping, passing by the Gerrit Denys and Fishers Islands, then along the shores of New Hanover, then to the Portland Islands. On 13 July, the schooner was at La Vandola, then they went southward and arrived the next day at the Island of Jesu Maria to the eastward of the Admiralty group. Then they got into a fight, and their Yapese sailors on board participated, as follows.]

...
[28 Yapese sailors killed at Admiralty Island]

Still steering westward, some islands supposed to be the San Miguel group were made the same afternoon,² but their position did not, however, agree with that given on the chart. Several canoes came off, the natives seeming very friendly and helping to work the vessel through the reef. At 6 p.m., the canoes were sent away and watches were set for the night, but before daylight the next morning several canoes were seen coming from different parts of the group, and at 7 a.m. a large number were alongside, though

1 Ed. note: The word Paed is a puzzle; perhaps a part of the Solomon Islands.

2 Ed. note: The atoll to the south of Jesu Maria, it appears.

as women and children were in several of them, it was supposed they were inclined to be friendly. The anchorage not being considered safe, the mate went away in the long boat to look for a better one. While he was sounding close in shore, a large number of natives came on to the beach threatening him with spears, and shortly after three large canoes came out and endeavoured to cut the boat off. A few rifle shots were fired over their heads which caused them to retreat, and the boat got safely back to the ship, where preparations were at once made to resist the attack which was imminent and which it was impossible to avoid, as it was a dead calm and way could not be got on the vessel. The canoes now came down upon the schooner in force, but fire was opened upon them, which compelled a retreat. Subsequently, and during the confusion, the natives from the Island of Yap who were on board the schooner got very excited, and taking to the boats, with rifles and spears, went in chase, but unfortunately fell into an ambush a short distance from the ship and were all of them (28) killed. Not having any boats left, they were completely helpless on board the schooner, having only a few natives remaining,¹ the crew (Chinese) being all sick; a volley was fired into the village, doing apparently but little damage, and shortly afterwards the canoes were again seen making to the ship in greater force than before. At this time a slight breeze sprang up, and by its aid the schooner managed to get clear outside the reef, when the wind again died away; and although the canoes still followed, when they found the schooner was clear of the reef, they desisted from pursuit. There is reason for fearing that but a short time previous to this, some foreign vessel, must have fallen into their hands, as European sawn planks, rope and carpenter's tools were seen to be in the possession of the natives, many of whom were also decorated with foreign-made buttons.

The canoes of this people are large and substantially built, and capable of carrying from 40 to 50 men, being outrigged on one side, with a fighting stage on the other. As they all carried fire-places and had appliances for rigging a sort of cabin or protection against the weather, it seems probable that the natives are accustomed to go long distances in them. All the canoes that were alongside the schooner before the attack were well furnished with provisions, large fish, yams, roast pork and various fruits. They had also large bundles of short javelins, headed with a sort of obsidian or volcanic glass, or a species of flint, which they kept concealed in the bottoms of their canoes.

The people use the betel nut and *piri* leaf. The lime is carried in a gourd, is used dry and is conveyed to the mouth by means of an ebony stick. The tow or three villages that were seen appeared to be of small extent, built upon piles and surrounded by a stockade. While the attack lasted, and indeed for some time afterwards, a loud noise of tom-toms was heard, but none were seen in the canoes.

The **Rupak** now rounded the eastern coast of the Island Jesu Maria before alluded to, and several low islands densely covered with cocoa-nut palm were passed. The schooner then coasted along the northern shore of Admiralty Island, which is high and

1 Ed. note: These natives were 4 men and 2 women from Kapingamarangi (see Doc. 1876C).

appears to be thickly wooded. No canoes came off, which goes to show that most of the natives in that neighbourhood had been implicated in the recent attack on the vessel.

Leaving the Admiralty Islands, the Anchorites [Anachoretas] were made, and in due course the group known as the Hermits was reached.

...

[They went on to L'Échiquier Islands but did not stop as the islanders were "hostile to all strangers and are continually at war with the Hermit people."]

...

In the afternoon of the 25th July Durour Island was made, #FEd. note: Located about lat. 2° S. and long. 143° E. which is an island about five miles long, low, with a great number of cocoa-nut palm: no natives were seen. From this until the 18th August the schooner was beating up for the Pellews, the weather being very unsettled, currents contrary, and as a rule the winds very light.

On the 25th November the Seragani [Sarangani] Islands, lying to the southward of Mindanao, were called at. The Spaniards claim these as part of the Philippines, and they claim also all the islands lying on and above the fifth parallel of latitude as far as Pornapite [Pohnpei], the easternmost of the Caroline group.

...

[The schooner then visited the islands of Tulour, Nanossa, and Sangir.]

...

The natives of Nanossa, Tulour and Sangir are of the same race and speak the same language. Their dress is principally made of native cloth, but the head-dress consists of an European coloured handkerchief.

From here the **Rupak** went to Guam, the principal island of the Ladrone or Mariana group. The chief town, San Luis d'Apra [rather Agaña], is about 7 miles from the port, to which the only conveyances are bullock carts. The Marianas are used by the Spaniards as a penal settlement, and at the time of the **Rupak**'s visit¹ there were about seven hundred convicts on the islands. Every six months a vessel comes from Manila bringing provisions. Bread, fruits and cocoa-nuts abound, the former being the staple food of the poorer people, while deer, poultry, pigs and goats are to be had in plenty.

The town of San Luis d'Apra [sic] consists of about 400 houses, ninety per cent of which are built of wood, and the remainder of stone and coral, covered with plaster. The cathedral is rather more than 200 years old, the exterior being unimposing and the enclosure around it is neglected and overgrown with weeds. The Vicar-Apostolic, a gentleman who has been many years resident in the Marianas and talks English fluently, was kind and obliging; in fact, all the officials were most courteous and appeared anxious to assist in every way.

Guam was formerly a great resort for whalers. On Guam, Rota and Tinian there are a large number of Caroline Islanders who were brought here several years ago and are

1 Ed. note: In July 1876, says Fr. Ibañez (Doc. 1855P).

anxious to return, numbering in all about 800. Rota is used as a convict settlement from Guam, the most unruly of the Spanish prisoners being sent there. An Englishman has established himself on Tinian.¹ Coasting up, the whole of the Marianas were sighted as were also the Bonins; and Rosario, a small island to the westward of the Bonins, was called at. There was no vegetation here beyond a little grass and sage-bush; the wreck of a junk was seen on the beach. On the 13th September [1876] the **Rupak** arrived in Yokohama.

Asiatic Society of Japan.

A regular meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 13th instant, at the Grand Hotel, Yokohama. In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, Dr. Hepburn occupied the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting, held in Tokio on the 22nd November, were read and approved, and the election at the meeting of the council on the 8th instant of the Rev. A. L. Amerman as a member of the Society, was announced.

Mr. Russell Robertson then read a paper on the Caroline Islands.

Mr. J. C. Hall made some interesting observations on the two races that are found in the islands of the Pacific, remarking that our knowledge of the Brown, or Malay Race, is far in excess of that which we possess of the Black Race; and added some information respecting the languages or dialects spoken.

Mr. Cole, a visitor, stated that in consequence of the falling off of the yield in the pearl fisheries of the north of Australia, expeditions to the Caroline Islands were more frequently fitted out from Singapore than had hitherto been the case. He thought that the hostile disposition shown at one of the islands might possibly be considered as an indication that kidnapping had been practised at that particular island.

The Chairman then expressed his sense of the value of the paper, and requested Mr. Robertson to convey to its author the thanks of the Society.

1 Ed. note: Johnston, who had a lease to the island.

Documents 1875E

Henry F. Worth and Lipei Naij—A love story of sorts

Source: The letters of Henry Fletcher Worth are kept in the Thomas Cooke House and Museum, Edgartown, Massachusetts.

Introduction.

Henry F. Worth was a sailor, born on Martha's Vineyard in 1846. When he was 21 years old, he shipped aboard the whaler **Linda Stewart**, Captain Frederick W. Smith, on a cruise to the Indian Ocean. He was serving aboard the **Gay Head**, Captain William H. Kelley, in the Pacific when she was lost in ice in 1871. He then went to San Francisco where he was occupied in shore whaling for a while. In November 1872, he shipped aboard the whaler **Europa** of New Bedford, Captain McKenzie, bound to the Arctic. His next letter to his parents is dated Pohnpei, 1 September 1875.

E1. Letter dated Pohnpei 1 September 1875

Dear Father

You have not heard from me for some time and I suppose you think I have forgotten you and the rest of the folks altogether, but it is not so for there is not a day passes but what I think with pleasure of my friends at home and long to be with them...

When I left my ship I asked the mate to write and tell you all about my leaving but in case he did not do so I will tell you myself. When I was in San Francisco I shipped in the ship **Europa**, Capt. McKenzie. I steered the second mate and got broke the first whale although I struck him with two irons but it was not my fault for the second mate did not like me from the beginning and I knew it would be so all the time. Well, we came down to Honolulu and all the Captains were down on me and did not like to ship me until I fell in with Capt. Kelley (the same Captain I came out from home with).¹ He shipped me right off as boatsteerer. It was about a week before the ship was going to sail.

¹ Ed. note: Then commanding the bark James Allen.

I came down on the dock one morning and I met Captain Tripp who asked me if I wanted to go with him on a trading voyage as second mate and I told him yes, so I backed out from going with Capt. Kelley and shipped with Capt. Tripp.¹ I got along first rate until we got here when we got into a growl so I gave him cheek for cheek until he threatened me when I told him if he did not like me to let me go ashore, and he told me to go to hell if I liked, so I got a canoe and came ashore and have been here ever since. I like the place first rate, plenty to eat and I enjoy it first rate, and if I only had a little capital to start in trade with, say about fifty dollars in Calico, Tobacco, etc., I could make something trading for Turtle shell.

I have been at work making Beche la Mer for about eight months and I manage to get along quite comfortable without living with the natives. I saw Capt. Willis of the Ship **Bart. Gosnold**, he called at my house a short time ago and asked me to go home with him as foremast hand but I was ashamed to after being away five years. I also went aboard his ship and he and his wife talked very good to me but could not alter my mind. Finally they asked me about my friends and the woman said she was going to tell William as soon as she got home. Now you must not get alarmed for I expect they will tell a great story, for the place I am making Beche la Mer is nothing but a shanty. When I am ashore I have got a good house to live in although not with all the conveniences I could have if I were at home. Still I am quite comfortable and if I only had a little money or trade should be more so.

The fact of the matter is I have been back and forth around the world for the last twelve years and have nothing but hard luck and consequently I do not like and do not calculate to go home foremast hand again for I have got a little pride left. I think I shall stop around here a spell yet and try to get in with some of the trading firms...

...
 There is plenty of breadfruit, yams, taro, bannanas, Pine Apples & here, and I manage to live good. At times they have large feasts here and kill plenty of hogs and the white man's share is always the largest. I belong to next to the highest chief and so can always have plenty of native victuals. If a man has salt he can kill his own pigs and salt them down. I have raised considerable many pigs and chickens since I have been here.

E2. Letter dated Nukuoro 15 April 1877

My dear Father:

I wrote you in my last letter that I was going to try and get a chance to go on some island as trading master and I have got a chance at last given me by a man bey the name of Thomas Farrell of New Zealand. He without knowing anything about me took me off the beach in Ponape, gave me \$450 in trade, and brought me to this island and troid me the same as you might have done to go ahead and try to do something for myself.

¹ Ed. note: The former captain of the whaler Arctic. He was then in charge of an Hawaiian vessel, 1874-75, perhaps the Pomare.

And I can't help feeling very grateful to him for taking me the way he did for it is hard work when a man gets on a beach to get off again. I engaged with him on the twenty-eighth of March for two years, he to furnish me with trade from time to time as I shall require it and in return I am to pay him at a profit in dried cCocoanut, Beche de Mer, Turtle shell and Pearl shell. There are plenty of Cocoanuts here, also Beche de Mer and I think I can make something here...

The natives here are a pretty civil sort of people if they do go naked, they are also perfectly harmless for the Island was discovered as early as 1800 and there have been considerable many white men here before me, in fact there was one just left as I came. It would not have made any difference if he han't for they did not like him and would not trade with him. I have had a dwelling house and a store-house put up each of the same size 21 x 18 feet and in two days after I entered my house I had a thousand pounds of dried cocoanut which is called doing first rate...

I guess you had better direct me in care of Mr. Sturges for there is going to be another trader for this ffirm right alongside of him. Mr. Sturges is head missionary in Ponape...

...

E3. Letter dated Guam 14 February 1879

[After saying that his employer had become bankrupt, he says:]

I knew very quick about it by other vessels but did not pay any attention to them because I thought it might be a trick of the opposition company to induce me to sell out to them, so I waited very near nine months on the island, living on coconuts and a hard kind of root that is eatable, and sometimes I could get fish but after the natives found out that Mr. Farrell had become bankrupt, they deserted me you might say, for Kanakas are all about when you have got plenty of things that they like, but when you have not you can whistle.

As I was saying, I waited about nine months and finally a schooner came there confirming the news that my employer was bankrupt, bringing proof, etc., and telling me that I was the only one but what had sold out and gone about their business, and so I made a bargan with the captain to buy my coconut and to give me a passage up to Ponape once more, which he agreed to do, and we arrived there March 14, 1878.

...

[It was not until the next October that he joined the crew of a wrecking sloop to salvage a wreck on a reef some 300 miles west of Pohnpei. The sloop went on to Guam, when Worth arrived in a sick condition.]

...

I had thirty dollars coming to me but had to spend it for medicine and board in a private family and a decent suit of clothes, so here I am, hard up without a cent but enjoying better health than I did before I left Ponape, thank the Lord. I am in no way discouraged yet but am waiting patiently for something to turn up...

...

[The postscript of the letter is dated Shanghai 8 June 1879. He has gone there, probably aboard the *Beatrice*, Captain Williams. They returned to Guam.]

...
 There were a lot of Vineyard whaleships in Guam this year and three Vineyard Captains among them, Capt. Tom Mellen, Capt. Adams (Chilmark), and a Capt. Campbell who married a Vineyard woman.¹ But I could not get a chance to ship in any of them although Tom Mellen as soon as he saw me told me that he had all of his crew but if I wished I could go up in the Arctic with him and so get down to San Francisco. I thanked him but did not like to go that way...

E4. Letter dated Satawan, Mortlock Islands, 8 April 1880

My dear Father,

The last letter I wrote you I sent from China. I could not leave the vessel and had to go back to Guam in her, and then when we got there they kept me for ship keeper for four months while the vessel was laid up. Guam is a Catholic country but I found that did not make any difference for I can truly say that I was converted there alone, aboard of the vessel I felt God's Spirit striving with me and I have given myself to Him and am determined by his grace assisting me to still strive to serve him to the best of my ability...

I found in Guam a young man that used formerly to be called Henry Crosby, Capt. Crosby's adopted son that was living with him some time in Edgartown and I think he told me he had been to school to Aunt Emily once. I found two or three tracts in his house and I asked him to lend them to me, and he said take them and keep them... by reading them God blessed them to my use...

I kept by the vessel until we arrived in Ponape when I got my discharge and went to live at the same place I lived in before and was married in January by an ordained minister to a girl that has kept me in Ponape, a girl by the name of Lipei Naij. I have done her harm enough already and this will atone in part and I hope that we shall if we live become the instruments in God's hands of doing much good among the rest of the natives around these islands.

After I was married I was advised by the missionary to go trading and get some money so that I could buy a piece of land and settle down and make a home for myself (I have been very unfortunate and am really poor) but I have got a chance to trade here for a German company for one year. It is a coral island and nothing here but coconuts and such things but there is about five or six Ponape teachers here and one white missionary and his family (Mr. Logan) and so you see that Jesus is here with us. I am trading now but mean to give it up when I can and preach in the room of trading.

¹ Ed. note: The whalers in question were probably the Thomas Pope, for Capt. Adams, and the Norman, for Capt. Campbell. Capt. Thomas Mellen is not listed in either Starbuck or Hegarty.

My dear Father, I expect Mr. Logan here (he is on one of the other islands) in two or three days and expect to be baptized by him, attend service here, and can speak to these natives through an interpreter (Ponape teacher)...¹

Dear Father, I received your letter in Ponape but did not get it until after I was *married* or else it might have made some difference but as it is I do not know what to do for I feel as if I have got something to do here. I may be mistaken but hope you will all pray for me that I may be directed aright, for I am often worried about it...

I left Ponape and was away for 14 months trying to get home or anywhere near it but could not do it. The only place I could get to was Ponape and when I got there I found the girl I used to live with, a member of the Sunday School, and I also found she was waiting for me and so I married her and we are here together trying to serve the Lord...

...

E5. Letter dated Morlock Islands 10 September 1880

Dear Father:

It is now five months and more since I sent my last letter to you and not one of my employers vessels has come back as yet. It appears that the men in Germany (Messors. Goddefroy & Sons) are bankrupt, and I don't know when they will be here, but expect to have to stop here for nothing again, the same as I did in Nuguor. This is a little better than Nuguor, because there are other vessels that come here trading, also the Missionary vessel **Morning Star** which we expect here in a couple of months, so you see I can get back to Ponape if I wish when my time is up. My employers may be all right but they will spoil my making anything because there is a great deal of opposition here and the things that they want are getting scarce with me such as big Knives, Muskets, and a kind of red Paint are the principal things that they want and the "Christians" some of them wear clothes in Church Sunday, of our make although they make cloth themselves to cover themselves up with. I have done as well as any of the four white men who are trading around here but still shall not make anything because I have to buy Provisions in the eating of which I eat up all the profits. A little while after I came here Mr. Logan, formerly one of the Ponape missionaries but now residing on one of the islands here, came around to have communion services in all the Churches, in the islands and when he came here both me and my wife were baptized and taken into the Church (at Ponape) by letter, for that is our Church proper, and the mother of these outposts.

In 1873 or 74, I forget, Ponape teachers were landed here by the **Morning Star** and now there are seven flourishing Churches here with a good many members and others continually joining. They have done a great work here. You can find an account of it in the *Missionary Herald*. It seems quite homelike here because I can understand the

1 Ed. note: Rev. Logan did report the conversion of a trader at Satawan. The German firm went bankrupt a few months later.

Ponape tongue, and if I speak in meeting here I speak through one of the Ponape people. The language here is a good deal like the Ponape language (or rather a good many words) I am just beginning to learn it, can understand a good deal of it but cannot speak it as yet. Sometimes we go on a visit to Mr. Logan's and then the Ponape teachers also go and we have a regular home prayer meeting in the evening in the Ponape tongue where everybody that is there is asked to take part, and Mr. and Mrs. Logan, the children and myself have Sunday School exercises in English. They are very nice people and I enjoy being near them very much and feel that I get good every time I go there. I have a large boat here and go around among the islands about once a month and call at Mr. Logan's to spend the Sabbath. He always lends me a lot of books...

...

E6. Letter dated Mortlock Is. 25 December 1880

Dear Father:

...

I wish you all a merry Christmas. Here I am sitting in a good board house in an out of the way place keeping Christmas. I have killed a pig and made a feast and there are tow families of native Missionaries (Ponape) with me. We have had services in the Ponape tongue and are having a good time together... There is nothing especially new to write about here, everything is going along and the Lord's work progressing slowly but steadily. Mr. Logan has been poorly of late and the other day commenced vomitting blood. He is a little better now but expects to leave when the **Morning Star** comes. I am very sorry for I like him very much... His wife is also a very nice woman. They come from Wisconsin, I believe they are Congregationalists by profession but out in these Missions there are no sects, I believe, although they are sent out of or from the A.B.C.F.M...

I can understand Ponape pretty well enough to converse fluently and consequently I am beginning to understand this for there are a great many words the same only their pronounciation is different. In my business I have done a little better than usual having just sent away 4000 lbs dried Cocoanut my part of which amounts to \$205.00 but my bills for food and clothes for self and wife balance that... If I had \$200 at one time I would stop trading and try to do some good in Ponape keeping school or the like but as I am poor I don't think it right to do it with any visible means of support. I could always be fed I know but am afraid it would hurt the cause, for if I was a teacher would want to be one for **nothing**. People round here think Missionaries come here to make money out of the Natives...

...

E7. Letter dated Oua, Pohnpei, 29 November 1881

Dear Father:

...

When I came back to Ponape from Mortlock I came up here. This is the place where the Missionaries' head station is, houses, schools, etc. The Missionaries wanted me to just stop right here and help them, but I could not make up my mind to do so for I could not see how I was to get along but after a while there came a change in my feelings and I came here of my own free will, willingly enough, and I now have a house here and have been helping Mr. Doane, and since he has been away in the **Star** I have had charge here altogether keeping school and preaching to the best of my ability. I calculated to leave here and go to my former home when the **Star** came, but as there was not anyone to help Mr. Doane, have concluded to stop here, he also promised that I shall have my wants supplied and so all care is thus taken away from me. The missionaries are kind, and I have just had a threeweeks job from one of them at \$1.25 a day. I manage to find clothes for myself and wife and so am generally contented and thankful...

...
 We have been, and are now having pretty troublesome times here sometimes I did not know what to do but our Father has kept us from evil so far. This is the cause of the trouble. There is a woman from another part of the island who was **one** of a King's plentiful wives. By and by he died when she ran away and came here for protection from them. Mr. Doane kept her here and told us to keep her while he was away, which we have done although the whole Island have tried to get her back, but we have just struck to the right and **prayed** and it is all dying out now. Remember, Father, there are four different tribes here and each Tribe has its own King and each one wants to have their own way so that sometimes they pretty near fight. The Missionaries pretty near every time settle it peacefully, there are a good many churches here and also a great many good Christians, and also a great many who hate to hear anything about religion for the most of the foreigners here talk to them and get them against religion. We have just heard good news from Mortlock and other islands some of the worst islands are at length nominally Christians and on some particular things they set us a good example...

E8. Letter of Lipei Naij, dated Oua, Pohnpei

[Henry says:] My wife has written to you to show you the way they write in Ponape. I give an almost literal translation.

Good day Sir Father

Here am I Elisabeth the girl that is married to your son Henry. I do hope that you will not feel very bad because he does not return to you, for I trust you will meet together some time in Paradise for he is a Christian now. When he first came among us, he did not like to go to Church, but after a while he went in a vessel to Guam, and then we used to pray for him, not only myself, but a good many others that he might become a Christian. We praise God that he quickly heard and answered our prayers, for when he came back he was a changed man. Then we were married and baptised. When the **Morning Star** came here Mr. Doane went in her on a visit to other islands and Henry

takes his place here at Oua. Now we want you all to pray for us that we may hold out to the end. There are lots of foreigners who want to give Henry work trading for them, but we do not wish it, for we are trying to work for Jesus. We wish God to give us a good work in this coming year, we also wish it to continue. Now Henry will interpret my letter, for I do not know how to write English. He tells me that you send your regards to me and it makes me happy to hear it. I like to hear about you all. I now send my regards to you all, and if we never meet in this life we will hope to in the next, now I have written this for you to see how we write and spell in Ponape.

I remain yours,
Elisabeth Worth.

E9. Letter dated Oua, 31 January 1882

Dear Father:

...
Have been out on one of the out stations on Sunday and have just got ready to start school again today. Have a school here of about fifty scholars on an average, studies are Reading, Writing, Spelling, Geography and Arithmetic, in the latter study some are pretty well advanced, can do any kind of sums in Fractions. This is the greatest job that ever I saw. Who would ever have thought it, "Saul among the Prophets." Have given up trading altogether now, am poor... but I have always got plenty to eat and clothes to wear, so you see my wants are bountifully supplied...

E10. Letter dated Ponape 23 February 1882

My dearest sister Milly.

...
I am living at the Missionary Station on Ponape at present where I have a school of natives, boys and girls, about fifty is the average attendance. The studies are Reading, Spelling, Arithmetic, Geography and also an English lesson. Some of these scholars are pretty well advanced in Fractions, they do Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division also sums pertaining to all these rules. In Geography we use Cornells outline Maps with Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, etc. numbered, and the scholars point to a number on the map and tell what it is and the name of it. The Missionary is preparing another Geography and I am writing out some more sums which will be made all right and then printed. We have a small Printing Press here and some of the school boys can print pretty good if they are black. I do not know but I shall **learn** myself.

The people here generally wear clothes same as any of us, but on Sunday that is the time when they dress up in their best, sometimes when the Missionary is not here I have to preach to them at this place, and again on some Sundays I take a canoe and go to some other place, there are a dozen or more different places of worship on Ponape and at each of these places some one of the natives lead the Meeting unless some missionary is with them.

I wish you could see Ponape once, it is a mountainous island being about 3000 feet high in some places. The people generally live close down to the shore and there is no one lives in the mountains. There is a large coral reef extends all around Ponape about a mile from the land and inside of that is swarming with Fish of all descriptions. Close to the land there is a great forest growing up out of the water so that in some places you can not see the ocean from the land although it is close to. Ashore you can see great forests of Cooanuts, Bread-fruit, Bananas, Pine Apples, Mummy Apple and a plenty of others that you have never heard of and would not know if I should tell you. Sweet Potatoes, Yams, etc. so you see that we are pretty well provided for in the food line. I forgot to tell you that there are also plenty of pigs, also Wild Pigeons in the woods...

””

E10. Letter dated Ponape 10 December 1882

Dear Father:

It is Sunday and I have just got home from church where I have been preaching to the natives from the book of Exodus about God destroying all the first-born in Egypt. I have been living up at Oua, the head Mission station, and keeping school until about four months ago when I had an offer from my old employers of 25 dollars a month to go and stop with them for a while. School was up and I asked Mr. Doane (my pastor as well as my best friend here at present) what he thought... as soon as my three months work was up I gave it up and came back to Oua giving up the business for I found it was a place where I should have to do a good many things that would interfere with my religion... The place where I am now is called Anipen, a little village where my wife belongs and where we have lived generally since I have been in Ponape... I expect to be here one week more and then go back to Oua. I am going to have a house built here (a native house made out of small reeds and the roof thatched)...

My father-in-law and wife, and sister-in-law and husband, have been converted since we came back from Mortlock, also a great many others. Ponape is like the sea, always a moving, sometimes there is a kind of revival and then again all coldness and falling away, but on the whole things look a little better nowadays.

The **Morning Star** brought a new couple of missionaries and a single lady, also a couple of those that were here before so we are well supplied at present.¹

...

E11. Letter dated Ponape 21 December 1882

Dear Sister

...

During the past year I have been keeping school more or less, also copying manuscripts of the Bible, Hymns, Geography, Arithmetic, etc. and also doing what I can in

¹ Ed. note: Rev. and Mrs. Houston, Miss Fletcher, and Rev. and Mrs. Rand respectively.

other ways to help the good cause along here, my labors at times are hard, at least there are a good many crosses to bear.

...

E12. Letter dated Ruk 3 December 1888

Note: In 1883, Henry Worth and his wife went to Chuuk where so-called "Captain" Worth was taking care of the missionary boat. It was not until five years later that he wrote home. He had by this time become a missionary teacher.

Dear Sister Millie:

...

I have two classes in the Testament, two in Bible stories, and three in Arithmetic. And such fun as we do have in the Arithmetic classes. The prime object with them, is who can do the **most** sums, not who **knows** best how to do them. If one gets the answer, they all get it. Many get the right **answer** when the sum is done **wrong**, and then I get them up to do it on the blackboard which, of course, lets the cat out of the bag altogether. The same with Geography, they always answer the questions proposed to someone else...

Wife sends her love to you... It can be truly said of Ruk the harvest is great, the laborers are few. We hear of wars and rumors of wars, murders, robberies all around us, but the Lord has mercifully preserved us...

...

Summary of Henry Worth's later life

In 1890 he made a trip to New England, to become captain of a missionary vessel, the **Robert W. Logan** to be based in Chuuk. This vessel was lost in 1893.

Later that year, he wrote from Honolulu to say that he had left Chuuk for Pohnpei in a trading vessel, and aboard the Spanish mail steamer to Manila, and from there by an English steamer to Hong-Kong. From there he made his way to Honolulu, where he lived for some years. By 1897, he was living at Majuro, Marshall Islands, living off the sale of copra. In 1900, he dreamed of returning to Pohnpei, but his future letters were written aboard ships sailing far away, from Alexandria, Egypt, from Genoa, Italy, from Montevideo, Uruguay, from Liverpool, etc. He never returned to Pohnpei.

Note 1875F

The labour-recruiting brig Flora at Banaba

Source: Account by Doug Rannie, Government Agent; source cited in Nicholson's Log of Logs as being his book entitled: My Adventures among South Sea Cannibals (London, 1912); partly quoted by Polly Binder in her book (she gives no reference).

Extract from the logbook

...
[On asking the chief of Banaba if any more young men would like to emigrate to work on the Queensland plantation, the reporter says:]

I was astounded to observe the old King reply with apparent emotion, telling us with tears running down his furrowed cheeks that in consequence of the dry weather they had nothing to plant and were wholly dependent on the ocean for a subsistence. And as most of their young men had already gone should we permit any more who would fish for them in their old age.¹

...

¹ Ed. note: In the early 1870s, a severe three-year drought had reduced the population of Banaba from about 2,000 to 400.

Document 1875G

The visitor's guide to the Marianas

Source: Ramon Gonzalez Fernandez. Manual del viajero en Filipinas (Manila, 1875).

Extract from this guide-book to the Philippines

...

Marianas.

This group of islands in the Pacific are considered by the Government to be an integral part of the Philippine Archipelago. They are to be found 457 leagues to the east of Manila. The main ones are 16 in number, aligned from North to South, the southernmost of which is Guajan, where the main town is Agaña with 5,156 inhabitants and 5 wards or suburbs. Agat has 697 and Merizo with its annex, Umata, has 408.

The island of Rota has 348 inhabitants and in Saipan there is the village of San Isidro of Garapan with 719 inhabitants and Inarajan with 273.¹

The Caroline and Palau Islands, not yet very well explored, are closer to the Marianas than to any other part of the territory of this archipelago, and are also part of Oceania.

Agaña is about 12 leagues in length by 3 in width. The surface of these islands is mountainous, there are various volcanoes and there are frequent earthquakes. The vegetation is not very abundant but rice, wheat [sic], corn, sugarcane, potatoes and other roots are produced, as well as various fruits. There is good hunting in the interior and good fishing from its beaches.

Governor	Manuel Brabo y Barrera.
Judge	By interim, the Governor.
Auditor	Luciano Vecin.
Military Physician	Dimas Corral y Mats.
Health Assistant	Andrés Catomata.
Health Assistant	Elías Domingo.
Captain, HQ Staff	Federico Gutierrez.
Lieutenant, HQ Staff ..	Diego Olba.

¹ Ed. note: This is an error, of course, as Inarajan is part of Guam.

Commander of the Presidio Angel Ferrer, Commander of Infantry.

Adjutant of the Presidio Dionisio Lopez, Lieutenant of Infantry.

The presidio consists of 2 brigades totalling 179 convicts; during the month of July of last year, 275 exiles have been transported to said islands.

Parish Priests.

Agaña Fr. Aniceto Ibañez.

Agat Fr. Isidoro Liberal.

Merizo & Umata Fr. Mariano Martinez.

Inarajan Fr. Ramon Orrit.

Rota Fr. Valentin Casamayor.

Saypan Fr. Casiano Vasquez

Traders, Industrialists, etc.

James Vail¹—Lucio Aldan—R. Broron [Brown?]
—Agustin Fortach [rather Joaquin Portusach].

...

¹ Ed. note: Rather James Wilson, whose name is repeated from former years; he had since died.

Document 1875H

Bully Hayes' visit to Guam, according to Henry Millinchamp

Source: Article in The Guam Recorder, December 1924. Note: Millinchamp's memory had begun to fail him, regarding dates and names, but he has color to a story.

Pirates We Have Known

The following is related by Mr. Henry Millinchamp, a resident of Guam, and a whaler of the old school, who was intimately acquainted with the characters who roved the seas and made their homes in Guam, and the other islands in these waters, some forty or more years ago.

Bully Hayes, a well-known pirate who operated in the vicinity of Guam and neighboring islands, was about the year 1893 [rather 1875], captured at Guam by the Spanish authorities in the act of assisting Spanish political prisoners to escape from the island by way of a passage on his vessel, **The Diver** [rather Arabia], charging each twenty-five Mexican dollars. It is not known definitely just where he contracted to take these people, but it is thought that they were to be taken to one of the islands of the Caroline, Gilbert or Marshall groups from which they had hopes of later escaping.

Guam was in those days used as a penal island for various classes of prisoners, and at one time it is said that there were as many as seven hundred political exiles sent from Spain to Guam. These unfortunate people must have led an existence that is hard to picture, for even today with all the conveniences of water supply, sewer systems, good roads, automobiles, electric lights, cold storage and ice plants, and with vessels supplying the island with fresh meats, vegetables, fruits, groceries and mail from the home land, it is a problem to keep 700 Americans contented. When it is considered that the exiles from Spain were no doubt people who had enjoyed most of the comforts to be had in large cities, and were placed in exile on an island so far from their homes and friends and were deprived of every possible convenience, it is not surprising that they would take any chance that presented itself to make their escape, even to the extent of trusting their lives on board a pirate ship where they knew not at what moment they might be relieved of everything that they might possess and be passed over the side, with no trace left of them.

At the time of the capture of Bully Hayes, his ship was reported to the Spanish Governor as being anchored off Ritidian Point, which is the extreme northeastern point of the island, and (as it is an open roadstead) is a very dangerous anchorage. The Governor, suspecting something of an unlawful nature in a vessel laying in these waters, sent an officer with six mounted soldiers to investigate. Upon their arrival at the north end of the island they made the discovery that there were twenty-five exiles on board the pirate ship which was anchored just outside the reef. The pirate captain was taking a bath in shallow water near the beach. They rushed upon him, captured, and brought him to Agaña practically nude. The exiles on board the ship, seeing the capture of the captain and knowing that they also would be retaken, prevailed upon the crew of the ship to up-anchor and sail away. It is not known what became of these people.

Hayes was tried by the Spanish authorities but due to ill health and his not being able to live on the prison fare, he was paroled and was clothed and subsisted by the author of this tale. Many months later when a vessel was bound for Manila from Guam, Hayes was sent away from the island and turned over to the authorities at Manila. Later he managed to receive parole and was placed under the charge of the American Consul of that place. The opportunity presenting itself, he made his escape in a schooner yacht which he forcibly captured while the crew was ashore; there being no-one on board, except the wife of the ship's cook, whom he took with him and sailed for parts unknown.¹

At a later date [i.e. 1877], Hayes met his death at the hands of one of his mates. Coming on deck while at sea, and noting that the sails were not drawing to his satisfaction, he made some uncomplimentary remarks regarding the seamanship of the mate who was in charge of the watch. Words passed between them, and the pirate captain went below to his quarters with the threat that he would show who was in command of that vessel. While returning on deck with a pistol in his hand he was met at the companion-way by the mate who struck him on the head with a belaying pin and killed him. Here ended the career of one of the noted pirates of the Pacific.

¹ Ed. note: He sailed to San Francisco and there, he managed to get control of the yacht Lotus, with which he returned to Samoa, and then to the Marshall Islands.

Documents 1876A

The Micronesian world of the Russian scientist Nicolai Miklouho-Maclay

Introductory notes.

Sources: See Bibliography, 1876 ca., specially the books, in English, by Greenop and by Webster.

Nicolai N. de Miklouho-Maclay was born in Russia on 17 July 1846. Before his visits to Micronesia were made in 1876 and 1877, as described in the articles mentioned below, he had begun to explore New Guinea in 1871 and the Malay Peninsula in 1875.

From 1878-1887 he lived in Australia. He established the first marine biological station in the southern hemisphere on Sydney Harbor in 1881. In 1884, he married Margaret, fifth daughter of the colourful New South Wales statesman, Sir John Robertson.

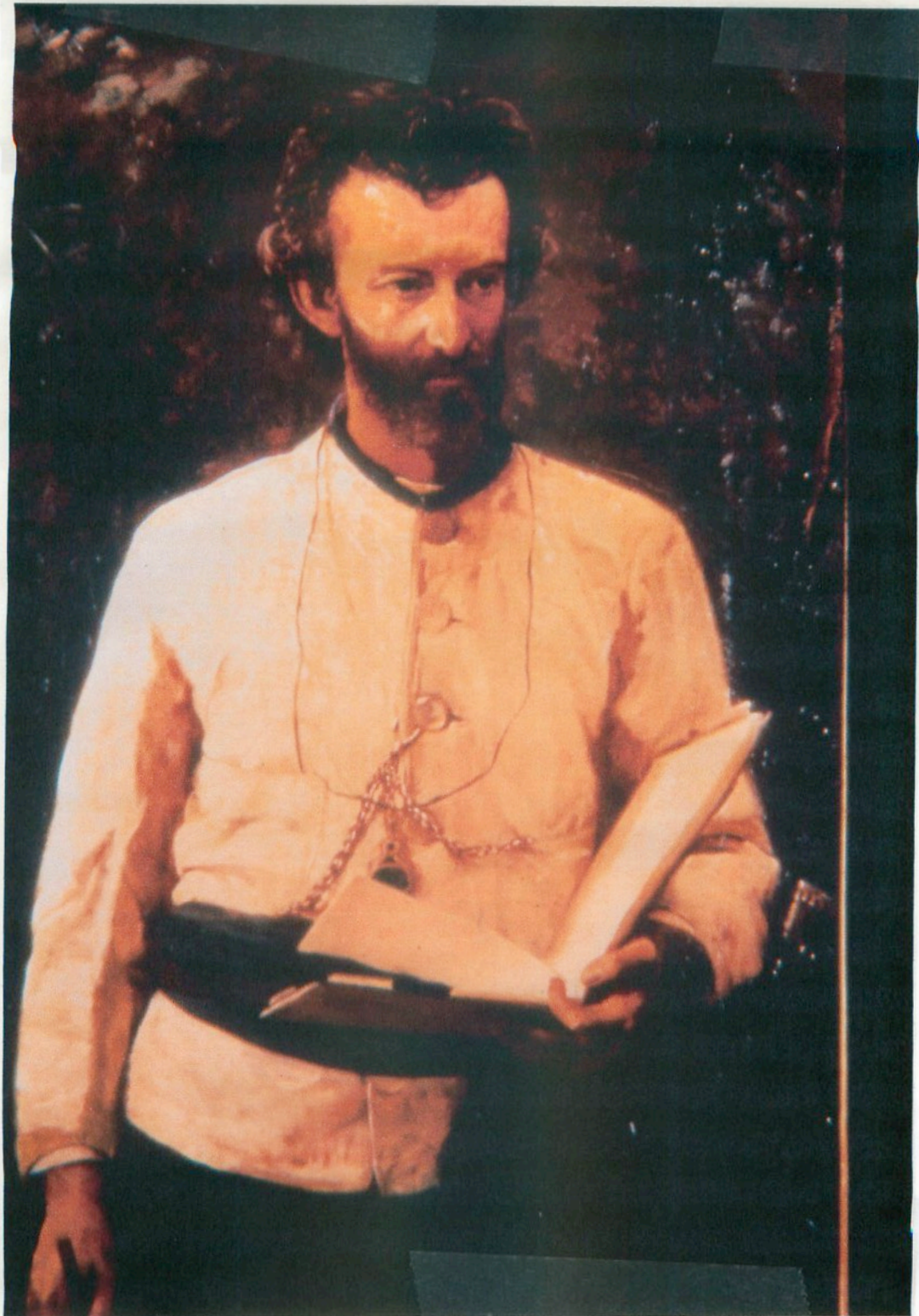
He went back to Russia in 1886. He died at St. Petersburg on 2 April 1888, as a result of the privations of his energetic life. Before he died, he left an undated holographic will which, in part, reads as follows:

“My wife Lady Margaret de Miklouho-Maclay a life interest in my properties as hereafter specified, and at her death the said properties are to be divided between my sons Alex N. and Vlad Allan to share and share alike [which includes]... 4th. My rights, title and interest in the blocks of land Komies and Orabramis on the island Babeltoap, Pellew Islands...” [see Doc. 1876B].

He is sometimes given the title of Baron, but this is a loose translation of the Russian title of Potomietviennyi Dvornianin, which means “Hereditary Nobleman,” a title that disappeared with the Russian revolution.



Nicolai Miklouho-Maclay.



Portrait of Mickouho-Maclay by Korzuhin. *(From the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. Courtesy of Dr. Rob W. de Miklouho-Maclay.)*

A1. Summary of Miklouho-Maclay's voyages in western Micronesia

Source: Nicolas von Miklucho-Maclay. "Reise in West-Mikronesien und ein dritter Aufenthalt in New-Guinea, vom Februar 1876-Januar 1878," in Petermann's Mittheilungen, vol. 24 (1878), pp. 407-408.

Notes: This above article is a summary of a longer report, dated Johor May 1878, and the diary of these voyages, published in the "Izvestiya" of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, of St. Petersburg, in 1877 and 1878. These, plus his letters, were used to produce the synthesis, in German, published in the "Verhandlungen des Dreizehnten Deutschen Geographentages zu Breslau am 28., 29. und 30 Mai 1901," pages 74 et seq.

...
[Summary: In a trip that began on 18 February 1876, the author boarded a trading schooner **Sea Bird** and visited Mapia, Europik, Ulithi, Yap (where he spent 14 days), Palau (April 1876), back to Yap and on to Woleai (2 days), then to St. Matthias, etc. He returned to New Guinea aboard the **Flower of Yarrow** where he spent one full year (Nov. 1876 - Nov. 1877) on the Maclay Coast. He visited Palau and Yap once more, aboard the schooner **Micronesia** and left the area by way of Zamboanga and Singapore where he arrived on 19 January 1878 suffering of various tropical diseases.]

A2. Voyages in western Micronesia in 1876

Source: Nicolas von Miklucho-Maclay. "Reisen im westlichen Micronesien" in Globus, vol. 31 (1877), pp. 295-296.

Note: Translated by Roland Hanewald.

[Summary: On 13 March 1876, Miklucho-Maclay was at **Mapia**, where the people were a mixed breed of Europeans and Micronesians. There an agent for Godeffroy and Sons of Hamburg was gathering copra. He mentions its discovery by Carteret, and the incursions by Papuan pirates. On 25 March, he passed by **Eauripik**. On 27 March, he passed by **Ulithi**, and on 28 March, he arrived at **Yap** (see A3 below). Then on to **Palau** (see A4 below).]

17 March.—Pegan (or Freewill or St. David) Group. Six low islets, fringed by a reef and grown with coconut palms. Because I noticed some smoke and a German flag at the main island I went ashore, where I encountered an English "trador"—that's how they corrupt the word 'trader' in the South Sea islands in order to designate agents who are issued merchandise from trading posts for barter with the natives and who receive a certain percentage of the coconuts, trepang, etc.—with a large family (close to 20 children and grandchildren) and some natives of both sexes from the island of Nawodo (Pleasant) [Nauru] from where the agent had transferred here about a year ago to collect copra (dried coconuts) and other products for the Godeffroy Company of Hamburg. When I asked about the natives of the islands, the man, a deserted sailor or something of that sort, told me that only few of them lived within that group and that they visited him rather seldom. He could not tell me anything specific about their looks, so I remained without any piece of news as to their race. The captain of a schooner which had wandered about these waters for a long time told me that he had seen many Pa-

puans on these islands, but he could not specify whether they lived there permanently or had just been cast away from New Guinea by wind and currents. Gerland (Weitz-Gerland *Anthropology of Primitive Races*, V, 2, p. 38) assigns the Pegan Group to Micronesia; probably the natives seen by Carteret in 1767 have long become extinct and the present inhabitants have not lived there yet for long because, according to the English agent, whose assertions are to be taken with a grain of saolt, there is not a single village in the entire group but only some hastily and temporarily set-up huts and shanties.

The Dutch government includes this group in its Indian colonies and Mr. van Duyvenbode of Ternate even had a coconut oil factory on one of these islands some years ago, if I am not mistaken. I hope to get some information from him on the natives who had actually been there then. The European-Micronesian mixed race (i.e. the offspring of that English agent) is of predominantly Micronesian type; only a slightly fairer skin and a minor blonde shade of the hair betray the admixture of European blood.

25 March.—Auropik [Eauripik] Group, three flat little islands. I did not go ashore but when we sighted a canoe, we drifted before the anchor to see some natives. The people who approached us were not very dark (n° 37 on the Broca Table), with curly, frizzy hair which formed large clumps. The nasal septum was perforated and a large number of tortoise-shell rings and other ornaments of diverse white and red sea shells greatly elongated their perforated ear-lobes. Their arms featured tattoos resembling bracelets above and below the elbow. In that clump of hair of theirs they had a large comb with a fluttering feather, and flowers or leaves in their nasal septums; their garb consisted of a narrow cloth slung around the waist and passed between the legs. Their looks reminded me of the islands southeast of Ceram and the Kei Archipelago; an admixture of Papuan blood exists beyond doubt in both places. As I learned later, Auropik owes a large portion of its inhabitants to Wuap or Yap, whose natives came here to procure and buy the so-called *hau* [or *gau* (see below)]—a decorative item of shells and stones(?)—which is highly esteemed there and serves as some kind of money among the chiefs, who have the privilege to own it.

27 March.—Ulithi (Mogmog or Mackenzie) Group, consisting of 20 flat coral islands. My brief sojourn on one of them, Isor, was sufficient to convince me that the population of this archipelago is in every respect identical with the one of Wuap.

28 March.—Wuap or Yap (the natives themselves pronounce the name more often as 'Wuap', the Palau islanders call it Pelu Lekop (Lekop Island) is a medium-size island with two islets, Uromon and Mok (Ronna and Torei, according to Meinicke) at its northern end. It has the shape of an irregular X, i.e. two bays, one cutting in from the north and the other one from the south, leaving only a strip of land by which the two unequal halves of the island are connected. Hills of medium height, almost bald in part, lend some diversity to the landscape, but they are of no particular beauty. I spent the entire time of my stay there either in a *bai-bai*, the assembly or clubhouse of the natives, or by visiting the seaside villages.

Since I could not conclude this extract from my diary and was loath to despatch it in such an abbreviated form, I will add a few words about the continuation of my route. From Wuap I went to the Palau Archipelago, where I stayed for about two weeks. Asides from anthropological research, their use of ideographic writing and their legends were of great interest to me.

On behalf of its Singapore owners, the schooner I was on now returned to Wuap and then went in a wide arc (because of the southeast monsoon) to Admiralty Island, where it stayed from 28 May to 9 June... On 17 June I went from Ninigo to the Maclay Coast, where I arrived after an absence of 3-1/2 years on the 28th of that month. My sea voyage from Java had taken more than four months and had been very uncomfortable for reasons beyond my control. Still, I had had the opportunity to see with my own eyes many enlightening facts and relations, to reach my destination and to attain my objectives...

A3. The island of Yap

Sources: Nicolas von Miklucho-Maclay. "Die Insel Wuap" in Globus, vol. 33 (1878), pp. 40-45; "Die Insel Jap" in Akad. Ausg., vol. 3, part 1, pp. 247 et seq.

Notes: This article is based on his diary published by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in St. Petersburg in 1877. A Spanish version was published in the Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid in 1877. The Globus article includes a portrait and a short biography of Miklucho-Maclay. The translation below is by Roland Hanewald.

...
The Island of Wuap, written Eap and Yap on English charts, and Guap on the French ones, is one of the western Caroline Islands. It is located between 138°3' and 138°18' longitude East and between 9°19' and 9°37' latitude North and consists of two medium-sized islands connected by a narrow strip of land. Its area is 3.8 German square miles and it is fringed by a coral reef with several passages. In the southeast there is Tomil Bay with the good anchorage of Rull Harbor. The eastern peninsula features a bald plateau of 200 meters in elevation; the western one is covered by rolling bald hills, the highest rising to 419 meters. The only mammals are the fruit-eating bat (*Pteropus Kerandrenii*) and the domestic rat. The bird fauna comprises two dozen species described by Hartland and Finsch in Proc. Zool. Soc. in 1867 and 1872, among them the rare ground pigeon *Phlegoenas Yapensis*. A one-meter long monitor lizard, *Hydrosaurus marmoratus*, is frequent. To be added are some skinks and anguids as well as turtles; terrestrial snakes there are none, and neither fresh-water fish (although Maclay mentions eels).

Politically united with Yap are the Matelotas [Ngulu] and Mackenzie [Uliti] Islands as well as the isolated islands of Fais and Woleai. The Godeffroy Museum Journal features a comprehensive report after the researches of Tetens and Kubary in vol. 2, pp. 12-58, accompanied by a map and ethnographical illustrations. Some of the notes added to this essay in square brackets, felicitously complemented by Miklucho-Maclay, have been taken from that treatise.

Anthropological features

Growth. Color of skin. Hair. Skull. Flatness of nose. Perforation of the nasal septum and of the ears. Tattoos.

Measurements establish the height of the inhabitants of Yap to be generally smaller than the European average size and there are plenty of small people. The measured size of adult men picked at random varied between 1500 and 1690 mm., although one chief measured 1765 mm., but he was the only such example among hundreds. The measured height of 20 mature women varied between 1360 and 1480 mm.

Skin color varies between the numbers 21, 28, 30 and 43 on the Broca Tables. The bodies of the women, being generally a little lighter-colored than the men, feature numerous hues. Frequently, for instance, the same individual has a light-colored face and chest (n° 33 and 46 [rather 36?]) as compared with the back and hips at n° 43 color. Such extremes are not rare among the women but do not occur in the men.

The hair shows considerable variance. It is seldom smooth but almost always twisted and even frizzled, the grand hairdo is these people, into which they invest a lot of work, resemble that of the Papuans. Not only in outward appearance, but also in that the hair of many persons forms long corkscrew locks not exceeding 5-6 mm. in diameter. Such cap-like hairstyles can also be found among the Papuans of Dore in New Guinea and the half-castes of Papuans and Malayus in the Moluccas. For parting and combing the hair they use that large Papuan comb, which, furnished with a feather or colorful piece of cloth, is also well known here. The men will tie the combed hair at the nape, while the women tie it to a thick lateral knot. Most men grow good beards and their bodies (chest and lower extremities) are sometimes thickly beset with hair. The foreheads of many children and some women were almost totally covered with hair, with only a small triangle between the eyebrows showing some bare skin. In their youth the men will rip out the hairs around their lips and chin, and the women those in their armpits and Mons Veneris. From the cut hair they will prepare very sturdy strings for home use.¹

The nose is flat and broad, mainly as a result of an artificial deformation, a large protruding nose being considered ugly. Many women told me upon my inquiries that three days after the birth of a child the mother or a woman relative will repeatedly squeeze the face of the same with a hand warmed over the fire, exerting special pressure upon the nose until the child commonly starts crying with pain. This procedure, called "Andowek", will be continued over several months with the purpose of sparing the child from a big, ugly nose. Another custom of the natives is the perforation of the nasal septum and of the ears; besides from the ear-lobe, another hole will be made in the external ear a bit further up. The piercing is done with a pointed piece of coconut shell. The nasal septum will commonly bear flowers or leaves of pleasant smell, and the ears, large tortoise-shell rings.

1 The mesocephalic skulls of the Yap people have a propensity toward brachycephalism, the latitudinal index varying between 74.3 and 81.7 with 25 measured men, and 74.0 and 84.5 with 12 women.

Both sexes tattoo themselves, the males commonly much more than the females, although not by far all men are decorated that way. Design and richness of a tattoo will indicate the person's position in society so it can be determined that he or she does not belong to the class of slaves, but not much else. The rank of chief is not expressed by a tattoo; many *piluns*, or head chiefs, are even very scantily tattooed, while common people belonging to the class of the free men feature rich decorations of that sort, almost covering the entire body with the exception of the face, the front of the neck, the arms below the elbows, the lower extremities covered with hair, the knees and the soles of the feet. I will not go as far as describing the patterns, because even the most unskillful drawing will give a better idea of it than an entire page of descriptions. I only wish to comment that on the Island of Mogmog I saw the same tattoos, which, when not symmetrical, adorn the right side in a much luxurious way than the left, especially conspicuous at the right arm and foot.

The isolation of the girls upon reaching maturity, and of the women during their monthly cleansing and after a birth, is one of the most remarkable customs on Yap. As soon as the approach of maturity becomes obvious, the girls will leave their parental home in the village to live for some time (2 to 3 months) in small huts especially built for this purpose near the village, but in a secluded place. There they will stay during their first periods and for some time after. The adult women will go to the same huts, some kind of "women's asylum," during their menses because they are then considered unclean and must not show up in the village. The same holds true for childbirths.

Government and classes

Piluns. Matra-mat [sic]. Aristocracy. Free-men. Slaves. Vassal islands.

According to the Europeans living there, the island's population is considerable, amounting to at least 6,000, divided into several independent and often mutually hostile chiefdoms. The local title of those chiefs, *pilun*, is translated as "king" by the resident Europeans, which is not however commensurate with their power, nor with the *piluns'* influence nor in their surroundings.

The names of their main residences and districts are the following: Tomil, Rull, Goror, Nif, Kiliwit, Onet and Kanif; there are also several unimportant ones. Among those seven the Chief of Tomil is considered the first, although he does not have any special power.

Besides the worldly power of the *pilun*, there is also a spiritual one, *matra-mat*, i.e. the reign of those people serving between the deity and men as arbiters and interpreters of the divine will.¹ Their influence is very great because no important business can be made without their agreement and approval. Every village has its *matra-mat*, the supreme one living at Tomil. He holds sway over the entire island and the people turn to him with important affairs and offer him rich gifts. This service is handed down from father to son. On distant expeditions the village *matra-mat* is taken along to foresee and prevent misfortunes.

1 *Matra-mat*, *matrmat*, the equivalent of the Polynesian word "taboo."...

Besides its *pilun*, each district has some powerful persons of secondary rank, the aristocratic class. The next class is the one of the free-men, who actually make up the main bulk of the population.

The slaves live in separate settlements. They are not allowed to live in the village of a chief. Being greatly dependent upon the superior classes and mainly upon the *piluns*, they have to work for the same and are subject to numerous restrictions. They are not permitted to tattoo themselves, must not wear a comb in their hair nor any ornament on their necks and arms, or at least they are obliged to pull the comb from their hair and conceal the least trace of ornaments when entering the village of a chief or of free-men. A slave has no right to property if a chief wishes to lay claim on it, and even the disposal of his children and his life is up to the *pilun*. His village is darker, much less beautiful than that of the *pilun*. *Their height is overwhelmingly below the average of the natives of Yap...*

Since Yap, due to its dense population and the nautical skills of its beach dwellers, occupies a leading position among the surrounding islands, it has laid hands on some adjacent islands, where it not only raises an annual tribute but also sends men there to be chiefs. The tribute partly consists of objects obtained from the vassals in barter from Europeans, partly of natural produce.

Buildings

Roads. Houses. Club-houses. Tombs.

The buildings of the Yap islanders are curious. They comprise paved roads, large assembly or club-houses, and tombs.

The village roads have a massive pavement, without cement, and are 3 to 6 feet wide. They are very old; no single chief can state for how many generations they have already been in existence. Close to the house of a chief and a club-house the road widens to form a paved square for general assembly under the open sky, traversed by a solid strip where dances, javelin throwing, etc. take place. Along the square flat stones have been stuck into the ground, as seats for the participants in those assemblies, or as backrests. Almost at every house such a primordial massive piece of furniture for guests can be found sunk into the soil.

The houses stand on top of 3- to 5-foot foundations in the shape of an elevated platform, which not only raises the house above the ground but is also meant to stabilize the central and lateral posts of the building. The *bai-bai* or club-houses are sometimes erected on artificially-built headlands or islets on the sea coast.

Regarding the actual construction of the houses, among which the club-houses rank first, because of their size, the European visitor will find two peculiarities in evidence: firstly, that all reinforcements of those often large buildings¹ consist of thin ribbons no more than 3 mm. in thickness, and secondly, that mostly crooked tree trunks have been selected for the central posts, on which the roof rests. The strings and webbings, which are much in use, are very artfully made and serve simultaneously as decorations, due

1

to their different patterns. The ground plan of a *bai-bai*, as well as that of most other houses, is not rectangular but hexagonal, because the front and rear are not defined by a straight but a filigreed line. In the side walls there are large windows or low doors at short intervals, which are open during the daytime and will be closed at night by inserting door wings or shutters. There are also up to two doors in the front and rear wall. A *bai-bai* has no subdivided rooms, the entire interior being divided into two longitudinal aisles along either half of the uilding, and into places on either side of that aisle where the club-members and their guests will sit or sleep.

It does not seem to me superfluous to add a few words aaabout the designation of the *bai-bai*, which is quite multifarious. It serves as a place of assembly and sleeping quarters of the club-members, as a venue of nocturnal dances, as accommodation for guests and transients, and during wartime it is turned into some kind of barracks. In every village there are several *bai-bai* depending on the number of clubs. A *bai-bai* is built in a common effort and belongs to all club-members.

Every club owns some young girls whose number depends on that of the members and the wealth of the community. They are sold by their parents or, more often, abducted from neighboring villages, live in the *bai-bai* and are of service to every club-member. The girls are frequently young and pretty if the club has the means or is powerful enough to take some good-looking lasses by force. Their life is often better than most other women. They stay in the *bai-bai* which must not be set foot into by married women. They do not have to work in the fields and are maintained by club-members who will turn over the better half of their catches or other quarry, not to their wives, but to their mistresses at the club. The married women, with their husbands enticed away, are therefore not on very friendly terms with them, and there are often fights. In order to avoid these, which would be unavoidable when the club girls, during their menstruation, went to the same huts as the village women, the club-members use to set up a little hut on stilts in the water, next to the shore and close to the *bai-bai*, where they take the girls at the onset of their periods. Their standing is by no means one of contempt. Parents will often give (or rather sell) their daughters to a club, and, after staying at the *bai-bai* for two to three years, the girls are commonly married by club-members.

Back to the Yap buildings. After I had learned that the dead are buried exclusively int he mountains, with large stone monuments erected for the chiefs, I set out to inspect the same. Those I saw at Okitam, an hour and a half inland from the village of Rull, consisted of graduated pyramids with elongated foundations, quite similar, if at a smaller scale, to the old tombs on the island of Tahiti.¹ Depending on the social standing of the deceased person, these buildings have a varying number of stories, such as eight for a recently-deceased chief, while the nearby one of a slave only had one. I call them miniature tombs in comparison with a [Polynesian] *marai* which nowhere measures any fewer than 35 to 40 feet, while the highest on Yap does not even reach 9.

1 Such as the well-known *marai* of Papar, whose ruins I inspected in 1871.

Asides from the characteristic peculiarity of never burying their dead close to the sea, I observed another one yet, mainly that adult persons are always buried in a sitting position and with bent knees, and children and youths lying down. Also, war games, mock battles, etc. are reportedly performed at burials of chiefs and free-men. Unfortunately, I was never present at such a ceremony, whose description reminded me of one I witnessed at the Maclay Coast. Asides from these war games taking place at the fresh grave in honor of a chief (corroborated by an old colonist), men and women also perform dances, which are sometimes utterly indecent.

Money

The main medium of exchange on Yap is most original and unique in its kind because one can say of it that this money lies about at the beach, covered every day by the tides, is found on roads and pathways without regard of each piece being worth hundreds of dollars, and, while it may even be used for bridges and other constructions, it can neither be stolen nor spoiled. The money that has these qualities, and is called *fe* by the natives, consists of stones having the shape of millstones of very different sizes (1 to 7 feet in diameter) and often weighing several tons. It is a white type of rock, coarsely hewn, with a hole in the center.¹ Their value differs very much, depending on size, processing, etc.; it varies from a few to one thousand or more dollars, i.e., for such a stone one may buy a certain quantity of taro or coconuts, or exchange it for a canoe, a house, shares of real estate and so forth. Small, well polished and regularly shaped *fe* such as I saw in the dwellings of chiefs were worth more than large, irregular and coarsely hewn ones. Decorations, asides from one or two concentric circles, or a zigzag line around the outer margin, I did not see on those stones; most were devoid of both such adornments and any polish.

The raw material is not found in Yap but in the Palau Islands and is also quarried overthere. Some old men told me that, long ago, even before European ships came to Yap every year, many native canoes were wrecked during their voyages to and from Palau in connection with the transport of *fe*. Nowadays the resident agents of European companies on Yap and seafarers enter into advantageous contracts with the natives. For a certain price (in copra, trepang, etc.) they will take them to Palau to trade for *fe* there and will take them back to Yap with their stones. This currency is still fully valid and every year many delegations travel to Palau and return from there in European ships.

Since the processing of *fe* calls for many hands, and their transport involve great expenses, these stone coins mainly remain the property of the entire community (where they may be at the disposal of the *pilun* if approved by everyone) or of the club, meaning that they belong to all the members. Only few change into private hands.

1 This type of money is not as unique as the author believes. It also exists in the New Hebrides, and also in the shape of millstones, being called *nawalae* (ref. Journal of the Berlin Geographical Society, IX, 342).

This circumstance and the unwieldiness of the *fe* resulted in a demand for pearl shells, or *sar*, among the Yap islanders in order to conclude minor businesses and to avail themselves of some more comfortable circulation. The shells, strung up on strings, are also considered an exchange medium. Demand is very heavy, to the delight of the European traders who order large amounts of cheap shells in Singapore and sell them on Yap at a ten- to fifteen-fold markup.¹

Another curious exchange medium is a coarse matting called *ambul*. It is a cylindrical roll about 3 feet long, and about from 1 to 3-12 feet in diameter, and of varying value, the largest being rated at \$35 to \$40. The value of the *ambul* is totally conventional because their shape and manufacture does not qualify them for any practical use. *Fe*, *ambul* and *sar* may be owned by people of all classes, but there is yet another type of money that is only for chiefs; it is called *gau* by them. It consists of various polished stones and cut shells, which are sometimes strung as necklaces. Depending on their rarity and the places of discovery (islands between Yap, Palau and New Guinea) they are of varying value, and only chiefs may possess and wear them...

Tradition of a sunken island.

There is a legend to the effect that many inhabitants of yap had got there from another island which had sunk into the sea. On the charts, there is a shoal north of Yap, Hunter's Shoal, which may be in accord with this.

Tradition of the inhabitants of Palau.

One of the resident European traders at Yap had heard that I was very interested in local traditions and related one to me. Unfortunately, he could not remember from whom he had heard it, and so I could not refer to the source myself. Some natives questioned by me did not know anything about it, which does not speak against their credibility, since, when it comes to traditions, only one person in ten will know about them, and then just one half, while all others had not even heard about them. Although I did not hear it from the natives themselves, I will relate it here as very interesting.

According to this tradition the inhabitants of U-peloi (Pslau Archipelago) were one people with those of Yap before, living in mutually-good relations and often visiting one another. Once upon a time some people from the south (?) were cast away to U-peloi by a storm. They were much darker and stronger than the Palau natives, who however received them well, giving ample food and drink to the unexpected visitors till they wished to return home. Soon after they returned, this time, however, with many canoes and in the company of numerous members of their tribe, to take possession of all the Palau islands. Only a few of the erstwhile inhabitants who were driven into the northern part of the large island escaped the general annihilation.

1 Pearl shells, with a wholesale price of \$1.50 to \$2.00 a gross in Singapore, are rated at \$20 in trading with the natives, and the traders add the same rate to European goods.

If the source of this tradition should turn out quite believable, that is, if I should have heard it from a native himself, instead of from a European trader, it would be very important as a piece of evidence about the migration of the natives from one island to another.

An actual drift voyage from Pulo Ana to Palau.

There are frequent tales in travel literature of involuntary voyages of natives who have drifted away from their home islands in small canoes. During my brief stays on Yap and Palau, I often met with some people who had actually been cast away to other islands. For instance, at the village of Melekeok on Babelthuap, the main island of Palau, I met a native with especially- beautiful tattoos, which attracted my attention. Upon my questioning as to who he was, and where he came from, I learned that he was from an island that he called Bur or Bul,¹ and about which the people of Melekeok had never heard of; they had found him and another man half-dead in their canoe on the reef opposite Artingal. After helping him ashore, it turned out that he spoke a language uncomprehensible to them, and it was only after some time, asfter he had learned the Palauan language, he told them that he, with three companions, had gone out fishing, intending to stay out only for a short time, no more than half a day, and that is why they had taken only a few coconuts for food. However, a squall came up and drove them away so far that they could no longer see their flat island. A calm then set in and a strong current further drove them away; because of the lack of wind they could not use their sail.

Exhausted by long futile paddling, they had finally given up on that, too. Two of them had died from hunger and exposure, while the others had fed themselves on what they happened to catch. On the eighteen day, they had at last reached this coast.

When I met them they had already lived at Melekeok as guests of the head chief of Artingal, Rakali Timon; since they had families back home they wished and hoped soon to return to their island.

...

Influence of the Europeans and their relations with the natives

In the course of my inquiry as to how long the European influence upon the natives may have made itself felt, I learned that the present generation is the second since stone adzes (of which I was able to secure some samples) had been displaced by iron axes. Fonowei [or Fannoway], the *pilun* of Goror and a man of about 50 years of age, told me that, when his father was young, stone adzes were still in general use, but as a child he himself mainly saw iron ones already and that those of stone were not at all being used any more.

1 Ed. note: Bul is the same as Pul, or Pulo Ana, an island to the south of Palau, as it is mentioned in its proper sequence, between Sonsorol and Meriere elsewhere in this chapter.

It is characteristic that the construction of these new axes is quite similar to the old ones of stone, i.e. an iron cutting edge has been affixed to a handle in the same fashion as a stone splinter, or a shell, was before. To manufacture such new axes, the natives tried to obtain steel chisels, which are very useful for this purpose. They also know, to the great chagrin of the traders, to splendidly judge the quality of European steel and iron wares, and it is now difficult to put one over them. They are also fond of bartering for rifles and even small-bore cannon from the Europeans. There is almost zero demand for textiles and clothes, because, reasonably enough, they do not permit their compatriots to wear European clothing in the villages.

Eight years ago, the first European trader established themselves there, and I met four others at different points of the island. Necessarily, one has to admit, though, that unfortunately the European influence upon the natives is an utterly bad one. The Europeans exploit the natives and entice them, through their example, to lying and committing fraud.

A4. The Palau Islands

Sources: Nicolas von Miklucho-Maclay. "Archipelag Pelau. Ocerki putesestvija v zapadnuju Mikroneziju i severnuju Polineziju—Der Palau-Archipel. Skizzen ..." in the Proceedings of the Russian Geographical Society, vol. 14 (1878), Part II. Translated in the ISLA magazine (see Bibliography).

Notes: There is also an article about his stay in Palau in the Akad. Ausg, vol. 4, pp. 173-5. See also his Anthropological Notices (A5 below).

...

A5. Anthropological note on western Micronesia

Source: Nicolas von Miklucho-Maclay. "Anthropologische Notizen, gesammelt auf einer Reise in West-Mikronesien und Nord-Melanesien in Jahre 1876" in Verh. der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie..., 1878, pp. 99-119.

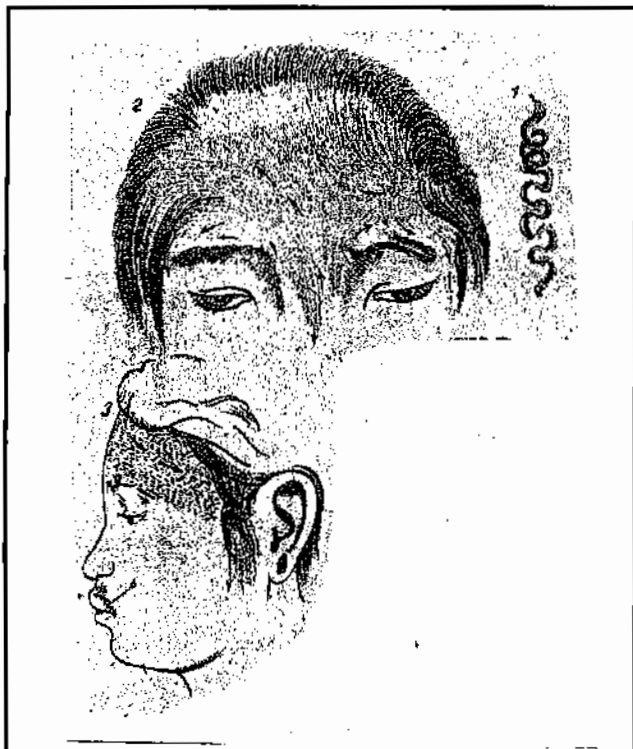
...



Yapese girl.



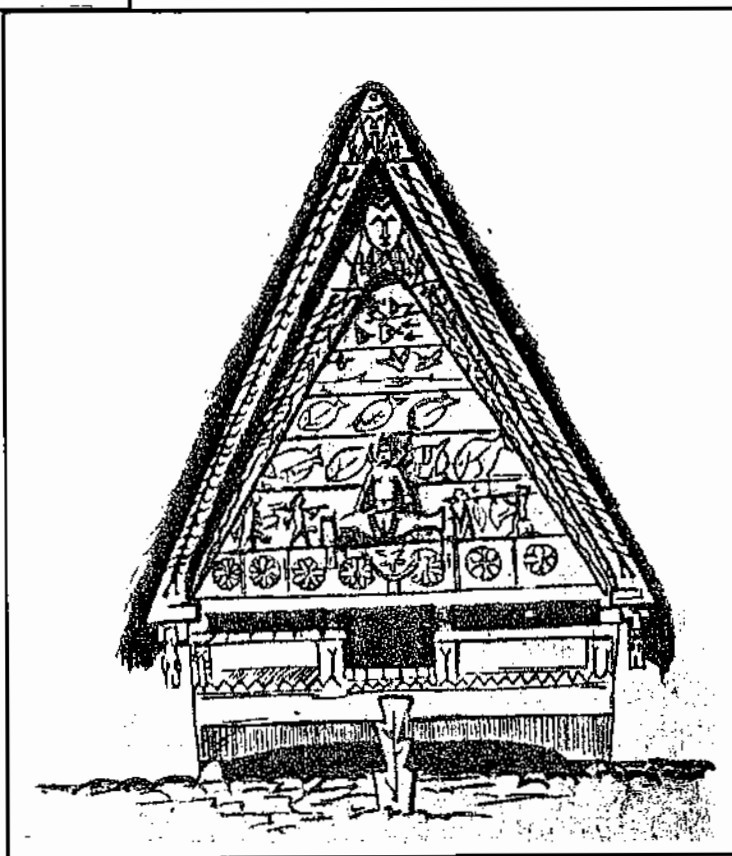
Mira, the Micronesian girlfriend of Miklouho-Maclay during his stay on the Maclay Coast of New Guinea.



Hair: 1) Hair lock from the nape of a Yapese man.

2) Hirsute forehead of a girl of about 13 years of age from the Palau Islands. Inasmuch as the hairs are very thin, they cannot be noticed very well in actuality: (x) at this place they are 3-4 mm. long, (xx) here 10 mm., and (xxx) here 23 mm. or more.

3) Hirsute forehead of a girl of about 16 years of age from the Island of Yap. featuring a different kind of hair growth: (a) small hairless triangle above the nose; (b) trace of growth of beard.



**A club-house at Koror,
Palau.**



A self-portrait of Miklouho-Maclay. (*From the Newsletter of the Miklouho-Maclay Society of Australia, vol. 8, no. 3, August 1987.*)

Documents 1876B

Miklouho-Maclay and his land purchase in Palau

Sources: PNA; my article published in the Newsletter of the Miklouho-Maclay Society of Australia, Vol. 6, N° 1 (Series 26) February 1986.

Note: File about the property bought by Nicholas N. Miklouho-Maclay in Melekeok (Artingal) in April 1876 and his 1886 request for recognition of his legal rights by the Spanish Government.

Letter from the Ministry of Overseas to the Governor of the Philippines, dated Madrid 18 May 1886

Dear Sir:

The Minister of State, in a letter to the Minister of Overseas dated 11th inst., says the following:

“Dear Sir:—By Royal Order, I am forwarding to Your Excellency, for your information and action, copies of the documents that are listed on the attached table of contents and that refer to the recognition of the sovereignty of Spain over the Caroline and Palau Islands by the Governments of Great Britain and of the United States of America and the acquisition of some lands made by the Russian subject, Mr. Miklauko [sic] Maklay in the Island of Babeltoab [in Palau].”

What the Minister of Overseas has communicated by Royal Order, I forward it to Y.E. along with the table of contents and the documents in question.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 18 May 1886.

The Under-Secretary,

F. Rodrigo Suarez

[Attachments:]¹

Ministry of State—Political Section—List of the documents relating to the Caroline and Palau Islands forwarded to the Ministry of Overseas on 11 May 1886.

8. Translation of the Note from the Russian Chargé d’Affaires dated 4 January 1886.

¹ Ed. note: The only numbers listed are 8, 9 and 10. This is obviously a partial file, dealing only with the land purchase issue.

9. Translation of the Note sent by the Russian Minister Plenipotentiary to the Minister of State dated 27 April 1886.

10. Copy of the answer dated 6 May 1886.

— O — O —

VIII.

Ministry of State—Political Section—Translation—To the Ministry of State from the Russian Chargé d’Affaires.

Madrid, 4 January 1886.

Mr. Minister:

The well-known Russian traveller and naturalist, Mr. N. Miklouho-Maklay, having learned in the press that the Spanish Government had landed a garrison in the Palau Islands and wishing to make a timely declaration with regards to the rights that he acquired has, in a letter dated Sydney 30 October last [1885], sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of my August [Government] to beg him to inform the Cabinet in Madrid with a letter from which I copy a few paragraphs:

“I have the honor to beg Y.E., through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to inform the Cabinet in Madrid that during my visit to the Palau Islands in April 1876, I made, with the complete consent of the King Tomol Raclay and the two other Ronpaes [Rupaks] or Chiefs of the independent District of Artingal, in teh Island of Babeltoab [Babelthuap] in the Palau Group, the acquisition of two plots of land of little extent situated at the northwest [sic] end of Artingal that are called by the native names of Komis and Orateramis respectively.”¹

“As a consequence of this purchase, a document written in French was produced by the parties to the contract whose contents were translated to Tomol Raclay and the two Chiefs assembled at the site itself on 22 April 1876. The Tomol and the three main Ronpales [sic], as proof of their understanding this contract, as well as to signify their agreement to it, placed their mark thereon, and also two Europeans acting as witnesses and who, having resided in that country for many years, understood the native language perfectly.”

“A few days later, in May 1876, I sent by the first occasion a copy of this document to the Imperial Russian Consul in Hong Kong and I have the original with me.”

“Hoping that the Minister of the Colonies in Madrid will legalize this formal contract made in good faith.”

1 Ed. note: The latter site is written Araberamis below. These sites are located in Gomis near Cape Gomis and Cape Gogiberames (modern spellings) respectively, northeast (not northwwest) of the village of Melekeok, also known previously as Artingal. See a detailed map of the area in the report of the Hamburg South Sea Expedition, edited by Dr. Georg Thilenius, Vol. II.B.3.2, page 86, Plan 8.

By bringing the above, by order of my Government, to the attention of Y.E., I have the honor to beg you to please inform the Imperial Legation about the reception that the Russian Government should give to Mr. Miklouho-Maklay's request.

I take this opportunity, Mister Minister, to renew to Y.E. the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Berents(?)

This is an exact copy.

[Seal] The Under-Secretary,

Rodrigo Suarez

IX.

Ministry of State—Political Section—Translation—To the Ministry of State [from] the Minister Plenipotentiary of Russia.

Madrid, 22 [sic] April 1886.

Mr. Minister:

In addition to the Note from the Russian Chargé d'Affaires dated January, I have the honor to send to Y.E. the enclosed copy of the contract concluded on 22 April 1876 between Miklouho-Maklay and the independent sovereign of the Palau Archipelago¹ by which the [plots of] lands of Komis and Araberamis are transferred to the ownership of the former. The Tomol Raklay and three independent Chiefs of these islands have placed their marks. The original [sic] of this contract is on file at the Imperial Russian Consulate in Hong Kong. Enclosed please find a small map² which shows the plot of land upon which Mr. Miklouk [sic] Maklay has a claim by virtue of the accompanying contract. I beg Y.E. to please return this map when it is no longer necessary. Allow me also, Mr. Minister, to beg Y.E. to please expedite the answer that the Imperial Cabinet hopes to receive about this matter from the Queen's Government.

Receive, Mr. Minister, the assurance of my high regards.

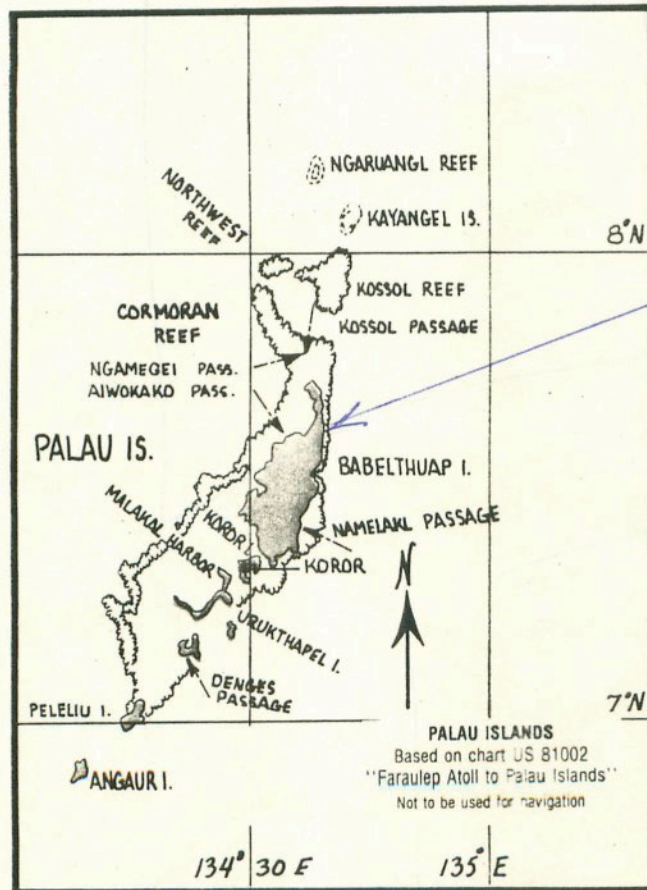
(Signed) Peniveque(?) M. Gortchacoov [sic]

Text of said contract.

On the 21st of April 1876 Tomol Rakaly, Principal Chief or King of Artingal in the Island of Babeltop (Palau Archipelago) declared in the presence of two Ruuppaks or Nobles of Arebamis and Kumis belong to teh Russian Ruuppak or Noble, Nicolas Nicolaevitch Miklouko-Maklay and to his descendants, in testimony whereof the said Raklay and the aforesaid Ruuppaks have placed their marks or signatures.

1 Ed. note: This statement is exaggerated. Melekeok is only part of one island in the Palauan archipelago; it is situated in the northeastern part of the big Island of Babelthuap.

2 Ed. note: Unfortunately, it is not found in the file in the Manila archives.



Melekeiok where Miklouko-Maklay purchased two pieces of land in April 1876.

Meleggiok in the land of Artingal, in Babeltop on the 21st of April, 1876.

There follow the marks or signatures of the natives.

White witnesses:

(Signed) I. Condon

A. Martin

This is an exact copy.

[Seal] The Under-Secretary,
Rodrigo Suarez

X.

Ministry of State—Political Section—Copy—To the Minister Plenipotentiary of Russia [from] the Minister of State.

Palace, 6 May 1886.

Your Excellency:

My dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the notes from the Legation under Y.E.'s command dated 4 January and 27th April last, regarding the acquisition made by the Russian subject Mr. Miklouko-Maklay, in which he solicits the maintenance of [his title to] two pieces of land of small extent called Komis and Araberamis situated at the north-east extremity of Artingal in the Island of Babeltoab in the Palau Archipelago. In answer, I have the pleasure to inform Y.E. that the Government of H.M. the Queen Regent, which has never thought of excluding from the Caroline and Palau Islands the treatment enjoyed by Russian subjects in other territories of the Kingdom, is disposed to recognize the legality of the land acquisition in question, once such has been made under legal form and conditions, as it appears to be the case judging from the said Notes from the said Legation and the contract and map that were attached, and it will send to its Authorities in the said Archipelago, even when it considers it unnecessary, proper instructions so that the rights of Mr. Miklouho-Maklay will be respected.

While informing Y.E. and returning the map that accompanied your Note of 27 April last, I take the opportunity, etc.

(Signed) S. Moret¹

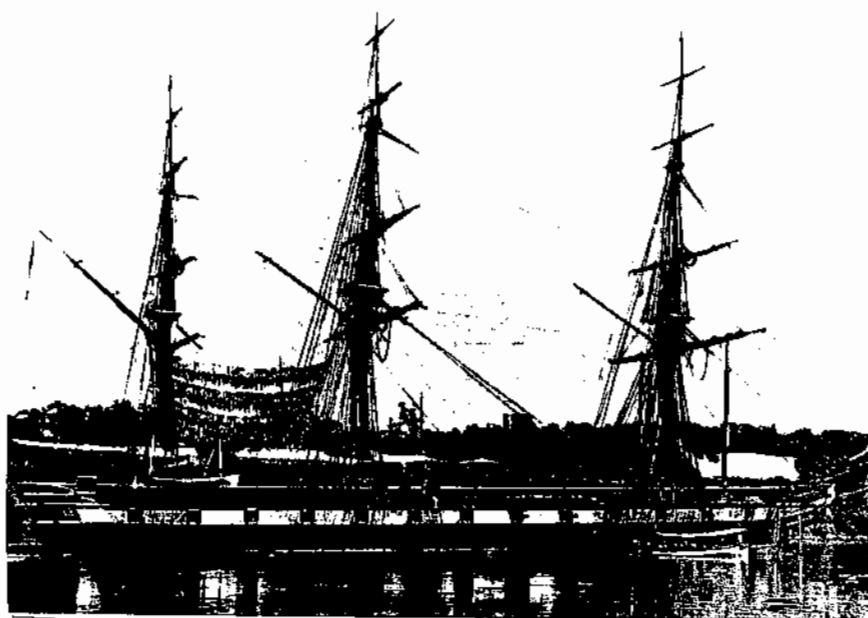
This is an exact copy.

[Seal] The Under-Secretary,
Rodrigo Suarez

1 Ed. note: Segismundo Moret y Prendergast was himself Minister of Overseas in the 1870s.

Document 1876C

SMS Hertha, Captain Knorr



German corvette Hertha, built in Danzig in 1864. This corvette had a capacity of 2,500 tons and carried 380 men (ref. Hildebrand et al., 4:128).

The narrative of Captain Knorr

*Sources: (1) Sea Captain Knorr. "Aus den reiseberichten S.M.S. 'Hertha'" [Extract from the logbook regarding the voyage of SMS Hertha] in *Annalen der Hydrographie & Mar. Meteo.*, vol. 4 (1876), pp. 263-285. (2) Synthesis of the above article, in *Anuario de la Dirección de Hidrografía*, part 1, 1878, pp. 35-53.*

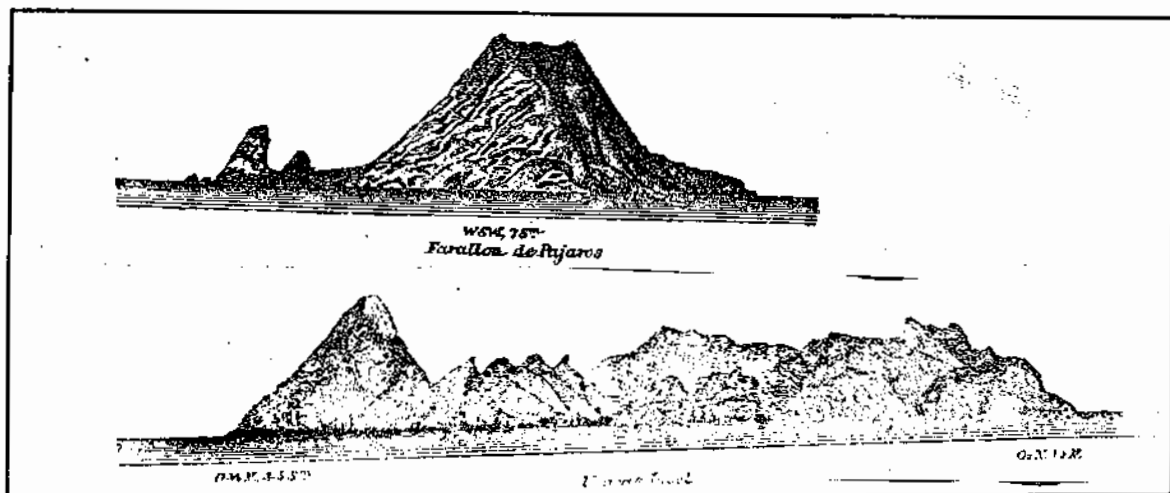
Notices gathered by Captain Knorr, commander of the "Hertha," German warship, from December 1875 to March 1876, the time spent in a cruise from Japan to the Bonin, Marianas, Caroline, and Palau Islands.

(Ref. Letter n° 722 from Section VI of the Directorate of Hydrography).

...

Mariana Islands.

The **Farallon de Pájaros**, which is the northernmost of the archipelago of the Marianas, consists of one volcano with a regular conic shape, composed of dark-gray ashes, without any vegetation, and expelling every ten minutes, with a great roar, thick clouds of stones and ashes.¹ It rests upon a base of black lava, about one mile in diameter, ending with a clean, but vertical, shore, near which there is great depth of water. It rises to only 261 meters in height, and not at all the 366-396 meter range given by the [English Admiralty] chart; also, it lies 2'30" further N. and 19'30" further W. than what the chart says. In fact, measurements were taken at the southernmost point and gave the following results: 20°32'58" lat. N. and 151°0'54" long. E [sic].² At said point, the magnetic variation was 2°30' NE; the inclination [dip] was 32°; and the horizontal swing of the needle was 53 times per minute.



Farallon de Pájaros, and Urracas or Maug Islands.

The relative positions of Urracas [rather Maug], Asunción, Agrigan and Saipan corresponded to those given by the chart.

Pagan consists of two volcanos from 244 to 305 meters in height, united by a tongue of land that is relatively low, a circumstance that at a great distance make it appear as two islands. It is difficult to land upon, with the prevailing NE winds, because the breakers that find their way into the deepest recesses of the leeward coast. Out of these two volcanos, said to be active, they only saw smoke coming out of the SW volcano.

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- 1 Ed. note: Still active, as of 1954, according to U.S. Commander Meredith, it is no longer so (ca. 2000).
 - 2 Ed. note: That is, 144°48' E. of Greenwich, but Knorr's position for Farallon de Pajaros or Urracas was not correct, his chart was more accurate.

Alamagan and Guguan, between which runs a current runs WSW and W at a speed varying from eight-tenths to one mile an hour, were found to be situated on the chart four minutes too much W.

Saipan extends almost 14 miles from NNE to SSW, with a short series of moderate hills that runs a little to the east of the centerline, and it surmounted at its northern end by an extinct volcano, measuring 488 meters in height. Toward the south end the island appears much lower, becoming a flat, wide, prairie. It ends with beaches line with trees, among which stand out the coconut trees; these coconut trees extend farther inland at the north end than at the south end. The island is covered by a thick forest, at the northern end. It holds a population of 700 Carolinians, in addition to various exiles and a garrison of 47 soldiers with three officers.

Even boats with a draft of less than 3.9 meters should not go into the port of Tana-pag in Saipan unless they have well marked the channel; indeed, it is difficult to estimate the depth of water on top of the huge coral heads that lie among white sand patches that intercept the entrance. Between the place where we were anchored (with Garapan bearing E 5°37' N) and Mañagaha Island, there was a place where the sea broke at an interval of between 15 to 20 minutes, but, although the bad weather did not permit us to inspect it, it appeared to be a ledge of about 15 meters in length with 3-4 meters of water on top. The Tortugas Shoal, that is not shown on the English Admiralty chart, is to be found much closer to the shore, according to what the natives said. The roads of Garapan, which has from 25.6 to 27.4 meters of water on top of a coral bottom, is not a well-shelterd anchorage, even when the winds are from NE and SSE. There, on account of the above-mentioned shoals, one must not let go the anchor with Garapan bearing more Northward than E 5°37' N.

Winds. In January, February and March, the prevailing winds vary from N and NE, with great rain showers; in April, they blow from E and SE, with regular weather when they do not blow directly from the E; in May, June and July, the prevailing winds are from S and SW, with good weather and less rain, although it still falls abundantly; in August, September, October and November, they blow generally from W, with heavy rains and at intervals heavy squalls, and at times typhoons in the latter two months; and in December they complete their circuit of the compass, by blowing from N and NE.

Tinian or Buenavista, whose volcanic origin can be recognized by the sharp lava rocks that lie along its coasts, is smaller and flatter than Saipan; it consists of a huge prairie that provides jerked beef to the other islands; it contains about 200 inhabitants from the Caroline Islands, in addition to a few Chamorro families who are the true natives of the Marianas.

In the small Island of **Rota**, it is said that there are about 250 Chamorros and about 70 Spanish exiles.

Aguijan is uninhabited.

Between Saipan and Guam they also experienced a current running westward at a speed of eight-tenths of a mile an hour.

Guam, the largest and most important of the Marianas, measures 27 miles from NNE to SSW, with an average width of five miles in its northern half, and of nine miles in the southern one. It is surrounded by a coral reef, specially in the neighborhoods where the coast is low, as in Saipan, but not as much as in Tinian; these islands are not as tall and cut sharp as the northernmost islets. Guam has high cliffs at some parts of its northern half, specially in the NE, which is where the prevailing wind hits directly. It has no great mountains, although there are average-size hills between its southern end and the town of Agaña, and an isolated peak 198 meters in height in the northern half. It has a very fertile soil, watered by a multitude of streams, in which, thanks to a tropical, but moderate, climate, a rich vegetation flourishes, for instance, the coconut trees, sago palms, breadfruit trees, banana trees and orange trees grow as far as the top of the highest points, while down below there are plantations of rice, sweet potatoes, etc. It contains a population of 5,000 Chamorros and 340 exiles with a garrison of 400 soldiers.

The roads of Agaña can only be used as an anchorage when the winds varying from ENE to S, but even then it will always be dangerous because of the great tides that are experienced there, and the great depth of water that is found right up to the coral

reef that protects the shoreline. When one makes a signal for a pilot, there comes one from San Luís de Apra, the only place in the Marianas that can be considered a port, which can be entered without a local pilot. At Agaña, which contains a population of 3,000 inhabitants, counting the Spanish and the natives, does not have much vegetation, but at all times there can be found cow meat, domestic fowls, and eggs.

The **port of San Luís de Apra** is formed by a bay towards the south, between the west coast of Guam and the NE side of the Orote Peninsula, which runs from SE1/4E to NW1/4W, higher than the surrounding lands and has a southern coast that is cut sharp; it becomes progressively narrower until finally ending at a large inlet; its eastern side and the inlet in question are full of coral flats, whose positions are roughly marked on the chart and which allow a [safe] passage only at high tide to small boats that pass through the numerous canals that separate them from one another. It is protected to the N. by the island of Apapa or Cabras, low-lying and coralline, and by a coral reef that begins at the western end of said island and runs for half its length towards the West and then turns Southwestward towards Orote Point. The entrance, with deep water, is 548 meters in width, between said point and the southwesternmost tip of the above-mentioned reef. This reef, even when it is covered with four meters of water, with a depth of water inside from 7.7 to 9.5 meters, does not protect the vessels sufficiently when the winds are westerly when they must, in summer, let go their anchors in water 44 meters deep, where the best anchorage is located, with a coral bottom, i.e. where the west end of Cabras Island bears NE and Fort Santa Cruz S 40° E; it is subject to tides which do not produce any current but rise anywhere between 0.9 and 1.4 meters. Communication with Agaña is by the landing at Piti which is located facing Cabras Island, at about 2.5 miles from said anchorage. Outside the port the current runs westward.

According to a record of meteorological observations kept for 25 years by the Father Vicar of the Marianas [Fr. Ibañez], the average temperature varies between 25° and 31° C and the average atmospheric pressure is 29.95 inches, being more like 30.00 in the winter and 29.8 inches in the summer. During the course of 24 years, 15 typhoons have occurred, that is: 2 in February, 3 in April, 1 in June, 1 in September, and 8 in November; those of November usually occur between the 12th and 18th but the most violent of all occurred on 23 September 1855, and it was described as follows.

[The typhoon of 23 September 1855]

In the morning of said day, the rain was falling in torrents, and the wind, which was light, blew from NE. In that direction, there could be seen a layer of dark clouds. At 6 p.m., the wind shifted to NW with a very heavy squall, becoming stronger; and at 6:30 it veered to N and began to blow with typhoon force. At 8 p.m., there was not a single thatched house left standing in the whole island. Afterwards, the strength of the storm decreased gradually until by midnight there remained only a strong wind, and by 6 a.m. on the 24th, the weather was very beautiful and the sun brilliant. The destruction of the previous night could be clearly seen. During the peak of the storm, there was severe lightning, with electrical phenomena of the San Telmo type. There is no mention of barometer readings, nor any mention of accompanying earthquakes.

Summer can be considered the rainy season; and the best weather occurs during the winter.

At Cabras Island, the magnetic variation was measured at 0°17' NW; and the dip was +20°10'; the horizontal swings of the needle was 55 per minute; and the astronomical position given by the English charts was found to correspond to our observations.

The roads of Umata, a small anchorage, though good, for NE winds, has a coral bottom and is of average depth. It is necessary to advance close to the shore before anchoring, because the depth increases rapidly. With easterly winds, a sailing ship may at times have difficulty to sail because the high land of the interior blocks the passage of the wind, which then comes down these hills in furious squalls, that may veer suddenly over six points in direction. It offers a watering place at all times, in a stream whose mouth is at the bottom of the cove, where small boats can go in, as required.

Between the Marianas and the Carolines, we experimented, during the second half of January, winds that varied from ENE to E1/4SE, specially E., with furious squalls and a heavy sea. South of 11° lat. N., the wind decreased and the squalls disappeared.

The Western Carolines.

The islands in the west part of the archipelago, except for Yap, are all low-lying and coral islands, and so similar in nature that the description of one is good enough for the others. They consist of lumps of coral, whose intermediary spaces have managed

to accumulate sand and earth. Although they enclose a rather deep lagoon, strewn with coral heads, as happens at Tamatam, Lamotrek, Ifalik, Ulie, Uluthi and Ngolu, at times there is only one lump of coral surrounded by a coral reef, as in the case of Satawal, Fais and Yap. Their size varies so little that generally they are from 2 to 4 miles in length and 1.5 miles wide. On their easter, or windward, coast, that is protected by a reef, there is a sort of wall from 2.5 to 3 meters in height, made up of pieces of sharp coral blocks,, hardly covered with earth or sand, for which reason it is hard to walk, and among which the roots of the mangrove trees find space to grow. From this wall in ward the thickness of the sand and earth increases little by little, whereas on the windward side it ends in a white flat beach, the western limit of its beautiful prairie. They are covered on their easter, or windwar, side, which is where the side exposed to the wind and drizzle, by various species of cactus, but specially by the stubby mangroves, but on the opposite side there are coconut trees, breadfruit trees, and a certain type of banana trees with shady tops, under which, right next to the shore and on top of piles, the natives have built their dwellings. Aothough at times there is no easy passage into the interior on account of thick brush and high bamboo canes, there are usually foot-paths that cross the island from the dwellings to the uninhabited eastern side. At certain times, when storms blow from the west, or when there are typhoons, the islands can be flooded, and the natives must find refuge in the trees, abandoning their dwellings and naoes to the fury of the waves. These islands produce taro, coconuts, breadfruit and bananas which, in addition to an abundance of fish in their waters, without mentioneing the pigs and chickens that are found in some places, provide the inhabitants with food. Potable is in short supply and comes only from holes dug in the sand and from cisterns that gather the water from the rain, that occurs almost daily in the rainy season. They are inhabited by a race of harmless, friendly and hard-working people whose skin color runs the gamut from reddish to dark brown. Each one is ruled by a chief who can be distinguished from his subjects by this tattoos, except at Yap, where, no doubt because they formerly held some type of authority over the other western Carolines, the chiefs and their families wear a sort of white shell on their wrist, like a bracelet, as a symbol of authority.

The Carolinian men are of average-size, musclar and generally better built than the women. The Carolinians have facial features that are so variable among them that in the faces of the men one can notice anything from Caucasian to the Malay or Negroid appearances, and in those of the women. Their hair is always abundant and black, but it can be wooly, straight, or curly; the women keep it knotted on top of their head. They dress is very simple; indeed, that of the women is a skirt of bamboo leaves that covers the body from the waist down to the knees, and that of the men, apart from the rings that adorn their ears, arms and noses, and a few green garlands, it is but a loin-cloth.

They built canoes that are very well made and swift craft; some of them can carry up to 40 men, and can make the crossing to the Marianas and the Philippines, guided by the stars, especially by the North Star and Orion, in such a way that without any instrument whatever they find their way in a most admirable manner. Said canoes, whose

boards are often adorned with carvings, are sometimes built-up, but always fastened with cords made from coconut coir, and caulked with the same material impregnated with resin and with clay, and their triangular sails are made of coir mats. They are stored away from the weather under some sheds built for the purpose near the dwellings, in which they rest upon skids.

We passed, with clear sky and at a distance of 16 miles from the position of 10°38' lat. N. and 152°21'24" long. E., which some charts give as doubtful for the Islands of Faraulep, but nothing was seen. The true position of said islands is 8°35' lat. N. and 150°48'24" long. E., according to other charts.

Ed. note: That is, about 145° E. of Greenwich, which is correct.

We also passed with a clear sky and at a distance of 13-14 miles from MacLaughlin Bank, without noticing any sign that the water may have been shallow; and the same thing happened with Gray Feather Bank, from whose supposed position we passed at a distance of 5-7 miles. In this region, the winds generally blow constantly from between E and ENE, accompanied by strong squalls.

Olap [or Pulap], the northernmost island of the Martires group, was found to be situated in 155°39'54" Long. E. and not in 155°43'24" long. E. as given by the chart. Said group consists of four coral islands, not bare as the old descriptions say, but covered with thick bushes, and they are linked together by a coral reef, convex towards the SW, that goes out at a distance of 1.5 to 2 miles from it.

Satawal is a triangular island and very similar to the previous ones. The encircling reef goes out further from the shore at its north point than at the other two.

The **Lamotrek** group consists of three islands united by a reef, partly submerged.

The **Elato** group consists of three islands united by a reef; and so is **Toas** [Lamolior], but with only two islands.

That of **Ifalik** has four coral islands, three big ones and a very small one. This, and the previous three groups, are properly located on the charts.

The group of **Ulie or Uleai** [Woleai] consists of 17 islands that almost encircle a lagoon, in which we anchored before Raur Island, whose east side was examined. The wind was blowing constantly and strongly from between E. and ENE, accompanied with rain showers. According to the opinion of a trader who has lived there for many years, the wind blows strongly from the middle of November until April; in May, its speed decreases, and in the first half of July, the winds are variable, followed by a regular monsoon from the SW that continues until the beginning of November, during which the winds blow gently from the W. but are often interrupted by storms from the SE. and heavy rains. Said showers, which usually occur at the end of October and beginning of November, began with slack winds from SW, heavy rain and high tides; at times, the blow with such a fury that the low-lying islands are flooded, forcing their inhabitants to take refuge in the trees. The eastern islands of the group, that is, Raur and the nearby islands, are those that are most affected by the fury of said storms, because the lagoon is open towards the SSW, and therefore admits the tidal waves, without a

reef to break them up, and that is why the natives have built stone walls for protection against them.

During the SW monsoon there also occur storms from the NW, although they do not last as long as those from the SW. Earthquakes are also felt; in one of those part of Fais Island sank to a depth of from 11 to 15 meters.

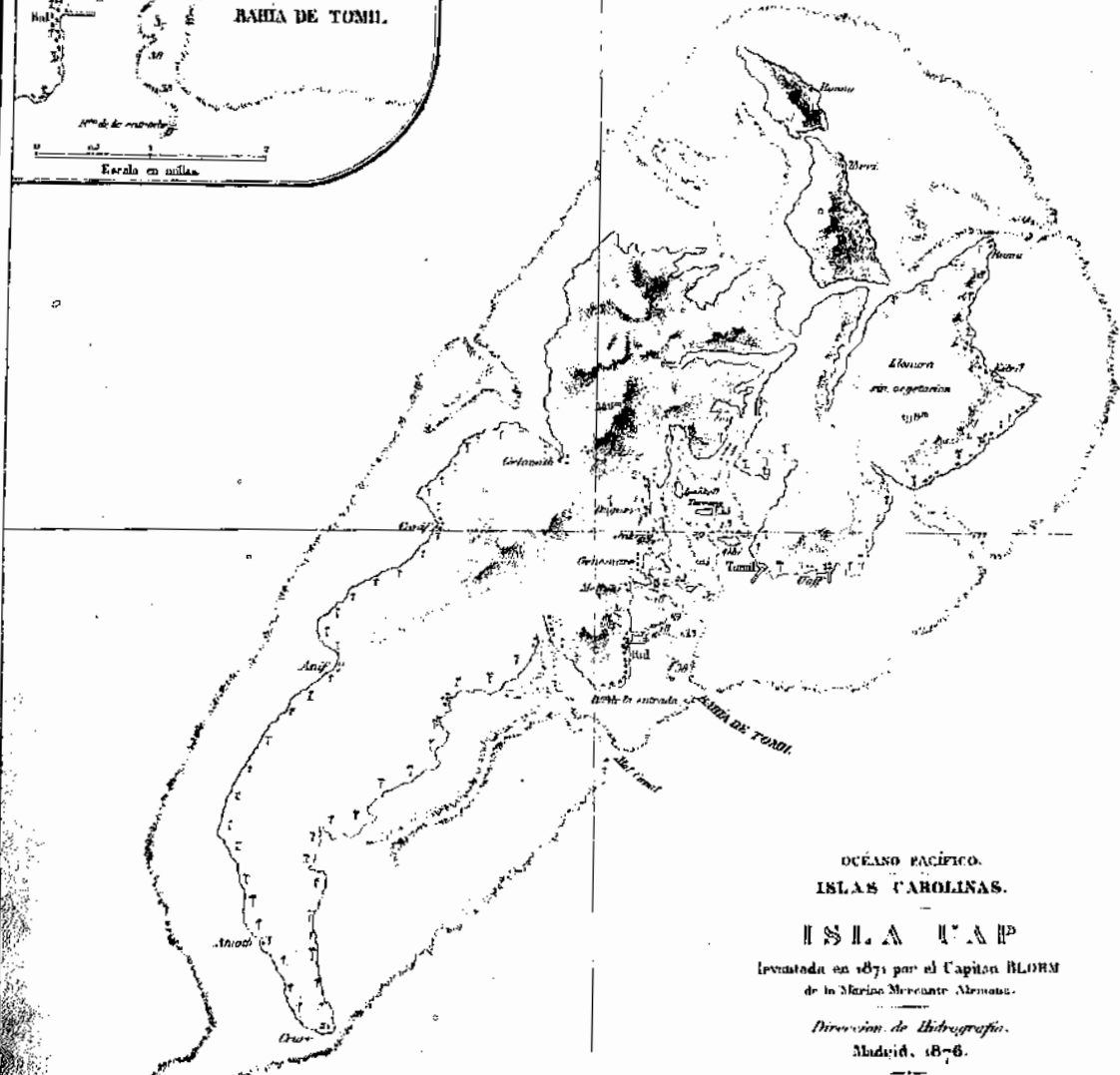
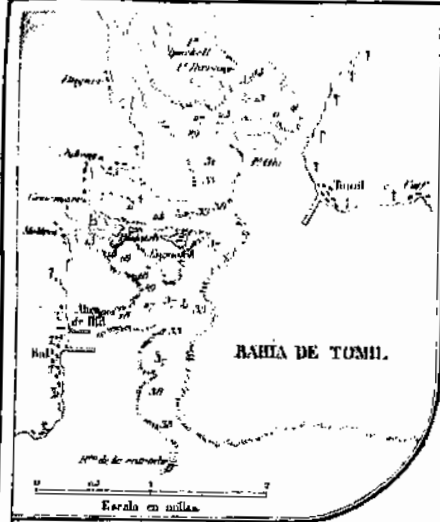
Fais or Feys is a coral island of distinct formation from the rest; indeed, its north end is cut sharp, the cliff being from 10 to 15 meters above sea level, and the surrounding reef, upon which the sea breaks heavily, is rather close to the coast, 548 meters, in fact, where the best landing place is found, and many dwellings can be seen.

The **Ulithi or Uluthi** group consists of 30 coral islands, seven of which are but bare rocks.

Yap or Guap differs essentially from the other Carolines, by its size, the quality of its soil and because it is one of the few islands that are basaltic in formation, although it is surrounded by a coral reef, like the others. It occupies, if the reef be included, a length of over 20 miles from NE1/4N to SW1/4S, and five miles in average width. The appearance of the northern part, which has many coves, is that of a series of hills, whose highest peak measures 350 meters. These hills, when seen from afar, give it the appearance of being many islands together. It is surrounded by a thick mangrove forest, very noticeable by their heavy trunks, whereas inland there grow a multitude of other tropical trees which, in the northern part, grow up to the top of the hills, which seem to offer good pasture land. It is low-lying in its southern part, where only the coconut trees stand out from the rest of the ordinary vegetation. The only potable water available is that collected in cisterns. It appears to be little cultivated, in spite of the fertility of the soil. It is governed by five chiefs, who also rule over tributary islands lying to the East, as far as the Ulie group. It used to have a more ingenious population than the present one; no doubt it has degenerated because of contact with the whites, as can be concluded from its causeways with paved pathways in their middle, their exquisitely built and adorned canoes, and their well built villages, each of them with their council house. Yap has three resident traders, one representing a trading firm in Hamburg, and two representing English firms. The traders maintain good relations with the natives, and they export copra and *trepang* or beche-de-mer, which they obtain in exchange for weapons and tools.

The reef, which keeps close to the north coast, but farther off the south coast, is two miles out in front of the bay of Tomil, and continues parallel to the east coast as far as the low-lying south point, where it goes out 8 miles to the SSW.

Said bay, even when it is not more than 90 meters wide, can be easily navigated along the reef by sail-boats, if one takes the precaution to wait for a fresh and steady wind, and for the period between noon and 2 p.m. when the sun shines behind one's back and the coral heads can be spotted more easily. The best anchorage is 40 to 45 meters deep, bottom of loose clay, N. of the first islet that lies to larboard, well inside the reef. Just outside the entrance, at a distance of approximately one-quarter of its width from its north side, there is, though amid the reefs, a large stone with only 4.8 meters of water



OCEANO PACIFICO.
ISLAS CAROLINAS.

ISLA UAP

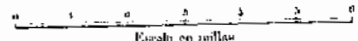
Levantada en 1875 por el Capitan BLOHM
de la Marina Mercante Alemana.

Directorio de Hidrografia.
Munich, 1876.

NOTAS
La escala es de 1:100,000 en metros.
Orientacion en 1875 2° 3' N. aproximadamente este-nordeste.
Buen de la entrada | Latitud 9° 23' 05" N.
Longitud 155° 03' 00" E. de Greenwich

Tabla de reduccion de Metros a Fanzas y a Pies

Metros	Fanzas	Pies	Metros	Fanzas	Pies	Metros	Fanzas	Pies
1	1.8	0.3	10	18.0	3.3	20	36.0	6.6
2	3.6	0.6	11	19.8	3.6	21	37.8	6.9
3	5.4	0.9	12	21.6	3.9	22	39.6	7.2
4	7.2	1.2	13	23.4	4.2	23	41.4	7.5
5	9.0	1.5	14	25.2	4.5	24	43.2	7.8
6	10.8	1.8	15	27.0	4.8	25	45.0	8.1
7	12.6	2.1	16	28.8	5.1	26	46.8	8.4
8	14.4	2.4	17	30.6	5.4	27	48.6	8.7
9	16.2	2.7	18	32.4	5.7	28	50.4	9.0
10	18.0	3.0	19	34.2	6.0	29	52.2	9.3



on top of it; it is difficult to see, and that is why one must stay in the middle of the channel so as not to hit it. By the way, this stone is even more dangerous upon going out of the bay with a north-easterly breeze which is usually not a strong one, whereas, with such a breeze, the north side is the windward side and the ship must keep close to it; that is why it is better not to use the sails going out, unless it can be done by heading SE, and that should be easier to do at dawn, as they say that the wind then blows more northerly.

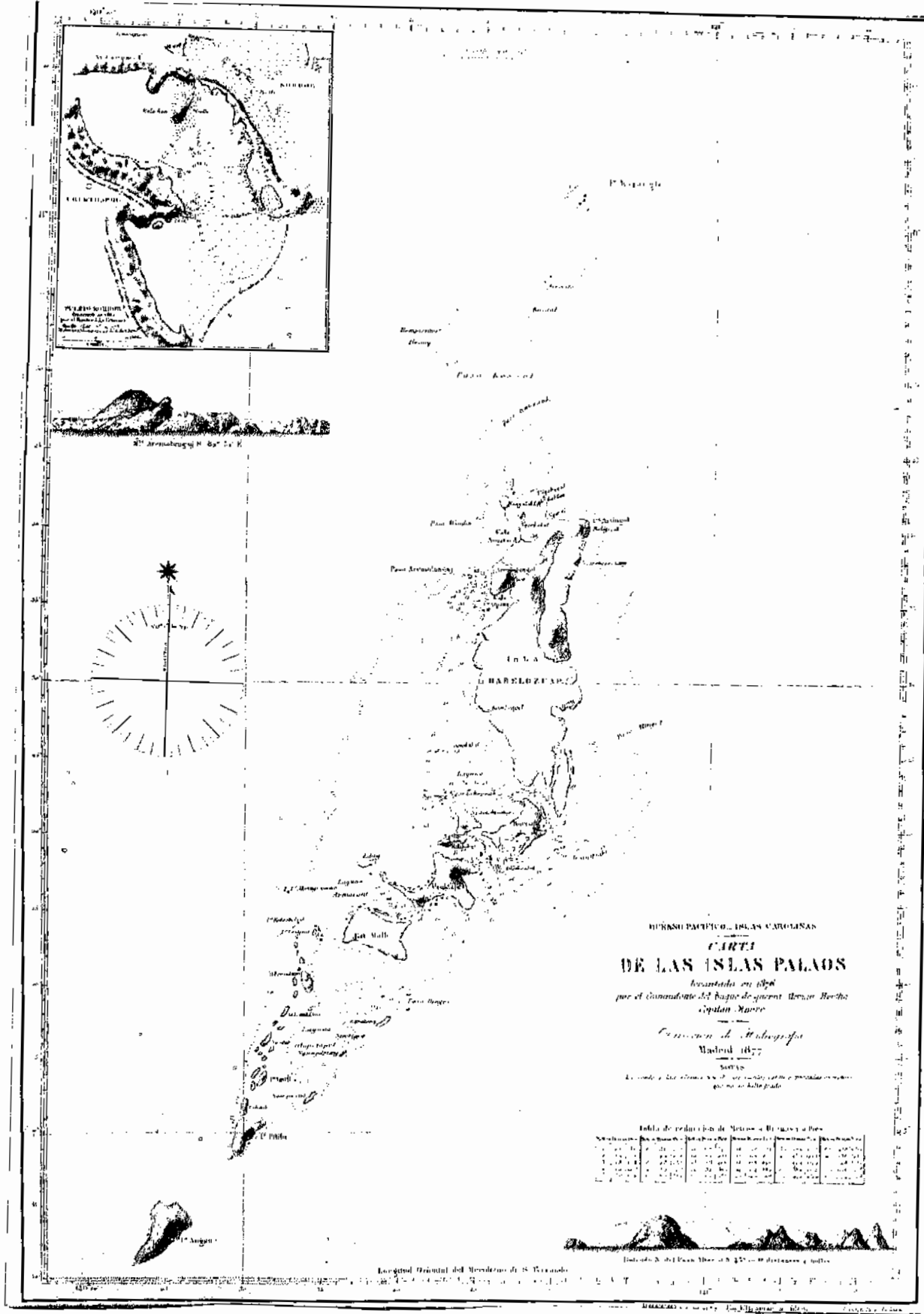
The northern island of the **Ngulu** or Matelotas group, which was seen from a distance of 12 to 14 miles from the deck—the normal distance from which all these coral islands can be seen in good weather, and from 16-17 miles from the topmast—has a reef that projects 2.5 to 3 miles towards the N., not shown on the charts, along which there are two sand bars. Between this island and the southern one, there runs a reef, in a straight line but hard to see; indeed, it is submerged and has from 11 to 44 meters of water on top, except for its southern end, where, 3 miles from the southern island, it is nearer to the surface for a short stretch and is revealed immediately by the presence of breakers. Also, the western reef, on which there are two islets, is made obvious by breakers.

This group, in whose waters the current runs at the rate of 0.7 mile an hour, consists of six islets, two at the north end of the reef, two at the south end, and two smaller ones on the western reef. It offers an average anchorage at the southern end, within the lagoon, where it has a narrow entrance, not very well protected from the seas by the eastern reef. Said islands are not well shown on the charts; they were found to be marked 2.5 miles too far E. from their true position.

The Palau Islands.

The Palau Islands constitute a group composed of a multitude of small islands and six large ones, one that runs from S. to N., to wit: Angaur, Pilulu, Eil Malk or Earakong, Uruktafel, Koror and finally Babeltaob or Babeltuap which has a greater area than all the others put together. They are all evidently of volcanic origin, like Yap, and of coral formation in their low-lying portions, except for Babeltuad and Koror, and perhaps also Pilulu and Angaur (although these two were not visited by us) that have a fertile soil with beautiful forests and extensive prairies, on the large islands and most of the small ones as well. They rise to an altitude of 180 meters above a base of lava and rubble that is constantly beaten by the waves and cannot produce low, thick and spiny shrubs. The rest of them are but coral islets united by extensive reefs, in separate small groups separated by narrow channels. They contain a population that do not exceed 3,000 inhabitants, distributed among Babeltaob, Koror, Eil Malk and Pilulu. We do not know about Angaur, an isolated island lying sought of the main group; it is perhaps surrounded by its own reef.

The natives, who showed themselves to be distrustful at first, soon became amenable. They are much like the people of Yap, and in like manner, they appear to have



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been more active and ingenious in the past than at present. They are distributed among twelve tribes, most of whom live on Babeltaob under the head chief or Rupak, while the rest live either under the sway of the powerful chief of Artingal, and the others under the no less powerful Chief Erani of Koror whose sway extends over the southern islands. The two are continually at war with one another, not for any real motive but as a pastime. The men spent most of their time fishing, leaving the women to look after the cultivation of the taro that supplements the great abundance of coconuts, oranges and bananas, and provides them with a large part of their food. They get their supply of firearms, gunpowder, tools, cloth, brandy, etc. in exchange for mostly one product, *trepang* or beche-de-mer; indeed, the tortoise-shell is not yet the main article for export.

Potable water is carefully collected near their dwellings from the abundant rainfall, because the only springs, rather dependable, are to be found in Koror and on the west coast of Babeltaob. They decorate their council and private houses, specially those of the leading men, with paintings and carvings that are rather pleasing. The houses of Koror are built like those of Yap, on either side of a causeway or paved road, under the shade of high palm trees, among fresh groves and beautiful clearings, and generally their are enclosed by a small fence, which protects a vegetable garden.

We came alongside the point at Artingal, that is, the easternmost point of Babeltaob, where the steep encircling reef is close to the shore but can be detected easily by the breakers. The orientation of this reef, as well as its astronomical position, is not well marked on the English charts of the group; for instance, the point of Artingal and Earakong Island appear respectively 15'30" and 5' too far E. of their true position.

We did not see the long reef that is shown on the chart to the W. and N. of Angaur; however, we noticed a multitude of islets that should be shown and many others that are badly placed. In addition, the coral reef that lies west of the northern part of the group does not come out as far as shown on the chart.

The Aremolungui Passage,¹ shown as a deep channel on the English charts are said by the natives to be the only pass suitable for large ships through the western reef, can be easily used when the sun shines from the proper direction. By keeping Aremolungui Mountain, the highest in Babeltaob, to E. 10° S. and steering towards it, one will get through the exterior reef as far as the mouth of the passage, whose greatest width is from 550 to 730 meters, and whose shallower depths are distinguished by the clearer tone of the water that covers them; however, it will always be preferable to select the right time of day when the sun shines from one of the sides of the poop.

Inside the great barrier reef, there is a second one, parallel to the coast; the two are separated by a good, navigable, channel, almost straight, with the two reefs in question lying in sight on either side at a distance of from 370 to 550 meters. Between the exterior and interior reefs, which lie from 2 to 3 miles apart, there can be found, to the S. of the entrance, a multitude of small coral heads with from 1 to 6 meters of water on top, with their tortuous little channels between them, and these are not always very

1 Ed. note: Car. 44 D-9o in Bryan's Place Names.

visible; that is why, it is better to follow the above-said deep interior channel. If one should wish to anchor within the exterior reef, one must come down at least 1.5 miles to the S. of the entrance until the islets that are closer to the reef and can be seen in the great bay of Babeltaob, bear E.; then, one will find a clean bottom without fewer coral heads than anywhere else; however, when the weather makes the ship seings in the strong currents pushed by the action of the tide, the chains may fail and the anchors may be impossible to recover at such places, the same as at any other. The ebb tide flows southward, and the rising tide northward, but, near the entrance we encountered swirling flows, and there is a big coral head with only 8 meters on top of it, which must be avoided by ships with deeper draft.

To the NW of Ngarekobusang [Arakabesan] is found the islet of Ngorur (Anchor) ¹ that has a reef at 550 meters towards the NW, that the ships heading S. must be aware of, when they wish to pass between Ngargool (Arracomel) and Uruktapel; ² however, to the NNW of the latter, there is another reef, and the channel is between it and the reef surrounding Ngorur. Ships with a draft greater than 6.5 meters, such as the **Hertha**, should not anchor in the eastern part of Malakal (Malakan). There is a relatively good anchorage located to the W of the high Malakan peak, in water from 36 to 44 meters deep and bottom of hard gray sand, strewn with small shells and large pieces of coral; it is sheltered from the strong tidal currents that are experienced along the west coast of Babeltoab; however, it can be recommended only when the winds are easterly, since the westerlies caused a high sea within it.

Along the east coast of the group, there are three cuts or passages that lead to Koror, as follows:

1° Armijtoakl Passage ³ that, although shown incorrectly on the English charts, is found between the south point of Babeltaob and the east point of Koror. Because it is narrow and very twisted and is full of coral heads, it cannot be recommended to ships of the draft of the **Hertha**, though she used that very passage. For sailing ships, it has another disadvantage that the land on both sides intercept the wind.

2° Malakal Passage, ⁴ very narrow though clean, can be used by small ships, because there is a coral shoal at the inner entrance that does not allow the passage of large ships.

3° The southern or Denges Passage (called Buen Channel on the English charts), ⁵ whose entrance can be found N. of the islet of Earakong, and, according to the natives, it is the best and deepest of all. ⁶ It leads to the neighborhood of the Islands of Eil Malk and Aulong or Oroolong.

1 Ed. note: Car. 44 E-4 in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: That is, the western entrance to Malakal Harbor, pincer-like in shape.

3 Ed. note: Called Toagel Mid, or Toachel-mid, meaning Twisty Passage, by Palauans.

4 Ed. note: Called Toagel Ngel, or Toanchel-ngell, probably meaning Mulberry Passage, by Palauans.

5 Ed. note: The English charts got the word Buen from the Spanish charts; it means Good.

6 Ed. note: They call it Toachel Denges, meaning Mangrove Passage.

The cut that the English chart shows in the western reef near Aulong Island, that is said to have been used by the **Endeavour** in 1796 [rather 1793], is now said to be unuseable, on account of coral growth.

Altngot (Puerto Nuevo) Passage, located on the eastern side of the group,¹ is an easier way to sail out of the group than the Aremolungui Passage, on account of fewer dangers to navigation; however, it can be used to go in as well, by keeping in the direction shown in the vignette on the chart (n° 722) that accompanies this article, by which the exterior reef will be clearly seen to larboard at a distance of 5 miles from land, and the entrance will be easily recognized. Only one of the shoals mentioned on the English chart was seen, and it was close to the entrance of the passage.

It was found that the situation of the landing place at Malakal is in 7°19' lat. N. and 140°44'54" long. E.; that the longitude of the first of the islets on the boundary of At-pang Bay, to the S. of the West, or Aremolungui, Passage, is in 140°41'24" E.; that the longitude of the point of Artingal is in 140°51'54" E.; but that their latitudes are as given on the English chart, even when the longitudes differ widely.²

Winds. The NE monsoon blows generally from between NE and E, from September or October until April or May, but in the neighborhood of the group there can be found also winds from the SE. There is no rainy season; in fact, during the NE or SW monsoons, it equally rains indifferently, and heavily for a few days at a time, which can be followed by as many serene days. We could not ascertain anything about hurricanes. As far as earthquakes are concerned, we only learned that they often occur in the afternoon.

Tides. The tidal currents in the high sea run either westward or eastward, changing direction among the reefs, depending on the latter's condition. Within Aremolungui Passage, the ebb tide runs 2.5 miles an hour, anywhere from NW to NE, towards SE and SW; the flow tide generally runs from SSW to NNE, while their difference is from 2 to 2.5 meters. The rocks that lie off the west coast of Babeltaob, inside the exterior reef, cause very strong whirlpools.

Upon leaving this group we clearly noticed the reef as far as the Kayangle Islands, but further north, we did not notice any shallow water. We did not see the Ngaruangel Reef nor the sand bars, nor the reef that is said to extend at a great distance to the W. of them, although ships nowadays make a long detour to avoid them. Its existence is therefore doubted by coastal vessels that have not seen it, although they may have sighted the sand bars.

The so-called Islands of Sequeira, Juanes, and Keil probably do not exist; indeed, the **Hertha** would have sighted them upon tacking westward.

1 Ed. note: Otherwise known as the East Entrance.

2 Ed. note: Please remember that all longitudes in this Spanish version, and accompanying charts, state longitudes with reference to Cadiz, which is exactly 6°1'30" E. of Greenwich.

...
During our stay in Palau, the captain of an English ship¹ said that, to the SSE of Nukuoro, which, according to him, is laid down 50 miles too far W. of its true position, he had visited an atoll not shown on the charts, which consisted of 15 coral islands, only one of which was inhabited, that situated in 1°30' lat. N. and 163°12'24" long. E.² The natives, who had seen ships pass by their island many times, had never seen white men, and they were quite shy; their skin is of a light copper color, their facial features regular and their hair curly, and frequently blond, as we saw on four men and two women whom he still had on board his ship; in fact, one of them had his hair auburn in color. They were all covered with leprosy³ and they called their island Matador.⁴

1 Ed. note: Captain Gall, of the **Rupak** (see Doc. 1875D).

2 Ed. note: It corresponds to Kapingamarangi, but its longitude is more like 154°30' E. of Greenwich. Its natives are Polynesian.

3 Ed. note: Probably ichtiosis instead.

4 Ed. note: The natives themselves could not have called it Matador, which is a Spanish word meaning Killer. There exists a logbook kept by G. Riemer published as "Tagebuchauszug, betreffend, die reise S.M.S. Hertha nach Ostasien und den Südsee-Inseln 1874-1877 (1878)."

Document 1876D

The life and times of the Recollect Father Francisco Resano, 1876-1907 period

Sources: Fr. Rafael García de la Purísima Concepción, ORSA. Article entitled "Estela de una estrella, ó Apuntes biográficos del R.P. Fr. Francisco Resano del Santo Corazón de Jesús," in the Boletín de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino, n° 59 (Marcilla, 1964); cited in Glimpes 16:4 (1976): 52-56, 70-71.

"In the Wake of a Star"

In a series of articles published a few years ago in the journal entitled "Todos Misioneros" we related the highlights of the heroic missionary life of Fr. Francisco Resano. The more important aspects of his missionary activities are mentioned there—only what could be of interest to the readers of that publication. But, naturally, we did not include in those articles everything related to him that can be found in our Provincial Archives.¹ The long period of 30 years that he spent in the Marianas, provide much historical material for more elaborate articles. That is what we intend to do at present: collect what is available and make it known through the pages of this Bulletin...

Fr. Francisco Resano was one of the singular agents of the resurgence of the Province² He did not feature among the superiors at the helm of our Province, but in the far-away field of the Marianas to which he was sent, and where he shined by his intelligence, powerful judgment, judicious mind and apostolic zeal, all of which were linked with a fervent patriotism that provided the means to uplift the Province and won him the highest praise.

He was a star in the firmament of the Recollect missions. His fruitful life was its lyrical and shiny wake. We are going to outline some of the features of this exemplary life.

And, given that the life of Fr. Resano is intimately linked with the multiple and important political events that occurred in the Marianas in the later years of the Spanish dominion in those islands, we will also refer to the latter in these articles. So, this monograph will deal not only with the life of Fr. Resano but also the history of the Marianas during the Spanish period.

1 Ed. note: The archives of the Spanish Recollects are located in Marcilla, Navarra, Spain.

2 Ed. note: With three houses in Spain, located at Monteagudo, Marcilla, and San Millán.

I.
Historical Background.

...
The population [of the Marianas] was always very low; indeed, according to the census of 1710, Guam had 3,678 inhabitants, and in 1886 it had 9,770.
1
...

II.
The Rising of the Star.

Since we lack information on the details of his youth and his first years of religious life, we restrict ourselves to the chronology of the main events of this part of his life.

He was born in Andosilla, Navarra, on 4 October 1851. His parents were Ramón [Resano] and Isabel Murugarren. He took on the habit in Monteagudo on 11 October 1870, and made a first profession on 12 October of the following year.

He studied to become a priest in the colleges of Monteagudo and Marcilla, and received the holy orders from the Bishop of Tarazona, Monsignor Cosme Marrodán y Rubio. The tonsure and the minor orders, he received on the 17th and 18th August 1872 in our church of Monteagudo; the others in the episcopal chapel of Tarazona. On the 8th and 15th November 1872, he became sub-deacon and deacon; on the 19th December he joined the priesthood.

He was then appointed Missionary to the Philippines. He embarked at Barcelona on 6 October 1875, and arrived at Manila on 17 November following.

Two months later, he received his patent for the Marianas, becoming Curate of Rota with a licence to hear confession and give confidential absolutions in the whole Province—a sure mark of confidence in his abilities.

He departed Manila on 25 January 1876, in the company of Fr. José Lamban del Pilar. Fr. Resano was to replace Fr. Valentín Casamayor de la Purísima Concepción, and Fr. Lamban was on the way to Saipan to replace Fr. Casiano Vazquez del Angel Custodio. They board the **Candida** that was carrying the mail and the rations for the exiles. They arrived safely at the Marianas on 6 March.²

Rota, therefore, became the Novitiate of his life as a missionary. If only he would have had to adapt himself to live with the Chamorros and exercise his purely religious duties among them, he would have soon been living without danger, peacefully and quietly in the Mariana Islands. He was an extremely well balanced individual, with much tact in human relationships, great wisdom and no little virtue; he would have easily adapted himself to the local climate and the character of the inhabitants, by making

1 Ed note: I omit the history since Magellan, Legazpi, etc. which he quotes from Governor Olive's and Governor De la Corte's histories.

2 All of these details are copied from the *Libro de defunciones del convento de Intramuros de Manila* [The book recording deaths of the Convent of Intramuros, Manila].

himself everything to everybody. However, his arrival coincided with a turbulent period in the lives of the islanders, due to the presence of the exiles. Indeed, when he arrived at the islands, the political exiles that the Government had sent in 1874 and 1876 were already there. According to the *Libro de Cosas Notables de la parroquia de Agaña* [Book of Noteworthy Events of the parish of Agaña], cited in the *Libro de Defunciones del Convento de Intramuros de Manila*, 700 convicts were deported there aboard two ships. Francisco Olive, in his book, says that during those four years, the number of convicts there rose to about 800. In any case, among them there were some undesirable individuals, as usually happens among hotheads, who, loaded with crimes and with a conscience subverted by the poison of hate and anarchical ideas, people who take pleasure in promoting revolts and tormenting the authorities. There were also some political exiles belonging to that great turbulent period in the history of Spain, that from 1868 to 1875. It was a period of mutinies, uncontrolled revolutionary currents, ferocious reprisals and the most shameful anarchy, as described by Menendez y Pelayo in his *Heterodoxos*. They were the sons of that period, and the very companions of those who pirated the defenceless ports of the Mediterranean and the cities of Cartagena, Cadiz, Jerez, Seville and Madrid—cities where they all came from—people who had committed so many horrendous crimes. Their presence in the Marianas was a disaster.

The desolation that they caused is not a mere conjecture. It is confirmed by a trustworthy eyewitness such as Francisco Olive, who acted as Political and Military Governor of the Marianas during various years. He tells us that those hundreds of exiles were not from among the choicest people nor from the well educated, politically and religiously. They created great material and moral damages and, since they were such great rabble-rousers, we should not be surprised at all at the result. They came with the morality that their acts in Spain had revealed, and were naked, miserable, and made desperate by a very long voyage in the worst of conditions. Since there were no buildings to lodge them, they were distributed among the different islands and among the Chamorros, living in their houses. Their rations were not paid in the form of money and, since they had to be fed, cows had to be killed, something that did great damage to the islands on account of the heavy demand for such a food source.

True it is, that in time, being Spaniards, they became resigned to their fate and the majority of them behaved well. However, until this happened, they were the cause of great disturbances, not a few annoyances and real grief. All of this makes us think of the situation that their presence might have caused and the extraordinary tact and prudence that Fr. Resano must have applied at all hours to refrain those who, punished for their crimes or victims of political turmoils, saw themselves in exile far from their native soil, confined to small islands lost in the vast Pacific Ocean, and lacking the most basic necessities of life, on account of the local conditions.

As may be supposed, to pacify their quarrels, relieve their hunger and maintain them within a certain discipline, was not an easy task, but rather a delicate and ticklish one. However, fortunately—this I take from his obituary in the Record Book of the Convent of Manila—the proven virtue and exquisite prudence of Fr. Resano, in addition to

his administrative ability, served him in good stead during that dangerous period. Fr. Sábada says in his Catalogue: "While he was Curate of Rota he had to suffer much unpleasantness on account of the exiles who were sent there by our Government, but thank to his exquisite prudence some bloody scenes were avoided."

Thus, with these laconic phrases in his obituaries and biography, were spent the nearly two years that lasted the presence of Spanish exiles in Rota. Brief as they are, such remarks are indeed flattering, given the sad events that he managed to live through and the situation that he saved from greater disasters, thanks to the appropriate qualities of his character.

This result was for him a triumph. For the superiors, it was a promise of greater things to come. That is why, in spite of his youth and the presence in the islands of older missionaries, with many years of service, the Bishop of Cebu, Monsignor Benito Romero de Madridejos, on 11 December 1877, and at the recommendation of our Rev. Fr. Provincial, Fr. Aquilino Bon de San Sebastián, issued in his favor the titles of Interim Curate of the parish of Agaña, the capital of the Island of Guam. These letters of appointment arrived at the Marianas in February 1878. On the 15th of that month, the Governor, Mr. Manuel Bravo y Barrera, ordered them to be recorded in the civil archives and in those of the Administrator of the Treasury. Then, upon being replaced by Fr. Miguel Ortubia, he moved to Guam and took charge of his new parish. During the month of December 1880, he was appointed Vicar Provincial of the Marianas and Vicar Forane with ample faculties, among others, the power of confirmation. This is not surprising, because, although the islands belong to the bishopric of Cebu, they were never visited by their bishops, as they lie some 400 leagues from the Philippines and there is only one ship visiting them annually; therefore, the problem of distance is so great that regular visits by the bishops were out of the question and they had to delegate certain faculties to their subjects. For an example of this distance and the solitude that it generated in the missionaries of the Marianas, we need only refer to one note, written in the Book of Noteworthy Events, written by Fr. Resano himself: "On the 2nd day of June of this year, 1883, there arrived the steamer **Luzon** after we had been without mail for one year and two months!"

III. Decorated.

During the historical period that concerns us, the Spanish missionary in the Marianas and Philippines had not only religious duties to attend to, but also, to a certain extent, to political and civil matters. The territories where they lived were under the Spanish flag and subject to laws that regulated things both temporal and spiritual; they were forced to add civil collaboration to their strictly religious duties. That explains why some people accused them of being "informal" Government officials, because they dealt with civil matters. However, if by "Government official" one means "deriving one's authority from the Government, being subordinate to the Government and doing

things according to law, regulations and instructions received in carrying out one's official duties" then their critics were wrong. The Spanish missionary collaborated with his Government but in a secondary manner, and not to the detriment of Christ's interests, in accordance with what those interests demanded and required. The discovery of those archipelagos and their later conquest and civilization under the sign of the cross took place. The Spanish endeavor was double, the cross and the sword being at work at the same time, but the highest honor in the "defence of the Spanish enterprise" was due to the religious orders, as Ramiro de Maeztu was to write later on. The ideals that such enterprises generated and encouraged had a long-standing status; they were the same catholic ideals that Queen Isabel the Catholic expressed in her Testament and those that were specified in the Bull of Pope Alexander VI when he granted to Spain dominion over the lands lying west and south on the condition that we were to bring the faith to the natives and teach them good customs. That is why the missionaries who were the sons and subjects of Spain operating overthere did so under the Royal patronage which took care of the costs of building and maintaining churches and the missionaries collaborated and cooperated with the nation that took such good care of them. On the other hand, this collaboration was not a servile subordination nor a cooperation that forgot the dignity and the duties of their ministry, but a coordination of efforts and works that gave such positive and advantageous results, to wit, the christianization of continents and archipelagos.

Well then, one of these zealous missionoaries and faithful patriot was Fr. Resano. As his performance in Rota, his first mission field, had revealed all the good qualities that he had, it was on account of them that he was transferred to Agaña, the capital of the Marianas. He remained there until November 1884 when he boarded a ship for Manila to seek relief for a bad health.

During the first six years of his stay at Agaña, while the course of life unfolded normally, his activities also took place normally. From the letters that he wrote during the last decades of the last century, which are still extant, it appears that, during that period, he was everything to everybody; he acted as adviser to the governors, father to the poor, friend to the children, instigator of public works, a beacon pointing the rood to salvation to all the Chamorros.

However, the monotony of such a life, fruitful but boring, was scandalously interrupted by a sad and painful event that consternated the inhabitants of those islands, one that did not produce worse effects, thanks to the intervention of Fr. Resano. We refer to the assassination of the Governor of the Marianas, Infantry Colonel Angel de Pazos Vela Hidalgo, who had filled this post for only four and a half months. According to the *Libro de Defunciones del convento de Intramuros de Manila*, it happened this way.

On 2 August 1884, when at 8 p.m. Mr. Pazos was retiring and going through the entrance of residence when a Chamorro guard, a native of Agaña and soldiers in the Standing Company, named José de Salas, after saluting the Governor, turned around and fired a bullet through his back at close range. The bullet severed his vertebral column,

passed through his heart and exited by the left side, causing instantaneous death. The assassin fled immediately, but one of the first on the scene was Fr. Resano. The two of them had just said good-bye after taking a stroll together. Fr. Resano was about to go up the stairs of the parish convent when he heard the detonation. The Spanish officials also rushed to the scene; they were all astounded and surprised by such an inexplicable crime and they could not find a reason for it, except perhaps the temporary insanity of the guard or the result of some personal resentment held against the deceased.

However, in the midst of this general bewilderment, there was a man who kept his serenity and foresaw a more unpleasant outcome: it was Fr. Resano. He feared and suspected that this act might be the first blow in a conspiracy plotted in secret against the authorities and, with the speed that the case demanded and what was necessary to save the lives of everyone, he urged Mr. Borreda to take over the command, to issue a proclamation announcing the death of the Governor, but also the fact that he was in control and that he would see that justice was done immediately. He also suggested to him that the guards should be relieved of their duties, the troop disarmed and, until such time as loyal persons could find out what was going on, the Spaniards should assemble, with weapons, within the Government House.

This was done. That same night, the new interim Governor, Antonio Borreda, after taking all the precautions that he thought appropriate against any eventualities, went up to the guard-house, unarmed, in cold blood, and apparently without any fear. This attitude was his salvation, because one of the guards whom he ordered to place the ramrod inside the barrel of his gun and whom he congratulated for having loaded it well, had already cocked the trigger to shoot him, according to his later confession, but did not do so because he had been disarmed by his astounding calmness and the air of authority that he displayed in dealing with him. After this, the measures suggested by Fr. Resano were put into effect. As everything took place so quickly, the mutineers thought that they had been found out and they did not dare carry out their criminal designs.

The plot was revealed to the Spaniards the following morning when, after the funeral, the assassin came up to the interim Governor and spontaneously admitted that he was the author of the crime and that he had done so, not out of personal resentment, but as a result of a conspiracy that had been in the making for some time among the soldiers of the Standing Company; the plan had been to kill all the Spaniards and a few of the leading men of Agaña in order to do whatever they please afterwards.

That was how that bloody event ended, and so too the planned uprising. However, as can be read in the obituary of Fr. Resano, it was his serenity and prudence that saved the lives of the Spaniards of the Marianas that night and avoided a bloody mutiny that, even if it had been put down, would have had tragic consequences, given that there were over 40 native soldiers implicated and much time would have passed before assistance came from Manila.

These services of Fr. Resano were recognized by the Spanish Government and he was awarded the Cross of Isabel the Catholic. According to the newspaper "Libertas"

of Manila, dated 25 January 1909, he was also decorated with the Cross of Military Merit, but we do not know when nor why he was awarded the latter; in the provincial archives, we have found nothing that refers to it. However, in the provincial archives there are documents regarding his receiving the Cross of Isabel the Catholic, with regards to the events just described. The first one is the Royal order that awards it; the Minister of War so communicates it to the Captain General of the Philippines, and copies went to the Archbishop of Manila and the our Father Provincial there. The second document is from the Archbishop of Manila forwarding the official diploma. The third document is the text of this diploma itself, that says the following:

“Ministry of State.—The Under-Secretary.—

“H.M. the King (may God save him) has been pleased to appoint Your Reverence by Decree of this date Gentleman of the Royal Order of Isabel the Catholic, free of expenses.

“By Royal order I so inform Y.R. for your intelligence and satisfaction, advising you that you may not wear the medals of the Order until such time as its secretariat has issued them, upon presentation of this Diploma, and you have been officially decorated in accordance with the statutes; and, should the period of three months expire without the payment of the duties having been received, this grant will hereby be cancelled.

“May God save Y.R. for many years.

“Palace, 12 March 1885.

[To] “Fr. Francisco Resano.”

The fourth document is a letter from our Fr. Provincial to the Archbishop of Manila acknowledging the receipt of the previous documents. All of these can be found in the Book 63, entitled: “Letters from the Ecclesiastical Authorities and answers thereto, 1881-1885.”

IV.

At the Parish of Agat.

This assassination of the Governor of the Marianas had, on the one hand, produced the effect of an electrical discharge during the first terrible moments among the Spanish residents, nevertheless contributed, on the other hand, to an absolute peace that they enjoyed from then on. The punishment that was carried out on the mutineers and the tremendous and painful sensation that a criminal act, such as the assassination of the first authority of those Islands, caused among the Chamorros, were at the root of the peace and tranquility that lasted twelve years without any civil disorder. By the way, this peace was finally broken by the events of the Philippine revolution of 1898; however, while it lasted, there were no impediments to the collaboration between the civil and religious authorities in the Marianas that produced good results for the common welfare of the Chamorros.

For Fr. Resano, this peaceful interlude was most welcome. A short time after the events of 2 August 1884, he had to go to Manila on account of sickness. He remained there from November 1884 until March of the following year. Having recovered from his illness, he returned to the Marianas and, a few months later, was transferred to the town of Agat in the same Island of Guam.

Re resided in that parish for eight years, during which time he dedicated himself fully to his parish. There he was free of social commitments, living at some distance from the civil and military authorities. They did not require his time nor disturbed him, as at Agaña, while he was employed full time in pastoral duties. He was a zealous pastor, dedicated to the spiritual and material welfare of his flock, to which end he was fully involved. At the same time as he was looking after religious services, he also took care of the material and external needs of his flock. For example, the results of such efforts can be seen in the building program that he undertook. During this period, he replaced the old parish church by another, more airy and beautiful church building, with larger dimensions and most artistically pleasing. Everything was made of strong material; indeed, the walls were of solid masonry, and the roof of iron sheeting. He also built schools for the children of the settlement with the same materials and, in addition, he repaired and made noteworthy improvements to the parish house and a few of the chapels in the adjacent villages within his jurisdiction.

The town of Agat was described by Francisco Olive in his already-mentioned book, pages 41-42, as follows:

"The town of Agat is situated on the coast of a cove facing West. The town consists of three streets, two parallel ones and one transversal, wide and open, the main street being over 700 meters in length. There are eight houses built of masonry with thatched roofs, 41 are of board and 79 of cane and thatch. The church is a masonry building with the roof of *gigay* [sic], and the parish house of masonry covered with tiles.

The plain surrounding the town is rather vast: behind it is Mount Lomopó, whence flows the Alluja River, whose water is excellent, and which flows out into the sea at the northern entrance to the town. On Mount Lompó and nearby hills can be found excellent wood for building purposes; but, in spite of all of these advantages, the residents of Agat are famous for being the laziest and most vicious of all the islands."

"Many of the best plantations are cultivated by people coming from Agaña, and the wood is used by the people of Sumay to build their houses, while most of the people of Agat live in cane houses, and so few of them compared to the population that on the average there are 13 persons for every house. If the truth be told, behind one row of houses there is a row of big and leafy breaa-fruit trees whose branches penetrate the windows of the houses themselves, so that the natives have only to extend their hand to provide themselves with their abundant fruits. So it is that one can say that Agat is the true Jauja that our ancestors only dreamed of. About 50 years ago, Villalobos (a former Governor) proposed to move the capital of the Mariana Islands to that site. What a pretty and well located capital we would now have! but it is not too late if we wish to carry this out."

Here lived Fr. Resano for a period of eight years. And we suspect that this was due to the return of Fr. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen to the Marianas after a few years of absence. This man was a deserving missionary of those islands, and at that time he was the most prestigious and influential. He had already spent 25 years as a missionary there; at various times he had filled the posts of Vicar Provincial and Vicar Forane; he had been Rector of the College of San Juan de Letrán and, in addition, was the author of various small books on religious and academic subjects. Such deeds gave him prestige and influence before the authorities and the people. That is why and on account of his age, which was about 60 years, that must be ascribed his appointment to the capital of the Marianas, where he resided until his death which occurred on 20 Decemer 1892. Fr. Resano then returned to Agaña to fill the posts of curate, Vicar Provincial and Forane, Ecclesiastical Judge and military Chaplain.

V.

Tragic Nights in Agaña.

During the first three years of Fr. Resano's new posting to Agaña, nothing special occurred. Life went on quiet and serene, while he exercised his ministry. However, in 1896, twelve years after the tragic assassination of Governor Pazos, a funeral pall returned to cover the city of Agaña with another lamentable and disgraceful event that brought a new page of horror to the history of the Marianas, although the rebels that caused such incidents were not Chamorros but Filipino Tagalogs.

The bloody event to which we refer is the following.

During the month of August 1896 occurred the first sparks of the Philippine revolution against Spain. This revolution was planned inside the Masonic dens of the *Katipunan*. The plot was uncovered, on the 21st of August, by Fr. Mariano Gil, an Augustinian, whose service was not officially acknowledged. Five days later, there was proclaimed the "Cry of Balintawak", the first revolutionary act. The anti-Spanish movement was then repressed effectively, but it was not uprooted. Two years later, it resurfaced and resulted in an absolute break of the Philippines from Spain, although its independence did not occur, because the Yankees raised their flag overthere and did not grant their independence, not until 1946.

There was no subversive movement in the Marianas, but that did not prevent them from being sullied with blood stains, because, among the punishments that the authority of Manila imposed upon the revolutionaries, one was their deportation to the Marianas, where, on two separate occasions, two groups of convicts were taken. The first transport took place during the month of Septembert, with 57 prisoners; the second in December with 207. In the latter group, there were three men who had already been deported to the Marianas; they knew the Island of Guam, and they thought to could easily escape from jail, and they had talked about their plan with other prisoners, while still on board the ship. Bent on escaping from jail and killing the Spanish residents, they continued discussing this plan once they were ashore, but with such little

secrecy that their conversation was heard by two Chamorro artillerymen. The latter, loyal to Spain, reported what they had heard. Naturally, precautionary measures were taken to prevent anything from happening. That is why, during the night of the second day of their arrival at the Marianas, when they tried to escape through holes in the roofing, they were stopped by shots being fired at them; there were one dead and five wounded.

This incident, which took place on the 19th of December, should have been enough of a warning and lesson. It should have been enough for them to understand that their doings were continually being reported on to the authorities. However, instead of that, the next day, when a summary investigation was already going on to identify the leader of the mutiny, at about 11 p.m., in an act of desperation, some began climbing the walls of the prison while others attacked the doors, in order to break out and escape. Both actions took place at the same time. However, they had disregarded the loyalty of the Chamorros and the vigilance of the Spanish who, as soon as they noticed the attempts, blocked their exits with repeated discharges from their rifles. Far from intimidating them, the shots seem infuriated them and they did not cease in their attempts at escaping. That is why the firing continued as long as there appeared to be some danger.

It was not therefore surprising that such a sustained firing had alarmed the people of Agaña and, given that the islanders remained loyal to Spain, the local men approached Governor Juan Marina with offers to place themselves under his command, armed with their own shotguns, machetes or clubs, whatever they had been able to find. They were placed in the vicinity of the jail, in case a few prisoners managed to escape. However, not one succeeded in doing so. Having learned their lesson, the mutinous prisoners finally desisted from their plan to escape. At daybreak, and before the authorities opened the door of the prison, a horrendous spectacle met their eyes. Not only were there 80 dead bodies and over 45 wounded men also bathing in their own blood, but also they were met by the cry of the surviving prisoners, shouting blasphemies at their jailers and guards, desparate but impotent in their challenges.

Such was the sad and tragic event that occurred in the Marianas in the latter days of the Spanish dominion. It broke the the long period of peace which we have said lasted twelve years. This raging fire seemed to be the prelude to other sad revolts that were to trouble the spiritual peace of those islands. It was one more bloody page in their history book. If we have recorded it, with some details, it is because Fr. Resano was, in some manner, responsible for having warned the Governor against the serious ness of the situation, to avoid greater disasters. Our source is a man who was an eyewitness to the events, Fr. Tomás Cueva, who was then a missionary in the islands and a guest of Fr. Resano at Agaña. He wrote to Fr. Francisco Sábada on 30 December 1896 and his letter is kept in the provincial archives.¹

According to this letter, the Governor was not a friend of habits or cassocks; he had readily shown his antipathy toward the missionaries and, as a consequence of this, there

1 In File n° 48.

were not a few clashes and bothersome incidents. When the Filipino revolutionaries that the Captain General of the Philippines, Ramón Blanco, had sent disembarked, he tried to treat them with benignity, and even planned to send back to Manila the Spanish soldiers who had escorted them to the Island of Guam. Such an attitude on the part of the first authority in the Marianas alarmed the missionaries. Through letters from Fr. Sábada they had already learned about the discovery of the masonic *Katiupnan* plot on the part of some Tagalogs, the mobiles they had for their uprising and their bloody purposes. That is why, Fr. Resano, accompanied by a few Spaniards and Fr. Cueva, appeared before the Governor and, with grave and ponderous words, tried to explain the situation of the island with the arrival of the deportees, the evil intentions that they had, the danger for the lives of the Spanish population and the terrible consequences that could occur, if he did not proceed with caution, energy and without delay. The words of the missionary, delivered in the presence of other Spaniards and with the gravity that the case demanded, so impressed the Governor that, in spite of a feeling of resentment for his pride having been hurt, he sided with them and promised to act as prudently as the situation called for. He kept his word and, even when the punishment was so great, by it there was saved greater misfortunes and peace returned to the island. There were a few more instances in which the serpent raised its head in the intrigue against Spain, but the prestige of the missionaries and the loyalty of the mass of the Chamorro people defeated them all and suffocated all seeds of discord.

VI. At War [1898].

What has just been related took place in 1896. Then, for two years, not one cloud of torment passed through the blue sky of tranquility, not until June 1898 when a tragicomical incident came to upset it.

We have already alluded to the lack of communication between Manila and the Marianas. It was due to the almost non-existent trade in the Marianas. For this reason, or for the rather great distance of 1,200 miles that separated them from Manila, there was only one schooner a year chartered by the authorities in the Philippine archipelago to carry the mail, provision and personal. At times, the frequency was even less. Nevertheless, as of 1885, as a result of the incident caused by the Germans for the purpose of seizing the Carolines, one that was satisfactorily concluded without recourse to war, thanks to the intervention of Popy Leo XIII that had been sought by both nations, the situation somewhat improved by the establishment of a mail link every two months between Manila and the archipelagos of the Marianas and Carolines. However, this link was severed upon the declaration of war by America against Spain, and as a result of the following incident.

In the morning of 20 June 1898, the semaphore signalled the message "ship in sight." There soon appeared before the settlement a fleet of four large steamships whose nationality was unknown because they did not show their flags. One of them, after com-

ing close to the land, headed for the port and was soon followed by the other three. She went inside and raised the U.S. flag. Then, after she had anchored, she fired 12 guns. Those ashore were impressed and fear soon took control over them. However, as they raised the Spanish flag, they thought that they would not have to return the gun salute, if the strangers came in peace. In spite of this, those who, as usual, had to go out to receive them, were not sure what to do. However, the Port Captain decided to go out, alone or accompanied, as was his duty; the others soon joined him, forgetting their fears, and they all headed to the ship which turned out to be the **Charleston**, a famous ships in the U.S. fleet that was headed for Manila with the other three ships. Out of the four ships, only this one that went inside the port and anchored there was a warship, a 4,000-ton cruiser with a range of 1,800 miles. The other three were trans-Atlantic transport ships of large capacity that carried a total of about 10,000 soldiers. The largest, of 8,000-ton capacity, did not get inside the port until nightfall. The other two layed off and on Orote Point and did not anchor until the next evening outside the port.

The men who went out were: the Port Captain, Francisco García Gutierrez, the military physician, Dr. José Romero y Aguilar, the Administrator of the Treasury, José Sixto, Fr. Crisógono Ortiz, who happened to be at Agaña that day, and the Interpreter, José Portusach. When they arrived alongside, they were greeted in Spanish by the Americans and with polite but dissembling phrases and false smiles inviting them to come on deck. As soon as they had stepped on deck, they Port Captain, the Medical Officer and Interpreter, were immediately taken to the Commander's cabin. There they were informed that, as of the 21st April, war was declared between Spain and the U.S.A. and the shots fired at Fort Santa Cruz were to find out if the fort could answer. The Americans believed the place to be occupied and that is why they had taken such precautions. But when they were informed that the whole strength of the island consisted in 54 Spanish soldiers and as many native ones, they were allowed to return ashore with a commission to advise the Governor of the Marianas, Juan Marina, that they wanted to hold a conference with him, ashore or on board.¹

As one may suppose, the surprise of the Spanish was huge.

Upon receiving the message of the American Commander, the Governor called a meeting of the Council of Authorities to discuss what to do, and, although he was himself in favor of offering resistance, given the uselessness of the plan, on account of the disproportionate forces, he agreed to hold a conference ashore. There was no other

1 In the narrative of this incident that appears in the *Libro de Defunciones de Intramuros*, it is said that the Americans kept the Port Captain and the Military Physician prisoners aboard, allowing only the Administrator of the Treasury and Fr. Crisógono Ortiz to return ashore to inform the Governor of the wishes of the American commander. However, in a manuscript account given by Father Ildefonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz at the request of our Fr. Provincial, Fr. Francisco Ayarra, it is not said that they were made prisoners at that moment, but that it was precisely the Port Captain who begged the American officer to allowed himself, under his word as a gentleman and officer, to go in person to advise the Governor. This account of the Fathers is to be found in File n° 48.

choice; in fact, Spanish law forbid the Governor to go on board a foreign ship, and the more so if this foreign ship belonged to a nation that said that it was at war with Spain.

The conference did take place on the pier and, once the surrender was agreed upon, they were immediately taken on board as war prisoners, after the soldiers and all the Spanish officers had been disarmed. The artillery section, composed of Chamorro soldiers, was left in the islands, but without weapons; they were asked to go home. Finally, they asked that all Spanish flags existing in all the official buildings be turned over.

When the news of spread throughout Agaña, everyone became deeply consternated, giving signs of sorrow and discouragement. More so than the others were the families of the high officials of the island who, by remaining behind in what constituted for them from then on a foreign country, saw themselves alone, far from the motherland and relatives, without knowing what would be the fates of their husbands to whom they could not even say good-bye. In addition, there was a rumor to the effect that the Americans would leave a military garrison on the island, and this increased their anxiety and consternation, because, after the experience they had had with the old whalers, they feared, not without a reason, that they would commit all types of depredations. Due to this, whole families abandoned that very evening their houses and sought refuge in the bushes; others invaded the temple, seeking divine help with fervor and shedding tears to implore the Lord to protect them from the evils that they feared. The church was so full and the crowd so constant that day that the doors of the temple were kept open until past 10 o'clock at night.

Fortunately, such rumors were not confirmed nor were they realized; indeed, after raising the U.S. flag on Fort Santa Cruz and saluting it with 21 guns, they weighed anchors and sailed towards the northwest. Nevertheless, before they left, the commander was asked to explain the situation in which he left the island, without any authority. The American had not thought about it, but he arranged it by writing a letter appointing José Sixto, the Administrator of the Treasury, as Governor of the Marianas, entrusting him with making sure that everything went on as usual, **as if nothing had happened.**

After the Americans had left, Fr. Resano and everyone else were left in the midst of the darkest uncertainty. They faced a disappointing future and a situation truly abnormal because José Sixto took charge on an interim basis of the government of the Marianas under the most abnormal circumstances that can be imagined. As the written narrative in the above-mentioned *Libro de Defunciones* says, José Sixto could not have been a Spanish governor, as he had been named by Americans, nor was he an American governor, because he was a Spanish official and governed in accordance with Spanish law. Moreover, as the Americans had carried away the Spanish soldiers and disarmed the Chamorros, there was no longer any armed force. There were not even one Spanish flag left, as they had all been taken away, no doubt as war trophies; the U.S. flag that had been raised on Fort Santa Cruz had simply been lowered and taken away also. Fortunately, the general surprise, plus the feeling that it caused, plus the

good-will of everyone prevented the events of those sad days from becoming a catastrophe that the conditions made everyone fear.

The impression that the situation caused in the missionaries is one that is easy to conjecture. Under the protection of the Spanish flag which for centuries had remained the symbol protecting the Cross, the missionaries had christianized the inhabitants of those islands and had carried out work that was beneficial to all. It had remained raised in those green islands as a guarantee of freedom to exercise their missionary labor, since they had brought with them a Religion that proclaims the dogma of the essential equality of all human beings, no matter their origin or destiny. But now, its disappearance caused their minds to become depressed, a rent split their Spanish hearts, and at the same time that an era was coming to a close for the divine enterprises, a new dawn had appeared, dark and cloudy in their eyes, as a pall of uncertainty spread over that Christian land.

VII.

Father José Palomo.

Bitter, indeed, must have been the days spent by Fr. Resano and the missionaries who worked with him in the Marianas. It was a desperate situation in which the uncertainty about the future and the little trust that some people inspired in them. Without any hope other than for divine help, Fr. Resano, as Vicar Forane, ordered the religious through a circular to celebrate a high mass with the Exposition of the Blessed Host for one whole Sunday, to implore the Lord for the prompt end to the war and that situation. All the towns responded and the people attended with great fervor the functions that were celebrated in all the parishes.

Even when the general mass of the islanders remained loyal, the religious missionaries were not completely at ease because there were some natives who, anxious for news and being trouble-makers, desired a change of government. They had invited the idea that, under the American regime, they would live with greater freedom. They thought that the flag of many stars would bring them an era of prosperity and abundance, and therefore, ambitious to take over command and for other unmentionable things, they began to stir up the inganrant people, making them believe that the government by Spaniards was illegal and, according to them, it had ceased to exist at the moment the Spanish military authorities had been carried away prisoners aboard the **Charleston**. With their insinuations and anti-Spanish propaganda in their nocturnal meetings, they created ideas of rebellion or resistance to the minds of a few ambitious men and this caused a rarefied and disagreeable atmosphere for the missionaries and the other Spaniards left behind. The result was that some began to shirk their responsibilities and others to disobey their orders openly and brazenly.

Well then, it can be said that the agitator of that anti-Spanish tidal wave and the thinker being those disturbances and disloyal maneuvers was Fr. José Palomo, a secular priest born in Agaña, the first Chamorro priest, disciple of our Fathers, who possessed an above-average education and spoke English, French, Japanese, Spanish,

Latin, Chamorro and Carolinian. He was and always remained, as a priest, an exemplary one, zealous and working hard to keep this countrymen within the faith, to such an extent that, during the last years of his life he was appointed by Saint Pius X, as a recognition of his loyal conduct, Honorary Mayordomo *extra Urbem*. During the time period from the departure of our Fathers and the arrival of the Capuchin Fathers, he was the *columna et firmamentum veritatis en Guam* [pillar and firmament for the Truth in Guam]. According to what Fr. Resano wrote to Fr. Sábada in a letter dated 10 August 1900, the fanatically anti-Catholic Governor of Guam, Mr. Leary, proposed to him that he should found a schismatic Church, independent of Rome, and telling him that he would be its first adherent. In the book entitled: *Misiones Católicas en Extremo Oriente* [Catholic Missions in the Far East], it is said that he [Leary] promised him that the U.S. Government would pay him a pension and would grant him all the privileges reserved for officers at the naval station. Fr. Palomo rejected such base proposals with indignation.

So he was as a priest, and he was regarded as such by our Fathers until the bitter moments of the unpleasantness in question, as can be seen in the obituary of Fr. Resano and in the letter that Fr. Aniceto Ibañez wrote to the Bishop of Cebu, on 16 January 1891, as a result of an irreverent letter that Fr. Palomo had addressed to the Administrator of the Public Treasury, when the latter tried to stop the collection of the tithes called *Sanctorum*, saying that the sums reserved for the maintenance of the cult and the repair and maintenance of the churches were already included in the general budgets for expenses and revenues.

[Note:] In the Marianas, they called *Sanctorum* a tax that was collected from the people for the maintenance of the cult and the repair and maintenance of the churches, because the parishes laced fixed allotments for such purposes, since they did not receive a part of the income taxes collected by the government, as the people were exempted from such taxes. In the budgets for 1890, certain sums appeared for such purposes and, for this reason, the Administrator of the Treasury ordered that the collection of titles be stopped and that every one of the parishes should tell his office what sums had already been collected as tithes during the first two-thirds of that year, in order for him to deduct these from the sums that his office had yet to collect. That is what motivated Fr. Palomo to write his irreverent letter—irreverent in the words he used and the ideas mentioned therein.

In the letter in question, the attitude of Fr. Palomo toward authority is indeed criticized, but the following is also said:

“This priest is rather well educated, of strict observance and zealous in the exercise of his holy ministry. He has my permission to live with two nieces of his, the daughters of the only sister he had, and who are lost both their father and mother; they imitate their uncle in his conduct and nothing [bad] can be said about them. In another house next door to his, there also lives a female first-cousin of his, who has also lost her par-

ents and a good Christian; however, the latter is a common trader and, since her uncle, Fr. Palomo, speaks English rather well, he helps her out as an interpreter, as he does for other people. That is why some say that Fr. Palomo himself is a trader. As for me, Your Excellency, I declare, as I am the one man responsible before God, and by placing my hand upon my heart, that Fr. Jos{0 Palomo is not a trader. As far as his chastity is concerned, I once again place my hand upon my chest and say that he is irreproachable."¹

Regarding his priestly life, there is therefore nothing to add. And regarding his relationships with the missionaries and with the Superiors of the Prvince until the last moments of Spanish rule, the same. They were so cordial and zealous that in the Provincial Chapter held in 1860, he was admitted as a "General Brother of the Province," and given the corresponding diploma by our Father Fray Juan Felix de la Encarnación for his "affection and devotion toward all things involving our Sacred Order."²

However, during the last years of the Spanish rule over the Marianas, his political feelings changed and, consequently, his relationships then existing between him and our Fathers and the Order became relaxed. As a result of his continuous dealings with the crews of whaling ships, he had learned English and he became such good friends with them that they often stopped at his house in Agaña. Perhaps they also told fantastic stories about the American republic that befuddled him. The truth is that he began to feel great sympathy for the Americans and to show indifference and coolness toward the Spanish. This behavior must have been the reflection of his inner feelings and the results of some intimate secrets, since, as of 1896, he was waiting for the Americans to take over the Marianas. He also had close contacts with the Japanese, too close as we shall see.

In view of this, we can hardly be surprised that our Fathers began to distrust him and that their relationships, which had been so fraternal, became tense little by little. According to what Fr. Palomo wrote to our Fr. Provincial, our Fathers accused him of being a "filibuster" [revolutionary] and considered him an enemy. He himself rejected the label and denied everything, alleging in his letters that he had, in fact, rendered many services to various religious in their illnesses, among others, Fr. Gregorio Martinez whom he had kept in his own house and assisted until his death.³ The outcome of all of this was that, in 1897, he returned the diploma of "General Brother" with a letter that is kept in the archive and about which, with respect to the later services of said priest to the Church, we will keep quiet. We will simply quote the last lines: "I bid farewell to the Order, compelled by the hostile attitude of its members, although I will be forever grateful to it. My teacher was a Recollect."⁴

Those were times of nervousness for the missionaries; it could be that they sometimes experienced a few things or acts that were exaggerated; however, the truth is that

1 Source: File n° 48.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Palomo has returned ordained from the Philippines in 1860 (see Doc. 1900A).

3 Ed. note: Who died in Saipan in 1874.

4 Provincial Archives, File n° 48.

they did not lack reasons to suspect and distrust his words and certain good works of his. The very letter of farewell to the Provincial Superior reveals a great arrogance. And, as a proof of the distrust that it caused, here are a few facts.

In addition to his intimate and suspicious relationships that he had with the Americans, he also had very intimate ones with the Japanese. In a letter that Fr. Resano wrote to Fr. Sábada on 28 October 1897, we read the following:

“Fr. José Palomo installed the Japanese in his plantation of Saipan, renting the same to them in the name of a nephew of his, and today in the lands that he owns in this Island of Guam, he has installed other Japanese in order to cause conflicts with the Spanish Government as soon as someone does not respect them, because he has so arranged his affairs to make their position more secure; that is why I think that this will not be the last unpleasantness that he seeks to create, although for my part I will try to make sure that no Recollect religious will trigger it, if I can avoid it. The intention of Fr. Palomo in joining with the Japanese gentlemen does not seem to me to be anything good, but the Government, instead of attacking the trunk is attacking only the branches, and that is why it will have to make a thousand compromises. Watch out! as they say in these countries.”¹

In said year of 1897, the Japanese of Saipan made fun of the Spanish flag and Fr. Cornelio García confronted them, perhaps as a result of his extreme patriotism. The authorities not only refused to support him, but they criticized him. “If he had been a military man,” says Fr. Resano in the above-mentioned letter, “he would have been given a medal, but as he was a friar, they had to say that he acted badly.”

It is perhaps to this incident that Fr. Palomo refers in his letter to the Fr. Provincial, dated June 1897, when he says: “Two Saipanese and one Japanese are in jail awaiting trial, but, regarding the latter, the government of the Mikado has made a claim and it is possible that some damages will be paid on account of the imprisonment of said Japanese; and all this because some view things through a prism or with troubled eyes.”

Enough said about Fr. Palomo and his relationships with the Japanese; he did rent his properties to them and it is no wonder that they distrusted him.

On top of that, his relations with Governor Juan Marina and the Secretary of the military government, Mr. Duate, are very revealing. Both of these men were very anti-friar. Nevertheless, Fr. Palomo was chummy with both.

Finally, as if to remove any remaining doubt, there was the incident of 1 January 1899.

After the high mass celebrated on that day, Fr. Palomo appeared at the door of the parish convent, accompanied by the Gobernadorcillo, the Head of Barangay and various of their lieutenants from the suburbs. Fr. Resano thought that the delegation had come to wish him Happy New Year and he invited them in. However, when he asked them for the purpose of their visit, Fr. Palomo said that the leading men and the people wished that Mr. Sixto should abandon his post as Governor, that no longer belonged

1 Idem.

to him, and should turn it over to the Gobernadorcillo. He said so in a very gruff and discourteous manner.

But, at that very moment, ignorant of what was going on, and only for the purpose of greeting Fr. Resano, the Governor came in. Fr. Resano took advantage of this opportunity, telling them: "Here is the Governor in person. Tell him yourself."

They immediately shut up and did not know what to say at first. Soon, they regained their composure and repeated the same things to Mr. Felix Sixto. This stirred up the Governor and, as he had no force to punish their contempt, he limited himself to defending his rights and to tell them that he would not abandon his post, that they all knew how he had been appointed to it, but that, if they persisted in going forward with their pretensions, they should put them in writing and he would forward them to Madrid or to Washington.

The meeting was over. However, they, persistent in their designs, met again by themselves in the city hall and there they voted to destitute the Spanish governor and replace him with the Chamorro named Venancio Roberto. And, they were on their way to the convent to brief Fr. Resano when the bell rang announcing the arrival of a ship. Their doings were postponed until the identity of the ship was known. She was the **Brutus**, an American warship.

In the meantime, Mr. Sixto learned of the intentions of the seditious group and he decided to bring the matter to the attention of the U.S. commander. The next day, when he boarded the ship, he found out that Fr. Palomo and Portusach had preceded him there. The commander listened to both parties, and upon learning of the appointment of Mr. Sixto by the U.S. Rear Admiral, he harshly rebuked Fr. Palomo and the told them that, if they did not want to feel the punishment of America, they had better submit to the rightful governor, until the governments of Sapin and American should decide who should succeed him.

Thus ended this conflict that could have had fatal consequences, given the great influence of Fr. Palomo among the islanders.¹

Perhaps it appears that we have given too many details about this affair, but in doing so, we have been motivated by the wish to clarify this part of the life of Fr. Palomo, given its importance in the history of the Church of the Marianas. He had acted out of fascination for the power of the U.S.A. and perhaps by his belief that the U.S. Government would surely be a blessing for his native country. Nevertheless, his actions must have necessarily frustrated the missionaries in circumstances like those and, if clashes did occur and the relations became cool, he was not exempt from blame.

From the Americans he received nothing but unpleasantnesses, moral dilemmas that must have affected his soul, and splitting headaches. He yearned for the arrival of the Americans, and it was precisely an American, Governor Leary, who forbid him to ring the church bells, to carry the viaticum openly, to hold processions, and he saw with must have been with sorrow that the Americans opened Protestant chapels that caused

1 See the Libro de Defunciones del convento de Manila, pp. 261-262.

so many evils for the souls. In conclusion, one must still recognize that he was a venerable man. He worked as a good worker in the vineyard of the Lord and his name will forever remain engraved in the religious history of the Marianas, not only because of his personal labors as a true apostle, but also because he caused the despatche to the Marianas of other priests to continue the gospel work.

VIII.

The Americans Take Possession of Guam.

The war was going on, but far away from the Mariana Islands, as the Philippines were the scene of the battles. The missionaries were living in a charged atmosphere on account of the lack of news and the uncertainty about the future. They learned about the surrender of Manila, which occurred on 14 August 1898, when the U.S. ship **Pennsylvania** arrived on 17 September, bringing back Mr. José Romero to rejoin his family. Afterwards, on 22 November, the Spanish steamer **Uranus** arrived; she had been despatched by the Governor of Iloilo [Panay Island] to carry food supplies to the garrison of Yap and Ponape in the Carolines. They had not had the intention of touching at Guam, but did so at the request of Mr. Francisco García Gutierrez, the Port Captain made prisoner by the Americans along with Romero. This ship returned to Guam on 5 December. She picked up the families of said captain and of Governor Juan Marina, and Fr. Resano took this opportunity to send Fathers José Lamban and Juan Latorre to Manila.

The war happenings in the Philippines did not unfold very well for the Americans because their good relations with the Filipinos were broken when the former proclaimed the Philippine Republic and voted themselves a Constitution at Malolos. Nevertheless, life went on without major incidents in the Marianas until the arrival, on 19 January 1899, of the U.S. ship Remington [rather **Bennington**]. Her commander, Mr. Tosis [rather Taussig], behaved very reserved and mysterious, saying that he would not take possession of the Island of Guam but would only record the situation. Still, one week later, in complete contradiction with his earlier declarations, he notified the Spanish that the Treaty of Paris had been signed, on 10 December 1898, by which Spain lost Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and the Island of Guam, and all of these former Spanish possessions became the property of the United States. He also notified them that he would take possession of the island on the 1st of February in the name of the United States. Mr. Sixto had not received any order about this from the Spanish Government but he acceded to everything, because the Spanish were in no position to defend themselves.

So it is that the next day, in obedience to the orders he had received from the American military, Mr. Sixto issued the following proclamation:

PROCLAMATION.

Mr. José Sixto Rodrigo, Interim Governor of these Mariana Islands.—

The war that existed between Spain and the United States of North America is over and a treaty of peace between both countries has been signed at Paris by a mixed Commission appointed to that effect. As a result of this treaty, this Island of Guam becomes a possession of the United States, and the other northern islands remain under the Spanish sovereignty. Since the Commander of the cruiser **Bennington** at present anchored in the port of San Luís de Apra has been commissioned to take charge of this Island on an interim basis in the name of the above-mentioned Government of the United States until he should appoint personnel for the purpose, and in accordance with instructions that I have received from said Commander:

Let it be known

1.º—On the 1st of February next, I will turn over in due form all that belong to the Government and the Administration of the Island of Guam, but will remain in my functions as interim Governor and Administrator of the Treasury on behalf of Spain for the other islands that constitute the Marianas group.

2.º—All the laws and regulations that until now have applied to the government and administration of these Islands will continue in effect in this Island of Guam under the new American government, until further notice.

3.º—In the same manner and until further notice, all the persons who hold public office in the Island, shall continue in their respective posts.

4.º—The Assistant Paymaster, Mr. Barron Du-Bois, of the U.S. Navy, shall take charge of collecting all taxes on this Island, as well as making all the eventual payments, as of said date of 1 February, while I shall continue to take care of those for the northern Islands.

5.º—In accordance with the instructions of the Commander of the **Bennington**, the inhabitants of the Island of Guam are notified that those who may wish to remain here as Spanish subjects may do so and they may receive the protection of the Government of the United States, as long as their conduct is orderly and according to law and regulations.

6.º—All the inhabitants of Guam who may wish to remain here and become Spanish subjects, shall make a declaration to this effect before the Heads of Barangay of their respective districts, who shall transmit same as soon as possible through the appropriate channels to this Government of the Island.

Agaña, 30 January 1899.

The interim Governor,

José Sixto.

As had been arranged, on 1 February 1899, the military crew of the U.S. ships stepped ashore with their bands and officers. They advised the Spanish, in case these may wish

to attend the ceremony but they declined the invitation. They then proceeded to take possession of the Island by raising the U.S. flag at Government House to the tune of the National Anthem of the United States and a 21-gun salute. All of this was done with respect, so as not to hurt the Spaniards, without speeches nor hurrahs. Once the act was over, they withdrew to their ships, without even giving a rest to their troops.

Yankee custom, as usual. After the blow, a handshake and... friendship. "As if nothing had happened," had said the Rear-Admiral the year before.

From that time on, the Island became American. Mr. José Sixto lost his post as Interim Governor and, one week later, Barron P. Du-Bois issued a proclamation regarding the money with which the Chamorros had to pay their taxes from then on. It is a curious document and for this reason we publish it:

PROCLAMATION.

By higher authority, let it be known: That the payment of provincial taxes to the Administration and Government of this Island shall be in the following categories of currency that will be accepted at the following equivalent rates:

- 1.º—U.S. currency: the dollar is worth 2 Mexican pesos;
- 2.º—Spanish currency: same as the Mexican;
- 3.º—Chilean currency: the peso is worth 75 cents;
- 4.º—Peruvian currency: the peso is worth 76 cents Mexican;
- 5.º—Columbian currency: the peso is worth 95 cents.

Agaña, 9 February 1899.

Barron P. Du-Bois.

A few days later, on the 13th, another U.S. warship arrived. Her officers kept their distances. No doubt they feared the events unfolding in the Far East, as the Filipinos had raised in armed rebellion against them and, furthermore, there were German warships marauding around those seas. They knew that their actions against Spain had displeased Germany. They did not ignore the fact that they were in the Carolines. And... they feared them. The truth is that their ships weighed anchors that same day, leaving the government of the Island in the hands of a Board presided over by the Gobernadorcillo Joaquín Perez. The members of this Board was Fr. José Palomo, Juan Torres, Justo de León Guerrero, Luis Torres, and Vicente Herrero as Administrator of the Treasury. This Board governed the Island until the month of August when the man sent by the U.S. Government arrived at Guam.¹

1 All such details have been taken from the Report written by Fathers Ildelfonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz which is kept in the Provincial Archives. We have placed it in File n° 48, which contains documents and letters relating to the Marianas.

IX.

History of the Macabebes and Sale of the Marianas and Carolines to the Germans.

After the loss of the Philippine archipelago, there remained for us in the Far East only the Carolines and the Marianas, but the latter without the Island of Guam, the wealthiest and most populated. And for this reason, the Spanish Government decided to establish the new capital of the Marianas at San Isidro de Garapan belonging to the Island of Saipan. Our Fr. Provincial, Fr. Francisco Ayarra, recommended to the Ecclesiastical Governor of Cebu to appoint Fr. Resano as Curate of San Isidro. Once this appointment was confirmed by the Bishop of Cebu, Fr. Resano was ordered to go move to Saipan and Fr. Tomás Cueva and the religious of Guam were ordered to return to Manila, unless they found a way to return directly to Spain, in which case they were to go to our convent at Monteagudo.

However, before this document reached the hands of Fr. Resano, the Macabebes arrived at the Marianas and we will now tell their story.

When the Filipinos rose against Spain and the war between the two countries grew bloody, there were no lack of islanders to fight in favor of our nation. One of those was Mr. Agustín Blanco, Captain in the National Police force who died in the engagement of Talisay, Province of Batangas. His death extremely saddened his brother, Mr. Eugenio Blanco, a resident of Macabebe, [Province of Pampanga]. Impelled by the double motive of loyalty to Spain and sorrow for the loss of his brother, he volunteered to fight against the insurrection. His offer was accepted, and he set out to raise a militia of pampagueños, most of whom came from Macabebe; that is why they were called Macabebes. With them he always fought on the side of Spain and, when the Spanish surrendered, he remained in the archipelago and continued fighting against the United States. When the Spanish withdrew, the Macabebes wished to go to the Peninsula [i.e. Spain] but they were prevented from doing so.

Nevertheless, their services were rewarded and, among other favors done them, one of them was the appointment of Mr. Eugenio Blanco as Governor of the Marianas and he was to select some Macabebes to act as Spanish soldiers and form part of the garrison there. They left Manila aboard the steamer **Elcano** and arrived at the Marianas in May. With the Governor came 250 Macabebes, 60 officers, a few officials and the families of the volunteers. All in all, they were 700 persons, counting the soldiers, women and children. At Agaña, they were joined by Fathers Francisco Resano, Ildefonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz, who accompanied them to Saipan but, once the expedition had been installed, returned to their parishes.

The letter of our Fr. Provincial to Fr. Resano, dated 1 March, was not received by the addressee until the month of June, the same month in which Captain Antonio Gomez and Sergeant Juan Mendiola, proceeding from Saipan, arrived at Agaña, with a mission to request the American governor to turn over what belonged to Spain, in accordance with the Treaty of Paris. To comply with said letter, Fr. Resano went to Sai-

pan in July and presented his credentials to Mr. Blanco, who wrote this fact in the government records on 26 July 1899.

His stay among the Macabebes was a short one, hardly a few months, but it was a bothersome and unpleasant one. He suffered a lot from them. They had been used to warfare and had spent all their lives as soldiers in the field, and they probably thought that the excesses and outrages of wartime could continue also in peacetime. Their conduct left much to be desired, their morality was despicable, and with the Fathers they did not behave any better when they were paid their monthly wages, according to the moneys available and in variable amounts. Mr. Blanco, whether because he liked them or because he could not control them, disregarded their abuses and excesses and their victims were the missionaries and the Chamorros.

This man, even judging him charitably, by supposing that he had kept up the flag of Spain out of noble designs rather than out of an adventurous spirit, his actions later on give us some reason for some doubt.

Indeed, how can his love for Spain be reconciled with his treatment of the missionaries of the Marianas during his government of those islands, and afterwards, after they were sold to Germany? The same man, once he had returned to the Philippines with his followers, joined the ranks of those denigrating the religious corporations.

We ignore the motive for his conduct, but the fact is that the flamboyant Colonel of the Macabebes went so far as to publish in a certain Manila newspaper, called *El Progreso*, an article against the missionaries of the Marianas, one that would have been insulting to them, had not Fr. Francisco Sábada demonstrated that it was false.

The case was as follows.

In 1895, there lived in the town of San Luis de Medina [sic] a Carolinian woman, unmarried, who lived a scandalous life. She not only lived with a married man but consorted with many others. The missionary disapproved of her conduct and counselled her. He remonstrated with her at three times. In view of this, the missionary approached the civil authority in order to have a corrective applied to her. Her behavior did not improve; she continued with her mode of living until she came close to dying from it. The missionary having been informed, visited her at her bedstead, without having been called, in order to provide her with spiritual assistance. All in vain. He did not achieve his aim. He visited her twice and she refused his help twice, turning her back to him and refusing to accept the holy sacraments. She died in this state as an impenitent, and the missionary, believing that it was his duty to deny her a Christian burial, arranged for her body to be buried outside of the blessed ground.

The relatives of the deceased, and her lovers, following the old customs of the Carolines that had always tried to repel the missionaries, organized the most scandalous merrymaking in her house. They washed and painted the corpse in the most indecent manner and they danced while inebriated with alcohol around the corpse, creating a great scandal. With the indignity of a saint, the missionary, armed with holy zeal, appeared in the middle of the night at her house, and severely reproached them all for their proceedings and ordered them to get rid of the corpse as quickly as possible and

bury it where they wished, but not in the cemetery. And that is when, unhappy that they could not continue their drinking bout, they took the corpse to the beach and threw it into the sea.

The name of this missionary, who did so much to comply with his ministry, was Fr. Cornelio García del Carmen.

Two years later, a certain woman informed Governor Juan Marina of the deed, blaming the missionary for what had happened. The Governor—who never did any favor to the Fathers—decided to open a case file. Fr. Resano objected as the Vicar that he was and, referring the matter to the Bishop of Cebu, being well informed, declared that the missionary had only done his duty.

Now then, the behavior of Fr. Cornelio, so praiseworthy, was used by the Colonel to try and denigrate the missionaries of the Marianas; indeed, without mentioning the facts as they had occurred, he published in the above-mentioned newspaper an article in which he said: *“a friar, missionary in the Island of Saipan, gave permission for a corpse to be buried at sea because the deceased had been so poor as to leave behind only four pesos to pay for her burial.”*

Fr. Sábada answered this calumny in his own article published in *“Libertad”*, dated 12 May 1900, in which he revealed the truth of the affair, narrating the events as they had happened, and challenging him to prove otherwise. They were not able to, so that the honor of the missionaries triumphed, whereas the name of Blanco became mud.¹

As can be concluded from what has just been said, the behavior of the Macabebes in the Marianas could not have been good for the missionaries. Fortunately, their stay did not last long, only a few months because the Carolines and the Marianas were sold to the Germans.

After the events of the Carolines in 1885, about which we wrote a few articles published under the title: *“Footprints left by Recollects in the Carolines”* in this same Bulletin in 1958, the Spanish relations with the Germans were excellent. Nevertheless, in 1899 Germany took advantage of our sad situation and, noticing that we had only a few islands left from our formerly important colonial empire in the Far East, offered to buy the Carolines from us. Spain sold them the whole lot, the Carolines and the Marianas too, for the sum of 5 million marks. We sold them, says Fr. Jerónimo Montes en *“La Ciudad de Dios”*, vol. 60: *“as the last rag from our clothing, like the last useless piece of furniture from a vacated house.”*

This deal forced a change in the religious situation of the Marianas. With a change of sovereignty, there usually followed a change in the religious personnel and of jurisdiction as well. Our Fr. Provincial therefore consulted with the Bishop of Cebu about the case and he received the answer that, while awaiting the answer from Rome to which the case had been referred, things should continue as before. For this reason, our Father

1 All of these facts are recorded in the obituary of Fr. Resano in the *Libro de Defunciones de Intramuros de Manila* and in the papers of Fr. Sábada that are to be found in File n° 48 of the Provincial Archives. We have not seen the newspapers *“El Progreso”* and *“Libertad”* quoted in the text but only the notes made by Fr. Sábada.

sent a circular praising the work of the missionaries of the Marianas and he ordered Fr. Resano to keep everyone at their posts in the meantime, but, that the departure of the Spanish authorities from Saipan, he himself was to return to Agaña and leave behind Fr. Tomás Cueva, since he had receive permission from the Bishop of Cebu to do this.

During the month of November the islands were turned over to the Germans. In October a Spanish ship had arrived Saipan with Lieutenant-Colonel Cristóbal Aguilar on board; he had been commissioned by our government to turn over those islands. A few days later, another ship, a German one, brought Governor Georg Fritz. After the necessary arrangements were made between the representatives of the two nations, the German took possession of the islands on 17 November 1899 at 3 p.m. The ceremony in question was simple and, for the Spanish, a sad one. The Macabebe soldiers and the Germans from the ship had their own music band. "Both bands," says the obituary of Fr. Resano, "saluted the Spanish flag with the Royal March and, immediately thereafter the flag was lowered, picked up and kissed by the Macabebe volunteers. Both bands then played the German Anthem while the flag of Germany was being raised on the same flag-staff that Fr. Tomás Cueva, then present, had built some time ago for the purpose of showing only the Spanish flag."

On 30 November the Spanish ship sailed with the Macabebes and Fr. Tomás Cueva on board, leaving behind only three missionaries: Fathers Francisco Resano and Cornelio García in Saipan, and Fr. Mariano Alegre in the Island of Rota. Fathers Ildefonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz had left a short time before.

X.

Among Americans and Germans.

As we said earlier, Fr. Resano had received an order to move back to Agaña as soon as the Mariana and Caroline Islands had been turned over to the Germans, but he was unable to do so on account of the opposition of Mr. Richard Leary, the first American Governor of Guam. That is what our Fr. Provincial said in a letter dated 29 November of that year.

This governor had arrived at Guam on 7 August. From the first moment he showed himself to be fanatically anti-Spanish, fanatically Protestant, fanatically member of lodges and, as such, a sworn enemy of the Catholic missionaries. As usual, there was a major difference between the acts of the Yankees and the freedom of religion and conscience that they boats so much about. That is why, he was not received in Guam with open arms; to the contrary, he brought nothing but consternation. His true intentions have remained blatantly obvious in the following order which he gave.

PROCLAMATION.¹

To the Inhabitants of the Island of Guan and to All Those Who May See and Hear This.

Given the terms of the Treaty of peace between Spain and the United States of America, signed and concluded by the respective Plenipotentiaries in the City of Paris (France) on 20 December 1898, the control, disposal and government of the Island of Guam in future are ceded to the United States.

Therefore, by virtue of the authority vested upon me by the President of the United States, I, Richard Leary, Captain of the U.S. Navy, and Governor of the Island of Guam, by the present let it be known and proclaim my occupation and administration for the purpose of complying with the rights of sovereignty acquired and the obligations of the government so assumed.

By the present I inform the inhabitants of the Island of Guam that, once the new political power has been established, the power of the United States will be called upon to provide security to all the citizens of the Island and also to confirm all their individual rights and privileges.

The religious exclusivity that the church authorities had practiced under the old regime and imposed upon the inhabitants of this Island is hereby revoked and a complete freedom of religion is guaranteed to everyone, including the most effective protection of this government in everything that may concern the legitimate occupations, provided that they do not infringe any law constituted by the United States.

All national properties and belongings and all the rights and privileges thereof, and the waters around the Island that belonged to Spain before the date of the above-mentioned Treaty are henceforth the property of the United States and, therefore, I warn everyone not to buy, take or cede any part of such properties, rights and privileges, without the prior agreement of the government of the United States.

For the maintenance of order, the existing laws shall remain in force, as long as they are compatible with the stipulations of this Proclamation, until such time as they are either revoked or modified by competent authority; therefore, I order everyone to obey them in the strictest manner, in order to assure the happiness of good government, the advantages of civilization, freedom, good luck and prosperity, and, finally, the general welfare of all the inhabitants of the Islands as worthy citizens sheltered and protected by the glorious flag of the United States.

In testimony thereof, I have signed the present proclamation sealed with the seal of the United States of America and that of the Island of Guam.

Given at Agaña, Island of Guam, on the 10th of August of the year of our Lord 1899, and in the 123rd year of the independence of the United States.

¹ Ed. note: This re-translation is to be checked with the original English version, if any, produced at the time.

Richard P. Leary, U.S. Navy Captain, Governor of Guam.

With this proclamation, which, as the previous ones, we have copied from the Report written by Fathers Ildelfonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz, the sectarian Leary began his government. After his tirade against "the religious exclusivity that the church authorities had practiced under the old regime and imposed upon the inhabitants of this Island" of Guam, he guaranteed complete freedom of religion. His definition of "guaranteed freedom" was made obvious by his subsequent deeds.

So it is that, during the first month of his government, the sincerity of his words was tested at the time of the feast of the patron saint of Agat. As usual, the feast of St. Rose [of Lima], patroness of Agat, was celebrated on the 30th of August. There were present Fr. Francisco Resano, who happened to be in Agaña, Fr. Crisógono Ortiz, curate of Merizo, and Fr. Ildelfonso Cabanillas, curate of the town. The usual festivities took place: a large crowd of people, much festive joy and huge demonstrations of affection and respect toward the missionaries. The governor heard of it and, as if the defenceless missionaries constituted a terrible danger for the powerful American republic, he began to bother them with all his power, with vexations and barbs that he was capable of. His incredible vulgarity went so far as to prohibit the landing of the Delegate of His Holiness in the Philippines, Monsignor Chapelle, who was passing by on his way to Manila. Not only did he not wish to tolerate the presence of Spanish priests on the island but he even forbid Fr. Palomo to ring the church bells, carry the viaticum openly, celebrate processions but, in addition, he instituted freedom of cult and civil marriage, he ordered the removal of the crucifixes from the schools and openly tried to end the influence of the Fathers by sowing religious discord in Guam.¹

The year that said Governor spent in Guam was pernicious in the extreme. Fortunately, he was soon gone. The curious thing is that Leary thought that his departure had been caused by Fr. Resano. Let us see what he told Fr. Sábada about this in a letter dated 10 August 1900:

"Mr. Leary, who so badly behaved toward us, is now gone. And he goes away believing that it was I who had written to Washington to have him removed, whereas the truth is that I have remained as quiet as a church mouse in my little corner in Saipan. But let us not undecieve him, so that the news may spread and the Chamorros conclude that we are still worth something, although we are no longer worth anything, as one must take advantage of everything in this life and much more so when he so says and believes himself. The only thing I have said myself, when the Americans told me so, was to deny it feebly, but, in the presence of the Chamorros, I keep mysteriously quiet about it, because it does not do us any harm, should they also believe it."

As it happened, Fr. Resano was unable to carry out his order to move to Agaña on account of the opposition of the Yanquees, since the man who succeeded Leary, though

1 See "Misiones Católicas en Estreme Oriente," pages 372 et seq., and the obituary of Fr. Resano, *op. cit.*

he acted more diplomatically, was indeed equal or worse at heart. Fr. Resano said so to Fr. Tomás Cueva in a letter dated 15 November 1900:

“The new Governor¹ who has arrived at Agaña is more refined and educated than the first one, but has the same ideas as him when it comes to Religion; he is a recalcitrant Mason and fanatically Protestant, enemy of everything Catholic and consequently of the Catholic priests. And, to prove my point, let me repeat what Fr. Palomo, who had first believed that a new era was inaugurated when the new Governor had arrived, writes to me now that he finds the man as bad as the other, and that he is the first to visit the Devil’s school, that is a Protestant chapel that has recently been created at Agaña at the arrival of a certain Chamorro Protestant missionary from the United States named Caba, who now resides at Agaña. If the Delegate can manage to get permission for us to return to Guam, it will fill a great need because Fr. Palomo cannot by himself attend to everything, and Fr. Palomo tells me that there are already a few families who visit the Protestant chapel.”

— O —

Fr. Resano, therefore, had to remain in Saipan with the Germans who followed a policy that was diametrically opposed to that of the Yankees. In the so-often quoted obituary of Fr. Resano, one can read that the German “not only respected the Catholic religion and the customs of the Chamorros, but they assisted them in the works on their convents and churches and they went so far as to offer them a stipend, but we ignore whether or not they manage to get one.”

This seemed too good to be true. In fact, in the letters of Fr. Resano there is nothing so beautiful or striking in the reality of the situation. For example, he said in the above-mentioned letter to Fr. Cueva:

“The Germans do not interfere with us and wish that the Catholic people continue to observe the duties of our religion, but they want us to look after ourselves, since they themselves do not pay for missionaries.”

In another letter addressed to Fr. Cueva, dated 14 January of the same year [rather 1901], he says:

“Overhere we manage to survive, thank God, hoping that the Philippines will be able to help us when the war ends overthere that caused me to lose the hair off my head, because, though the Germans do not behave badly, we feel as if we live in a foreign land and not treated. One day they might issue an order favorable to the servants of the Church, but the next day they issue another that is harmful, and so on, to such an extent that we, speaking confidentially among ourselves, say many times that we believe that they wish to send us away and replace us with German missionaries. In fact, I heard the Governor say that, in Berlin, they wish to do just that. I would not be surprised if this will happen.”

From all this, one may judge that they were not bothered nor prevented from exercising their ministry freely, but that, at the time as they respected them, they did not

1 Ed. note: Commander Schroeder.

help them in any way. While one may think that this should be natural, given that they belonged to a different nationality and were Protestant, one may also admit that our Fathers felt uncomfortable with that situation and that they had to offer to the Lord a continuous stream of sacrifices. They had been accustomed to carry out their gospel work in territories that were but an extension of the motherland, under authorities who prided themselves in defending a flag that had always been a companion of the Cross; no wonder that this change had to disappoint them.

In conclusion, the Germans behaved correctly with the missionaries, but nothing more.

However, what was learned from the Germans from the first moment was that they had a strong antipathy toward the Americans, as they had not appreciated at all the unjust war made against Spain. That is why, when the German Governor heard about Fr. Resano having an order to move to Agaña, he encouraged him on various occasions to comply with it. Fr. Resano always resisted but, when he was pressed on the matter, he answered that the Americans did not allow him to land at Guam, and that if he did so, they would make him prisoner. "Well, that is what I want," said the German, "because I would immediately send a warship and..." Fr. Resano then gave up the idea entirely, so as not to cause a conflict between the two powers.

XI.

Setting of the Star.

Given the impossibility of settling in the Island of Guam, he continued his work in Saipan. And, as a new proof of the isolation of the missionaries of the Marianas, on 17 September 1902, Pope Leo XIII issued the bull entitled "*Mari Sinico*" creating an Apostolic Prefecture in the Mariana Islands that was to come directly under the Holy See. In the meantime, the Spanish bishops in the Philippines renounced their posts and were replaced by Americans. In the Marianas, they had no news about such changes. Therefore, Fr. Francisco Resano wrote to the Bishop of Cebu asking him if the Marianas still belonged to his diocese, and if so, to which Vicar Forane; in fact, he did not know if the diploma issued to him by Monsignor Alcocer was still valid. He received an answer from the Apostolic Delegate of the Philippines, Monsignor Ambrosio Agius, enclosing a certificate giving him permission to confirm. A short time later, on 20 May of the same year, Monsignor Augustinus Hendrick, Bishop of Cebu, wrote to him giving him full faculties and confirmed him in his title and charge as Vicar Forane, as the Marianas still belonged to his diocese.

We borrow all of these facts from the well-known obituary. However, there is something unbelievable here. He had continued corresponding with Fr. S"bada and Fr. Cueba who were then residing at Manila. Every two months, ever since the arrival of the Germans [sic] at Manila, there were ships that maintained a communication between that place and the English colony at Hong- Kong, as Fr. Resano says himself in many letters to said Fathers. How is it then possible that the decisions of the Holy See and

the changes in bishops in the Philippines were not communicated officially by the Superiors, or by these two Fathers, his friends, one being from the same town, the other his companion of so many years in the same missionary field? We are therefore puzzled by this. However, since we lack proof, we will limit ourselves to repeating what was written in his obituary upon his death.

After all, Fr. Resano remained but a short time in the Marianas. About two [rather eight] years only.¹ During this time, he lived in peace and tranquillity with the Germans, without any novelty except hunger which he felt from time to time. That should not come as a surprise. It was one thing that he had to endure this kind of torment with resignation; after all, he had abandoned everything to become a missionary, but it was another that he had to suffer this way. At the beginning the food conditions in the Marianas were the same as in 1887 when the missionaries received a pension from the government and there were there authorities and a small Spanish army. True it is that now, the Germans lacked nothing and got excellent food supplies from Sydney and Hong-Kong, but the missionaries partook none of them. They had to survive only with the small benefits they received from the church levies and with the very poor products of that soil, as miserably as it was sterile. In spite of this, they never wished to abandon the field, but to remain there until such an embarrassing situation could be solved.

The solution was at hand. Indeed, the Germans begged the Holy See to replace the Spanish Capuchins in the Carolines and Palau and the Recollects in the Marianas by German Capuchins and that a new, German, Prefect be also appointed. The Holy See accepted these requests and entrusted the Prefecture of the Marianas to the Capuchin Province of Westphalia, the first Apostolic Prefect appointed being Fr. Paul Kirchhausen, but only for Saipan, and not Guam, because the American governor of Guam refused Fr. Kirchhausen permission to land at Guam and did not wish to receive him—O American freedom! The Holy See finally solved the problem by appointing another, Vicar Apostolic, for Guam.

Fr. Resano was not able, as Vicar Forane of the Marianas, to turn over his duties to the German Capuchins. The 31 years that he had spent in those islands had exposed him to physical and moral sufferings and had undermined his health. He became sick and, following the advice of a physician, he embarked for Manila, thus abandoning forever those islands where he had spent his life as a missionary. He turned over his parish of San Isidro of Garapan to Fr. Cornelio García and went to Manila during the month of July 1907.

“We abandoned the Marianas,” says Fr. Licinio Ruiz, “at the beginning of 1908. The last Spanish Recollects in the Marianas were Fr. Mariano Alegre [de la Virgen] del Perpetuo Socorro in Rota, and Fr. Cornelio García del Carmen in Tanapag. Our participation in the missions of the Marianas had begun in the year 1789 [rather 1869].

— O —

1 Ed. note: Error. See below, where he says that he stayed until 1907.

Summary of the rest of Fr. Resano's life, by R.L.

Fr. Resano stayed one and a half years in Manila, then he was sent back to Spain, for health reasons. He returned to Manila in 1909, where he served as director of two schools, among other things.

In 1912, he retired to the infirmary of the Recollect convent in Intramuros. He was sent for one month to the Island of Cuyo to see if that would do his health some good, but it did not. He died in the infirmary at Manila, on 10 March 1914, at the age of 62 and after 43 years as a religious.

After his death, there were found in his cell only documents dealing with the Marianas: a copy of the Chronicle of the Marianas, and a copy of Governor de la Corte's famous Report.

Document 1876E

Government appointment of a curate for Inarajan, Guam

Source: PNA.

Note: Since the Spanish Government was paying the salaries of missionaries and other priests in their colonies, i.e. stipends plus church expenses, it had the right to approve or disapprove their appointments.

Appointment dated Manila 9 December 1875

Government General of the Philippines.

Your Excellency,

The Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Recollects submits to Y.E. the trio from which to choose the Curate of Inarajan in the Mariana Islands, so that Y.E may choose from among the religious who appear in it.

In 1st place: **Fr. Ramón Orrit** del Pilar, 39 years old, 17 in the country, and 14 in administration.

In 2nd place: **Fr. Casiano Vasquez** del Angel Custodio, 29 years old, 4 in the country and 4 in administration.

In 3rd place: **Fr. Manuel Navarro** de la Virgen de la Peña, 25 years old, 3 in the country and ready for administration.

Note. The undersigned believes that Y.E. may please designate the religious who meets your superior preference.

Manila, 9 December 1875.

Moreno Lasalle

[Minute]

Appoint the first one.

[In early January 1876, the following persons were advised of this decision: the Accounting Section of the Treasury, the Provincial of the Recollects, the Bishop of Cebu, the Governor of the Marianas. Father Orrit had at that time been in charge of the parish of Inarajan for over one year. Father Vasquez, thus serving in Saipan, was recalled to the Philippines.]

Documents 1876F

Political exiles—not enough rations for them

Source: PNA.

F1. Letter of Governor Brabo, dated Añaña 28 April 1876

M. & P. Government of the Marianas—Administration Section.
Letter N° 144.

Dear Sir:

Today, the U.S. packet boat **Fanny Hare** [Capt. Lee] coming from Honolulu entered this port to take on water; it departs tomorrow for that [Capital, i.e. Manila] and I use this opportunity to give a report to Y.E. about these Islands.

The condition of the exiles is bad for lack of rations. The radicals themselves do not wish to work under the pretext that the Government must maintain them, the number of the sick increases and in order to prevent an epidemic or their starvation, they are being fed healthy food from this island, out of the fund for lepers. That was the situation when the bark **Candida** arrived with rations that did not include meat or grease, about whose shortage, as we reported in the last mail, cannot be made up here. So, the situation has improved but after the three months taht they will last, we will return to the same condition.

The provincial funds, such as the Royal Credit, cannot be touched by their Administrations without an express order from their Directors under the closest responsibility. If the Governor dips into them without being authorized by the Governor General, the whole weight of responsibility will fall upon him; for this reason, only in the extreme case of a public calamity impossible to save, would he take the risk of the compromise. In mentioning this to Y.E., it is because the exiles have believed that I could use those funds and they have requested a daily allowance from this Government, when there are no rations. As long as Y.E. does not grant it expressly, I remain ready to deny it and not to do otherwise no matter what happens.

This I bring to the superior attention of Y.E., for whatever decision is considered appropriate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Añaña, 15 March 1876.

ing close to the land, headed for the port and was soon followed by the other three. She went inside and raised the U.S. flag. Then, after she had anchored, she fired 12 guns. Those ashore were impressed and fear soon took control over them. However, as they raised the Spanish flag, they thought that they would not have to return the gun salute, if the strangers came in peace. In spite of this, those who, as usual, had to go out to receive them, were not sure what to do. However, the Port Captain decided to go out, alone or accompanied, as was his duty; the others soon joined him, forgetting their fears, and they all headed to the ship which turned out to be the **Charleston**, a famous ships in the U.S. fleet that was headed for Manila with the other three ships. Out of the four ships, only this one that went inside the port and anchored there was a warship, a 4,000-ton cruiser with a range of 1,800 miles. The other three were trans-Atlantic transport ships of large capacity that carried a total of about 10,000 soldiers. The largest, of 8,000-ton capacity, did not get inside the port until nightfall. The other two layed off and on Orote Point and did not anchor until the next evening outside the port.

The men who went out were: the Port Captain, Francisco García Gutierrez, the military physician, Dr. José Romero y Aguilar, the Administrator of the Treasury, José Sixto, Fr. Crisógono Ortiz, who happened to be at Agaña that day, and the Interpreter, José Portusach. When they arrived alongside, they were greeted in Spanish by the Americans and with polite but dissembling phrases and false smiles inviting them to come on deck. As soon as they had stepped on deck, they Port Captain, the Medical Officer and Interpreter, were immediately taken to the Commander's cabin. There they were informed that, as of the 21st April, war was declared between Spain and the U.S.A. and the shots fired at Fort Santa Cruz were to find out if the fort could answer. The Americans believed the place to be occupied and that is why they had taken such precautions. But when they were informed that the whole strength of the island consisted in 54 Spanish soldiers and as many native ones, they were allowed to return ashore with a commission to advise the Governor of the Marianas, Juan Marina, that they wanted to hold a conference with him, ashore or on board.¹

As one may suppose, the surprise of the Spanish was huge.

Upon receiving the message of the American Commander, the Governor called a meeting of the Council of Authorities to discuss what to do, and, although he was himself in favor of offering resistance, given the uselessness of the plan, on account of the disproportionate forces, he agreed to hold a conference ashore. There was no other

1 In the narrative of this incident that appears in the *Libro de Defunciones de Intramuros*, it is said that the Americans kept the Port Captain and the Military Physician prisoners aboard, allowing only the Administrator of the Treasury and Fr. Crisógono Ortiz to return ashore to inform the Governor of the wishes of the American commander. However, in a manuscript account given by Father Ildefonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz at the request of our Fr. Provincial, Fr. Francisco Ayarra, it is not said that they were made prisoners at that moment, but that it was precisely the Port Captain who begged the American officer to allowed himself, under his word as a gentleman and officer, to go in person to advise the Governor. This account of the Fathers is to be found in File n° 48.

choice; in fact, Spanish law forbid the Governor to go on board a foreign ship, and the more so if this foreign ship belonged to a nation that said that it was at war with Spain.

The conference did take place on the pier and, once the surrender was agreed upon, they were immediately taken on board as war prisoners, after the soldiers and all the Spanish officers had been disarmed. The artillery section, composed of Chamorro soldiers, was left in the islands, but without weapons; they were asked to go home. Finally, they asked that all Spanish flags existing in all the official buildings be turned over.

When the news of spread throughout Agaña, everyone became deeply consternated, giving signs of sorrow and discouragement. More so than the others were the families of the high officials of the island who, by remaining behind in what constituted for them from then on a foreign country, saw themselves alone, far from the motherland and relatives, without knowing what would be the fates of their husbands to whom they could not even say good-bye. In addition, there was a rumor to the effect that the Americans would leave a military garrison on the island, and this increased their anxiety and consternation, because, after the experience they had had with the old whalers, they feared, not without a reason, that they would commit all types of depredations. Due to this, whole families abandoned that very evening their houses and sought refuge in the bushes; others invaded the temple, seeking divine help with fervor and shedding tears to implore the Lord to protect them from the evils that they feared. The church was so full and the crowd so constant that day that the doors of the temple were kept open until past 10 o'clock at night.

Fortunately, such rumors were not confirmed nor were they realized; indeed, after raising the U.S. flag on Fort Santa Cruz and saluting it with 21 guns, they weighed anchors and sailed towards the northwest. Nevertheless, before they left, the commander was asked to explain the situation in which he left the island, without any authority. The American had not thought about it, but he arranged it by writing a letter appointing José Sixto, the Administrator of the Treasury, as Governor of the Marianas, entrusting him with making sure that everything went on as usual, **as if nothing had happened.**

After the Americans had left, Fr. Resano and everyone else were left in the midst of the darkest uncertainty. They faced a disappointing future and a situation truly abnormal because José Sixto took charge on an interim basis of the government of the Marianas under the most abnormal circumstances that can be imagined. As the written narrative in the above-mentioned *Libro de Defunciones* says, José Sixto could not have been a Spanish governor, as he had been named by Americans, nor was he an American governor, because he was a Spanish official and governed in accordance with Spanish law. Moreover, as the Americans had carried away the Spanish soldiers and disarmed the Chamorros, there was no longer any armed force. There were not even one Spanish flag left, as they had all been taken away, no doubt as war trophies; the U.S. flag that had been raised on Fort Santa Cruz had simply been lowered and taken away also. Fortunately, the general surprise, plus the feeling that it caused, plus the

good-will of everyone prevented the events of those sad days from becoming a catastrophe that the conditions made everyone fear.

The impression that the situation caused in the missionaries is one that is easy to conjecture. Under the protection of the Spanish flag which for centuries had remained the symbol protecting the Cross, the missionaries had christianized the inhabitants of those islands and had carried out work that was beneficial to all. It had remained raised in those green islands as a guarantee of freedom to exercise their missionary labor, since they had brought with them a Religion that proclaims the dogma of the essential equality of all human beings, no matter their origin or destiny. But now, its disappearance caused their minds to become depressed, a rent split their Spanish hearts, and at the same time that an era was coming to a close for the divine enterprises, a new dawn had appeared, dark and cloudy in their eyes, as a pall of uncertainty spread over that Christian land.

VII.

Father José Palomo.

Bitter, indeed, must have been the days spent by Fr. Resano and the missionaries who worked with him in the Marianas. It was a desperate situation in which the uncertainty about the future and the little trust that some people inspired in them. Without any hope other than for divine help, Fr. Resano, as Vicar Forane, ordered the religious through a circular to celebrate a high mass with the Exposition of the Blessed Host for one whole Sunday, to implore the Lord for the prompt end to the war and that situation. All the towns responded and the people attended with great fervor the functions that were celebrated in all the parishes.

Even when the general mass of the islanders remained loyal, the religious missionaries were not completely at ease because there were some natives who, anxious for news and being trouble-makers, desired a change of government. They had invited the idea that, under the American regime, they would live with greater freedom. They thought that the flag of many stars would bring them an era of prosperity and abundance, and therefore, ambitious to take over command and for other unmentionable things, they began to stir up the inganrant people, making them believe that the government by Spaniards was illegal and, according to them, it had ceased to exist at the moment the Spanish military authorities had been carried away prisoners aboard the **Charleston**. With their insinuations and anti-Spanish propaganda in their nocturnal meetings, they created ideas of rebellion or resistance to the minds of a few ambitious men and this caused a rarefied and disagreeable atmosphere for the missionaries and the other Spaniards left behind. The result was that some began to shirk their responsibilities and others to disobey their orders openly and brazenly.

Well then, it can be said that the agitator of that anti-Spanish tidal wave and the thinker being those disturbances and disloyal maneuvers was Fr. José Palomo, a secular priest born in Agaña, the first Chamorro priest, disciple of our Fathers, who possessed an above-average education and spoke English, French, Japanese, Spanish,

Latin, Chamorro and Carolinian. He was and always remained, as a priest, an exemplary one, zealous and working hard to keep this countrymen within the faith, to such an extent that, during the last years of his life he was appointed by Saint Pius X, as a recognition of his loyal conduct, Honorary Mayordomo *extra Urbem*. During the time period from the departure of our Fathers and the arrival of the Capuchin Fathers, he was the *columna et firmamentum veritatis en Guam* [pillar and firmament for the Truth in Guam]. According to what Fr. Resano wrote to Fr. Sábada in a letter dated 10 August 1900, the fanatically anti-Catholic Governor of Guam, Mr. Leary, proposed to him that he should found a schismatic Church, independent of Rome, and telling him that he would be its first adherent. In the book entitled: *Misiones Católicas en Extremo Oriente* [Catholic Missions in the Far East], it is said that he [Leary] promised him that the U.S. Government would pay him a pension and would grant him all the privileges reserved for officers at the naval station. Fr. Palomo rejected such base proposals with indignation.

So he was as a priest, and he was regarded as such by our Fathers until the bitter moments of the unpleasantness in question, as can be seen in the obituary of Fr. Resano and in the letter that Fr. Aniceto Ibañez wrote to the Bishop of Cebu, on 16 January 1891, as a result of an irreverent letter that Fr. Palomo had addressed to the Administrator of the Public Treasury, when the latter tried to stop the collection of the tithes called *Sanctorum*, saying that the sums reserved for the maintenance of the cult and the repair and maintenance of the churches were already included in the general budgets for expenses and revenues.

[Note:] In the Marianas, they called *Sanctorum* a tax that was collected from the people for the maintenance of the cult and the repair and maintenance of the churches, because the parishes laced fixed allotments for such purposes, since they did not receive a part of the income taxes collected by the government, as the people were exempted from such taxes. In the budgets for 1890, certain sums appeared for such purposes and, for this reason, the Administrator of the Treasury ordered that the collection of titles be stopped and that every one of the parishes should tell his office what sums had already been collected as tithes during the first two-thirds of that year, in order for him to deduct these from the sums that his office had yet to collect. That is what motivated Fr. Palomo to write his irreverent letter—irreverent in the words he used and the ideas mentioned therein.

In the letter in question, the attitude of Fr. Palomo toward authority is indeed criticized, but the following is also said:

“This priest is rather well educated, of strict observance and zealous in the exercise of his holy ministry. He has my permission to live with two nieces of his, the daughters of the only sister he had, and who are lost both their father and mother; they imitate their uncle in his conduct and nothing [bad] can be said about them. In another house next door to his, there also lives a female first-cousin of his, who has also lost her par-

ents and a good Christian; however, the latter is a common trader and, since her uncle, Fr. Palomo, speaks English rather well, he helps her out as an interpreter, as he does for other people. That is why some say that Fr. Palomo himself is a trader. As for me, Your Excellency, I declare, as I am the one man responsible before God, and by placing my hand upon my heart, that Fr. Jos{0 Palomo is not a trader. As far as his chastity is concerned, I once again place my hand upon my chest and say that he is irreproachable.”¹

Regarding his priestly life, there is therefore nothing to add. And regarding his relationships with the missionaries and with the Superiors of the Province until the last moments of Spanish rule, the same. They were so cordial and zealous that in the Provincial Chapter held in 1860, he was admitted as a “General Brother of the Province,” and given the corresponding diploma by our Father Fray Juan Felix de la Encarnación for his “affection and devotion toward all things involving our Sacred Order.”²

However, during the last years of the Spanish rule over the Marianas, his political feelings changed and, consequently, his relationships then existing between him and our Fathers and the Order became relaxed. As a result of his continuous dealings with the crews of whaling ships, he had learned English and he became such good friends with them that they often stopped at his house in Agaña. Perhaps they also told fantastic stories about the American republic that befuddled him. The truth is that he began to feel great sympathy for the Americans and to show indifference and coolness toward the Spanish. This behavior must have been the reflection of his inner feelings and the results of some intimate secrets, since, as of 1896, he was waiting for the Americans to take over the Marianas. He also had close contacts with the Japanese, too close as we shall see.

In view of this, we can hardly be surprised that our Fathers began to distrust him and that their relationships, which had been so fraternal, became tense little by little. According to what Fr. Palomo wrote to our Fr. Provincial, our Fathers accused him of being a “filibuster” [revolutionary] and considered him an enemy. He himself rejected the label and denied everything, alleging in his letters that he had, in fact, rendered many services to various religious in their illnesses, among others, Fr. Gregorio Martinez whom he had kept in his own house and assisted until his death.³ The outcome of all of this was that, in 1897, he returned the diploma of “General Brother” with a letter that is kept in the archive and about which, with respect to the later services of said priest to the Church, we will keep quiet. We will simply quote the last lines: “I bid farewell to the Order, compelled by the hostile attitude of its members, although I will be forever grateful to it. My teacher was a Recollect.”⁴

Those were times of nervousness for the missionaries; it could be that they sometimes experienced a few things or acts that were exaggerated; however, the truth is that

1 Source: File n° 48.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Palomo has returned ordained from the Philippines in 1860 (see Doc. 1900A).

3 Ed. note: Who died in Saipan in 1874.

4 Provincial Archives, File n°. 48.

they did not lack reasons to suspect and distrust his words and certain good works of his. The very letter of farewell to the Provincial Superior reveals a great arrogance. And, as a proof of the distrust that it caused, here are a few facts.

In addition to his intimate and suspicious relationships that he had with the Americans, he also had very intimate ones with the Japanese. In a letter that Fr. Resano wrote to Fr. Sábada on 28 October 1897, we read the following:

“Fr. José Palomo installed the Japanese in his plantation of Saipan, renting the same to them in the name of a nephew of his, and today in the lands that he owns in this Island of Guam, he has installed other Japanese in order to cause conflicts with the Spanish Government as soon as someone does not respect them, because he has so arranged his affairs to make their position more secure; that is why I think that this will not be the last unpleasantness that he seeks to create, although for my part I will try to make sure that no Recollect religious will trigger it, if I can avoid it. The intention of Fr. Palomo in joining with the Japanese gentlemen does not seem to me to be anything good, but the Government, instead of attacking the trunk is attacking only the branches, and that is why it will have to make a thousand compromises. Watch out! as they say in these countries.”¹

In said year of 1897, the Japanese of Saipan made fun of the Spanish flag and Fr. Cornelio García confronted them, perhaps as a result of his extreme patriotism. The authorities not only refused to support him, but they criticized him. “If he had been a military man,” says Fr. Resano in the above-mentioned letter, “he would have been given a medal, but as he was a friar, they had to say that he acted badly.”

It is perhaps to this incident that Fr. Palomo refers in his letter to the Provincial, dated June 1897, when he says: “Two Saipanese and one Japanese are in jail awaiting trial, but, regarding the latter, the government of the Mikado has made a claim and it is possible that some damages will be paid on account of the imprisonment of said Japanese; and all this because some view things through a prism or with troubled eyes.”

Enough said about Fr. Palomo and his relationships with the Japanese; he did rent his properties to them and it is no wonder that they distrusted him.

On top of that, his relations with Governor Juan Marina and the Secretary of the military government, Mr. Duate, are very revealing. Both of these men were very anti-friar. Nevertheless, Fr. Palomo was chummy with both.

Finally, as if to remove any remaining doubt, there was the incident of 1 January 1899.

After the high mass celebrated on that day, Fr. Palomo appeared at the door of the parish convent, accompanied by the Gobernadorcillo, the Head of Barangay and various of their lieutenants from the suburbs. Fr. Resano thought that the delegation had come to wish him Happy New Year and he invited them in. However, when he asked them for the purpose of their visit, Fr. Palomo said that the leading men and the people wished that Mr. Sixto should abandon his post as Governor, that no longer belonged

1 Idem.

to him, and should turn it over to the Gobernadorcillo. He said so in a very gruff and discourteous manner.

But, at that very moment, ignorant of what was going on, and only for the purpose of greeting Fr. Resano, the Governor came in. Fr. Resano took advantage of this opportunity, telling them: "Here is the Governor in person. Tell him yourself."

They immediately shut up and did not know what to say at first. Soon, they regained their composure and repeated the same things to Mr. Felix Sixto. This stirred up the Governor and, as he had no force to punish their contempt, he limited himself to defending his rights and to tell them that he would not abandon his post, that they all knew how he had been appointed to it, but that, if they persisted in going forward with their pretensions, they should put them in writing and he would forward them to Madrid or to Washington.

The meeting was over. However, they, persistent in their designs, met again by themselves in the city hall and there they voted to destitute the Spanish governor and replace him with the Chamorro named Venancio Roberto. And, they were on their way to the convent to brief Fr. Resano when the bell rang announcing the arrival of a ship. Their doings were postponed until the identity of the ship was known. She was the **Brutus**, an American warship.

In the meantime, Mr. Sixto learned of the intentions of the seditious group and he decided to bring the matter to the attention of the U.S. commander. The next day, when he boarded the ship, he found out that Fr. Palomo and Portusach had preceded him there. The commander listened to both parties, and upon learning of the appointment of Mr. Sixto by the U.S. Rear Admiral, he harshly rebuked Fr. Palomo and the told them that, if they did not want to feel the punishment of America, they had better submit to the rightful governor, until the governments of Sapin and American should decide who should succeed him.

Thus ended this conflict that could have had fatal consequences, given the great influence of Fr. Palomo among the islanders.¹

Perhaps it appears that we have given too many details about this affair, but in doing so, we have been motivated by the wish to clarify this part of the life of Fr. Palomo, given its importance in the history of the Church of the Marianas. He had acted out of fascination for the power of the U.S.A. and perhaps by his belief that the U.S. Government would surely be a blessing for his native country. Nevertheless, his actions must have necessarily frustrated the missionaries in circumstances like those and, if clashes did occur and the relations became cool, he was not exempt from blame.

From the Americans he received nothing but unpleasantnesses, moral dilemmas that must have affected his soul, and splitting headaches. He yearned for the arrival of the Americans, and it was precisely an American, Governor Leary, who forbid him to ring the church bells, to carry the viaticum openly, to hold processions, and he saw with must have been with sorrow that the Americans opened Protestant chapels that caused

1 See the Libro de Defunciones del convento de Manila, pp. 261-262.

so many evils for the souls. In conclusion, one must still recognize that he was a venerable man. He worked as a good worker in the vineyard of the Lord and his name will forever remain engraved in the religious history of the Marianas, not only because of his personal labors as a true apostle, but also because he caused the despatche to the Marianas of other priests to continue the gospel work.

VIII.

The Americans Take Possession of Guam.

The war was going on, but far away from the Mariana Islands, as the Philippines were the scene of the battles. The missionaries were living in a charged atmosphere on account of the lack of news and the uncertainty about the future. They learned about the surrender of Manila, which occurred on 14 August 1898, when the U.S. ship **Pennsylvania** arrived on 17 September, bringing back Mr. José Romero to rejoin his family. Afterwards, on 22 November, the Spanish steamer **Uranus** arrived; she had been despatched by the Governor of Iloilo [Panay Island] to carry food supplies to the garrison of Yap and Ponape in the Carolines. They had not had the intention of touching at Guam, but did so at the request of Mr. Francisco García Gutierrez, the Port Captain made prisoner by the Americans along with Romero. This ship returned to Guam on 5 December. She picked up the families of said captain and of Governor Juan Marina, and Fr. Resano took this opportunity to send Fathers José Lamban and Juan Latorre to Manila.

The war happenings in the Philippines did not unfold very well for the Americans because their good relations with the Filipinos were broken when the former proclaimed the Philippine Republic and voted themselves a Constitution at Malolos. Nevertheless, life went on without major incidents in the Marianas until the arrival, on 19 January 1899, of the U.S. ship Remington [rather **Bennington**]. Her commander, Mr. Tosis [rather Taussig], behaved very reserved and mysterious, saying that he would not take possession of the Island of Guam but would only record the situation. Still, one week later, in complete contradiction with his earlier declarations, he notified the Spanish that the Treaty of Paris had been signed, on 10 December 1898, by which Spain lost Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and the Island of Guam, and all of these former Spanish possessions became the property of the United States. He also notified them that he would take possession of the island on the 1st of February in the name of the United States. Mr. Sixto had not received any order about this from the Spanish Government but he acceded to everything, because the Spanish were in no position to defend themselves.

So it is that the next day, in obedience to the orders he had received from the American military, Mr. Sixto issued the following proclamation:

PROCLAMATION.

Mr. José Sixto Rodrigo, Interim Governor of these Mariana Islands.—

The war that existed between Spain and the United States of North America is over and a treaty of peace between both countries has been signed at Paris by a mixed Commission appointed to that effect. As a result of this treaty, this Island of Guam becomes a possession of the United States, and the other northern islands remain under the Spanish sovereignty. Since the Commander of the cruiser **Bennington** at present anchored in the port of San Luis de Apra has been commissioned to take charge of this Island on an interim basis in the name of the above-mentioned Government of the United States until he should appoint personnel for the purpose, and in accordance with instructions that I have received from said Commander:

Let it be known

1.º—On the 1st of February next, I will turn over in due form all that belong to the Government and the Administration of the Island of Guam, but will remain in my functions as interim Governor and Administrator of the Treasury on behalf of Spain for the other islands that constitute the Marianas group.

2.º—All the laws and regulations that until now have applied to the government and administration of these Islands will continue in effect in this Island of Guam under the new American government, until further notice.

3.º—In the same manner and until further notice, all the persons who hold public office in the Island, shall continue in their respective posts.

4.º—The Assistant Paymaster, Mr. Barron Du-Bois, of the U.S. Navy, shall take charge of collecting all taxes on this Island, as well as making all the eventual payments, as of said date of 1 February, while I shall continue to take care of those for the northern Islands.

5.º—In accordance with the instructions of the Commander of the **Bennington**, the inhabitants of the Island of Guam are notified that those who may wish to remain here as Spanish subjects may do so and they may receive the protection of the Government of the United States, as long as their conduct is orderly and according to law and regulations.

6.º—All the inhabitants of Guam who may wish to remain here and become Spanish subjects, shall make a declaration to this effect before the Heads of Barangay of their respective districts, who shall transmit same as soon as possible through the appropriate channels to this Government of the Island.

Agaña, 30 January 1899.

The interim Governor,
José Sixto.

As had been arranged, on 1 February 1899, the military crew of the U.S. ships stepped ashore with their bands and officers. They advised the Spanish, in case these may wish

to attend the ceremony but they declined the invitation. They then proceeded to take possession of the Island by raising the U.S. flag at Government House to the tune of the National Anthem of the United States and a 21-gun salute. All of this was done with respect, so as not to hurt the Spaniards, without speeches nor hurrahs. Once the act was over, they withdrew to their ships, without even giving a rest to their troops.

Yankee custom, as usual. After the blow, a handshake and... friendship. "As if nothing had happened," had said the Rear-Admiral the year before.

From that time on, the Island became American. Mr. José Sixto lost his post as Interim Governor and, one week later, Barron P. Du-Bois issued a proclamation regarding the money with which the Chamorros had to pay their taxes from then on. It is a curious document and for this reason we publish it:

PROCLAMATION.

By higher authority, let it be known: That the payment of provincial taxes to the Administration and Government of this Island shall be in the following categories of currency that will be accepted at the following equivalent rates:

- 1.º—U.S. currency: the dollar is worth 2 Mexican pesos;
- 2.º—Spanish currency: same as the Mexican;
- 3.º—Chilean currency: the peso is worth 75 cents;
- 4.º—Peruvian currency: the peso is worth 76 cents Mexican;
- 5.º—Columbian currency: the peso is worth 95 cents.

Agaña, 9 February 1899.

Barron P. Du-Bois.

A few days later, on the 13th, another U.S. warship arrived. Her officers kept their distances. No doubt they feared the events unfolding in the Far East, as the Filipinos had raised in armed rebellion against them and, furthermore, there were German warships marauding around those seas. They knew that their actions against Spain had displeased Germany. They did not ignore the fact that they were in the Carolines. And... they feared them. The truth is that their ships weighed anchors that same day, leaving the government of the Island in the hands of a Board presided over by the Gobernadorcillo Joaquín Perez. The members of this Board was Fr. José Palomo, Juan Torres, Justo de León Guerrero, Luis Torres, and Vicente Herrero as Administrator of the Treasury. This Board governed the Island until the month of August when the man sent by the U.S. Government arrived at Guam.¹

1 All such details have been taken from the Report written by Fathers Ildefonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz which is kept in the Provincial Archives. We have placed it in File n° 48, which contains documents and letters relating to the Marianas.

IX.

History of the Macabebes and Sale of the Marianas and Carolines to the Germans.

After the loss of the Philippine archipelago, there remained for us in the Far East only the Carolines and the Marianas, but the latter without the Island of Guam, the wealthiest and most populated. And for this reason, the Spanish Government decided to establish the new capital of the Marianas at San Isidro de Garapan belonging to the Island of Saipan. Our Fr. Provincial, Fr. Francisco Ayarra, recommended to the Ecclesiastical Governor of Cebu to appoint Fr. Resano as Curate of San Isidro. Once this appointment was confirmed by the Bishop of Cebu, Fr. Resano was ordered to go to Saipan and Fr. Tomás Cueva and the religious of Guam were ordered to return to Manila, unless they found a way to return directly to Spain, in which case they were to go to our convent at Monteagudo.

However, before this document reached the hands of Fr. Resano, the Macabebes arrived at the Marianas and we will now tell their story.

When the Filipinos rose against Spain and the war between the two countries grew bloody, there were no lack of islanders to fight in favor of our nation. One of those was Mr. Agustín Blanco, Captain in the National Police force who died in the engagement of Talisay, Province of Batangas. His death extremely saddened his brother, Mr. Eugenio Blanco, a resident of Macabebe, [Province of Pampanga]. Impelled by the double motive of loyalty to Spain and sorrow for the loss of his brother, he volunteered to fight against the insurrection. His offer was accepted, and he set out to raise a militia of pampangueños, most of whom came from Macabebe; that is why they were called Macabebes. With them he always fought on the side of Spain and, when the Spanish surrendered, he remained in the archipelago and continued fighting against the United States. When the Spanish withdrew, the Macabebes wished to go to the Peninsula [i.e. Spain] but they were prevented from doing so.

Nevertheless, their services were rewarded and, among other favors done them, one of them was the appointment of Mr. Eugenio Blanco as Governor of the Marianas and he was to select some Macabebes to act as Spanish soldiers and form part of the garrison there. They left Manila aboard the steamer **Elcano** and arrived at the Marianas in May. With the Governor came 250 Macabebes, 60 officers, a few officials and the families of the volunteers. All in all, they were 700 persons, counting the soldiers, women and children. At Agaña, they were joined by Fathers Francisco Resano, Ildefonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz, who accompanied them to Saipan but, once the expedition had been installed, returned to their parishes.

The letter of our Fr. Provincial to Fr. Resano, dated 1 March, was not received by the addressee until the month of June, the same month in which Captain Antonio Gomez and Sergeant Juan Mendiola, proceeding from Saipan, arrived at Agaña, with a mission to request the American governor to turn over what belonged to Spain, in accordance with the Treaty of Paris. To comply with said letter, Fr. Resano went to Sai-

pan in July and presented his credentials to Mr. Blanco, who wrote this fact in the government records on 26 July 1899.

His stay among the Macabebes was a short one, hardly a few months, but it was a bothersome and unpleasant one. He suffered a lot from them. They had been used to warfare and had spent all their lives as soldiers in the field, and they probably thought that the excesses and outrages of wartime could continue also in peacetime. Their conduct left much to be desired, their morality was despicable, and with the Fathers they did not behave any better when they were paid their monthly wages, according to the moneys available and in variable amounts. Mr. Blanco, whether because he liked them or because he could not control them, disregarded their abuses and excesses and their victims were the missionaries and the Chamorros.

This man, even judging him charitably, by supposing that he had kept up the flag of Spain out of noble designs rather than out of an adventurous spirit, his actions later on give us some reason for some doubt.

Indeed, how can his love for Spain be reconciled with his treatment of the missionaries of the Marianas during his government of those islands, and afterwards, after they were sold to Germany? The same man, once he had returned to the Philippines with his followers, joined the ranks of those denigrating the religious corporations.

We ignore the motive for his conduct, but the fact is that the flamboyant Colonel of the Macabebes went so far as to publish in a certain Manila newspaper, called *El Progreso*, an article against the missionaries of the Marianas, one that would have been insulting to them, had not Fr. Francisco Sábada demonstrated that it was false.

The case was as follows.

In 1895, there lived in the town of San Luis de Medina [sic] a Carolinian woman, unmarried, who lived a scandalous life. She not only lived with a married man but consorted with many others. The missionary disapproved of her conduct and counselled her. He remonstrated with her at three times. In view of this, the missionary approached the civil authority in order to have a corrective applied to her. Her behavior did not improve; she continued with her mode of living until she came close to dying from it. The missionary having been informed, visited her at her bedstead, without having been called, in order to provide her with spiritual assistance. All in vain. He did not achieve his aim. He visited her twice and she refused his help twice, turning her back to him and refusing to accept the holy sacraments. She died in this state as an impenitent, and the missionary, believing that it was his duty to deny her a Christian burial, arranged for her body to be buried outside of the blessed ground.

The relatives of the deceased, and her lovers, following the old customs of the Carolines that had always tried to repel the missionaries, organized the most scandalous merrymaking in her house. They washed and painted the corpse in the most indecent manner and they danced while inebriated with alcohol around the corpse, creating a great scandal. With the indignity of a saint, the missionary, armed with holy zeal, appeared in the middle of the night at her house, and severely reproached them all for their proceedings and ordered them to get rid of the corpse as quickly as possible and

bury it where they wished, but not in the cemetery. And that is when, unhappy that they could not continue their drinking bout, they took the corpse to the beach and threw it into the sea.

The name of this missionary, who did so much to comply with his ministry, was Fr. Cornelio García del Carmen.

Two years later, a certain woman informed Governor Juan Marina of the deed, blaming the missionary for what had happened. The Governor—who never did any favor to the Fathers—decided to open a case file. Fr. Resano objected as the Vicar that he was and, referring the matter to the Bishop of Cebu, being well informed, declared that the missionary had only done his duty.

Now then, the behavior of Fr. Cornelio, so praiseworthy, was used by the Colonel to try and denigrate the missionaries of the Marianas; indeed, without mentioning the facts as they had occurred, he published in the above-mentioned newspaper an article in which he said: *“a friar, missionary in the Island of Saipan, gave permission for a corpse to be buried at sea because the deceased had been so poor as to leave behind only four pesos to pay for her burial.”*

Fr. Sábada answered this calumny in his own article published in *“Libertad”*, dated 12 May 1900, in which he revealed the truth of the affair, narrating the events as they had happened, and challenging him to prove otherwise. They were not able to, so that the honor of the missionaries triumphed, whereas the name of Blanco became mud.¹

As can be concluded from what has just been said, the behavior of the Macabebes in the Marianas could not have been good for the missionaries. Fortunately, their stay did not last long, only a few months because the Carolines and the Marianas were sold to the Germans.

After the events of the Carolines in 1885, about which we wrote a few articles published under the title: *“Footprints left by Recollects in the Carolines”* in this same Bulletin in 1958, the Spanish relations with the Germans were excellent. Nevertheless, in 1899 Germany took advantage of our sad situation and, noticing that we had only a few islands left from our formerly important colonial empire in the Far East, offered to buy the Carolines from us. Spain sold them the whole lot, the Carolines and the Marianas too, for the sum of 5 million marks. We sold them, says Fr. Jerónimo Montes en *“La Ciudad de Dios”*, vol. 60: *“as the last rag from our clothing, like the last useless piece of furniture from a vacated house.”*

This deal forced a change in the religious situation of the Marianas. With a change of sovereignty, there usually followed a change in the religious personnel and of jurisdiction as well. Our Fr. Provincial therefore consulted with the Bishop of Cebu about the case and he received the answer that, while awaiting the answer from Rome to which the case had been referred, things should continue as before. For this reason, our Father

¹ All of these facts are recorded in the obituary of Fr. Resano in the *Libro de Defunciones de Intramuros de Manila* and in the papers of Fr. Sábada that are to be found in File n° 48 of the Provincial Archives. We have not seen the newspapers *“El Progreso”* and *“Libertad”* quoted in the text but only the notes made by Fr. Sábada.

sent a circular praising the work of the missionaries of the Marianas and he ordered Fr. Resano to keep everyone at their posts in the meantime, but, that the departure of the Spanish authorities from Saipan, he himself was to return to Agaña and leave behind Fr. Tomás Cueva, since he had receive permission from the Bishop of Cebu to do this.

During the month of November the islands were turned over to the Germans. In October a Spanish ship had arrived Saipan with Lieutenant-Colonel Cristóbal Aguilar on board; he had been commissioned by our government to turn over those islands. A few days later, another ship, a German one, brought Governor Georg Fritz. After the necessary arrangements were made between the representatives of the two nations, the German took possession of the islands on 17 November 1899 at 3 p.m. The ceremony in question was simple and, for the Spanish, a sad one. The Macabebe soldiers and the Germans from the ship had their own music band. "Both bands," says the obituary of Fr. Resano, "saluted the Spanish flag with the Royal March and, immediately thereafter the flag was lowered, picked up and kissed by the Macabebe volunteers. Both bands then played the German Anthem while the flag of Germany was being raised on the same flag-staff that Fr. Tomás Cueva, then present, had built some time ago for the purpose of showing only the Spanish flag."

On 30 November the Spanish ship sailed with the Macabebes and Fr. Tomás Cueva on board, leaving behind only three missionaries: Fathers Francisco Resano and Cornelio García in Saipan, and Fr. Mariano Alegre in the Island of Rota. Fathers Idefonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz had left a short time before.

X.

Among Americans and Germans.

As we said earlier, Fr. Resano had received an order to move back to Agaña as soon as the Mariana and Caroline Islands had been turned over to the Germans, but he was unable to do so on account of the opposition of Mr. Richard Leary, the first American Governor of Guam. That is what our Fr. Provincial said in a letter dated 29 November of that year.

This governor had arrived at Guam on 7 August. From the first moment he showed himself to be fanatically anti-Spanish, fanatically Protestant, fanatically member of lodges and, as such, a sworn enemy of the Catholic missionaries. As usual, there was a major difference between the acts of the Yankees and the freedom of religion and conscience that they boats so much about. That is why, he was not received in Guam with open arms; to the contrary, he brought nothing but consternation. His true intentions have remained blatantly obvious in the following order which he gave.

PROCLAMATION.¹

To the Inhabitants of the Island of Guan and to All Those Who May See and Hear This.

Given the terms of the Treaty of peace between Spain and the United States of America, signed and concluded by the respective Plenipotentiaries in the City of Paris (France) on 20 December 1898, the control, disposal and government of the Island of Guam in future are ceded to the United States.

Therefore, by virtue of the authority vested upon me by the President of the United States, I, Richard Leary, Captain of the U.S. Navy, and Governor of the Island of Guam, by the present let it be known and proclaim my occupation and administration for the purpose of complying with the rights of sovereignty acquired and the obligations of the government so assumed.

By the present I inform the inhabitants of the Island of Guam that, once the new political power has been established, the power of the United States will be called upon to provide security to all the citizens of the Island and also to confirm all their individual rights and privileges.

The religious exclusivity that the church authorities had practiced under the old regime and imposed upon the inhabitants of this Island is hereby revoked and a complete freedom of religion is guaranteed to everyone, including the most effective protection of this government in everything that may concern the legitimate occupations, provided that they do not infringe any law constituted by the United States.

All national properties and belongings and all the rights and privileges thereof, and the waters around the Island that belonged to Spain before the date of the above-mentioned Treaty are henceforth the property of the United States and, therefore, I warn everyone not to buy, take or cede any part of such properties, rights and privileges, without the prior agreement of the government of the United States.

For the maintenance of order, the existing laws shall remain in force, as long as they are compatible with the stipulations of this Proclamation, until such time as they are either revoked or modified by competent authority; therefore, I order everyone to obey them in the strictest manner, in order to assure the happiness of good government, the advantages of civilization, freedom, good luck and prosperity, and, finally, the general welfare of all the inhabitants of the Islands as worthy citizens sheltered and protected by the glorious flag of the United States.

In testimony thereof, I have signed the present proclamation sealed with the seal of the United States of America and that of the Island of Guam.

Given at Agaña, Island of Guam, on the 10th of August of the year of our Lord 1899, and in the 123rd year of the independence of the United States.

1 Ed. note: This re-translation is to be checked with the original English version, if any, produced at the time.

Richard P. Leary, U.S. Navy Captain, Governor of Guam.

With this proclamation, which, as the previous ones, we have copied from the Report written by Fathers Ildefonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortiz, the sectarian Leary began his government. After his tirade against "the religious exclusivity that the church authorities had practiced under the old regime and imposed upon the inhabitants of this Island" of Guam, he guaranteed complete freedom of religion. His definition of "guaranteed freedom" was made obvious by his subsequent deeds.

So it is that, during the first month of his government, the sincerity of his words was tested at the time of the feast of the patron saint of Agat. As usual, the fest of St. Rose [of Lima], patroness of Agat, was celebrated on the 30th of August. There were present Fr. Francisco Resano, who happened to be in Agaña, Fr. Crisógono Ortiz, curate of Merizo, and Fr. Ildefonso Cabanillas, curate of the town. The usual festivities took place: a large crowd of people, much festive joy and huge demonstrations of affection and respect toward the missionaries. The governor heard of it and, as if the defenceless missionaries constituted a terrible danger for the powerful American republic, he began to bother them with all his power, with vexations and barbs that he was capable of. His incredible vulgarity went so far as to prohibit the landing of the Delegate of His Holiness in the Philippines, Monsignor Chapelle, who was passing by on his way to Manila. Not only did he not wish to tolerate the presence of Spanish priests on the island but he even forbid Fr. Palomo to ring the church bells, carry the viaticum openly, celebrate processions but, in addition, he instituted freedom of cult and civil marriage, he ordered the removal of the crucifixes from the schools and openly tried to end the influence of the Fathers by sowing religious discord in Guam.¹

The year that said Governor spent in Guam was pernicious in the extreme. Fortunately, he was soon gone. The curious thing is that Leary thought that his departure had been caused by Fr. Resano. Let us see what he told Fr. Sábada about this in a letter dated 10 August 1900:

"Mr. Leary, who so badly behaved toward us, is now gone. And he goes away believing that it was I who had written to Washington to have him removed, whereas the truth is that I have remained as quiet as a church mouse in my little corner in Saipan. But let us not undecieve him, so that the news may spread and the Chamorros conclude that we are still worth something, although we are no longer worth anything, as one must take advantage of everything in this life and much more so when he so says and believes himself. The only thing I have said myself, when the Americans told me so, was to deny it feebly, but, in the presence of the Chamorros, I keep mysteriously quiet about it, because it does not do us any harm, should they also believe it."

As it happened, Fr. Resano was unable to carry out his order to move to Agaña on account of the opposition of the Yanquees, since the man who succeeded Leary, though

¹ See "Misiones Católicas en Estreme Oriente," pages 372 et seq., and the obituary of Fr. Resano, *op. cit.*

he acted more diplomatically, was indeed equal or worse at heart. Fr. Resano said so to Fr. Tomás Cueva in a letter dated 15 November 1900:

“The new Governor¹ who has arrived at Agaña is more refined and educated than the first one, but has the same ideas as him when it comes to Religion; he is a recalcitrant Mason and fanatically Protestant, enemy of everything Catholic and consequently of the Catholic priests. And, to prove my point, let me repeat what Fr. Palomo, who had first believed that a new era was inaugurated when the new Governor had arrived, writes to me now that he finds the man as bad as the other, and that he is the first to visit the Devil’s school, that is a Protestant chapel that has recently been created at Agaña at the arrival of a certain Chamorro Protestant missionary from the United States named Caba, who now resides at Agaña. If the Delegate can manage to get permission for us to return to Guam, it will fill a great need because Fr. Palomo cannot by himself attend to everything, and Fr. Palomo tells me that there are already a few families who visit the Protestant chapel,”

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Fr. Resano, therefore, had to remain in Saipan with the Germans who followed a policy that was diametrically opposed to that of the Yankees. In the so-often quoted obituary of Fr. Resano, one can read that the German “not only respected the Catholic religion and the customs of the Chamorros, but they assisted them in the works on their convents and churches and they went so far as to offer them a stipend, but we ignore whether or not they manage to get one.”

This seemed too good to be true. In fact, in the letters of Fr. Resano there is nothing so beautiful or striking in the reality of the situation. For example, he said in the above-mentioned letter to Fr. Cueva:

“The Germans do not interfere with us and wish that the Catholic people continue to observe the duties of our religion, but they want us to look after ourselves, since they themselves do not pay for missionaries.”

In another letter addressed to Fr. Cueva, dated 14 January of the same year [rather 1901], he says:

“Overhere we manage to survive, thank God, hoping that the Philippines will be able to help us when the war ends overthere that caused me to lose the hair off my head, because, though the Germans do not behave badly, we feel as if we live in a foreign land and not treated. One day they might issue an order favorable to the servants of the Church, but the next day they issue another that is harmful, and so on, to such an extent that we, speaking confidentially among ourselves, say many times that we believe that they wish to send us away and replace us with German missionaries. In fact, I heard the Governor say that, in Berlin, they wish to do just that. I would not be surprised if this will happen.”

From all this, one may judge that they were not bothered nor prevented from exercising their ministry freely, but that, at the time as they respected them, they did not

1 Ed. note: Commander Schroeder.

help them in any way. While one may think that this should be natural, given that they belonged to a different nationality and were Protestant, one may also admit that our Fathers felt uncomfortable with that situation and that they had to offer to the Lord a continuous stream of sacrifices. They had been accustomed to carry out their gospel work in territories that were but an extension of the motherland, under authorities who prided themselves in defending a flag that had always been a companion of the Cross; no wonder that this change had to disappoint them.

In conclusion, the Germans behaved correctly with the missionaries, but nothing more.

However, what was learned from the Germans from the first moment was that they had a strong antipathy toward the Americans, as they had not appreciated at all the unjust war made against Spain. That is why, when the German Governor heard about Fr. Resano having an order to move to Agaña, he encouraged him on various occasions to comply with it. Fr. Resano always resisted but, when he was pressed on the matter, he answered that the Americans did not allow him to land at Guam, and that if he did so, they would make him prisoner. "Well, that is what I want," said the German, "because I would immediately send a warship and..." Fr. Resano then gave up the idea entirely, so as not to cause a conflict between the two powers.

XI.

Setting of the Star.

Given the impossibility of settling in the Island of Guam, he continued his work in Saipan. And, as a new proof of the isolation of the missionaries of the Marianas, on 17 September 1902, Pope Leo XIII issued the bull entitled "*Mari Sinico*" creating an Apostolic Prefecture in the Mariana Islands that was to come directly under the Holy See. In the meantime, the Spanish bishops in the Philippines renounced their posts and were replaced by Americans. In the Marianas, they had no news about such changes. Therefore, Fr. Francisco Resano wrote to the Bishop of Cebu asking him if the Marianas still belonged to his diocese, and if so, to which Vicar Forane; in fact, he did not know if the diploma issued to him by Monsignor Alcocer was still valid. He received an answer from the Apostolic Delegate of the Philippines, Monsignor Ambrosio Agius, enclosing a certificate giving him permission to confirm. A short time later, on 20 May of the same year, Monsignor Augustinus Hendrick, Bishop of Cebu, wrote to him giving him full faculties and confirmed him in his title and charge as Vicar Forane, as the Marianas still belonged to his diocese.

We borrow all of these facts from the well-known obituary. However, there is something unbelievable here. He had continued corresponding with Fr. S^{ba}da and Fr. Cueba who were then residing at Manila. Every two months, ever since the arrival of the Germans [sic] at Manila, there were ships that maintained a communication between that place and the English colony at Hong- Kong, as Fr. Resano says himself in many letters to said Fathers. How is it then possible that the decisions of the Holy See and

the changes in bishops in the Philippines were not communicated officially by the Superiors, or by these two Fathers, his friends, one being from the same town, the other his companion of so many years in the same missionary field? We are therefore puzzled by this. However, since we lack proof, we will limit ourselves to repeating what was written in his obituary upon his death.

After all, Fr. Resano remained but a short time in the Marianas. About two [rather eight] years only.¹ During this time, he lived in peace and tranquillity with the Germans, without any novelty except hunger which he felt from time to time. That should not come as a surprise. It was one thing that he had to endure this kind of torment with resignation; after all, he had abandoned everything to become a missionary, but it was another that he had to suffer this way. At the beginning the food conditions in the Marianas were the same as in 1887 when the missionaries received a pension from the government and there were there authorities and a small Spanish army. True it is that now, the Germans lacked nothing and got excellent food supplies from Sydney and Hong-Kong, but the missionaries partook none of them. They had to survive only with the small benefits they received from the church levies and with the very poor products of that soil, as miserably as it was sterile. In spite of this, they never wished to abandon the field, but to remain there until such an embarrassing situation could be solved.

The solution was at hand. Indeed, the Germans begged the Holy See to replace the Spanish Capuchins in the Carolines and Palau and the Recollects in the Marianas by German Capuchins and that a new, German, Prefect be also appointed. The Holy See accepted these requests and entrusted the Prefecture of the Marianas to the Capuchin Province of Westphalia, the first Apostolic Prefect appointed being Fr. Paul Kirchhausen, but only for Saipan, and not Guam, because the American governor of Guam refused Fr. Kirchhausen permission to land at Guam and did not wish to receive him—O American freedom! The Holy See finally solved the problem by appointing another, Vicar Apostolic, for Guam.

Fr. Resano was not able, as Vicar Forane of the Marianas, to turn over his duties to the German Capuchins. The 31 years that he had spent in those islands had exposed him to physical and moral sufferings and had undermined his health. He became sick and, following the advice of a physician, he embarked for Manila, thus abandoning forever those islands where he had spent his life as a missionary. He turned over his parish of San Isidro of Garapan to Fr. Cornelio García and went to Manila during the month of July 1907.

“We abandoned the Marianas,” says Fr. Licinio Ruiz, “at the beginning of 1908. The last Spanish Recollects in the Marianas were Fr. Mariano Alegre [de la Virgen] del Perpetuo Socorro in Rota, and Fr. Cornelio García del Carmen in Tanapag. Our participation in the missions of the Marianas had begun in the year 1789 [rather 1869].

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¹ Ed. note: Error. See below, where he says that he stayed until 1907.

Summary of the rest of Fr. Resano's life, by R.L.

Fr. Resano stayed one and a half years in Manila, then he was sent back to Spain, for health reasons. He returned to Manila in 1909, where he served as director of two schools, among other things.

In 1912, he retired to the infirmary of the Recollect convent in Intramuros. He was sent for one month to the Island of Cuyo to see if that would do his health some good, but it did not. He died in the infirmary at Manila, on 10 March 1914, at the age of 62 and after 43 years as a religious.

After his death, there were found in his cell only documents dealing with the Marianas: a copy of the Chronicle of the Marianas, and a copy of Governor de la Corte's favour Report.

Document 1876E

**Government appointment of a curate for
Inarajan, Guam**

Source: PNA.

Note: Since the Spanish Government was paying the salaries of missionaries and other priests in their colonies, i.e. stipends plus church expenses, it had the right to approve or disapprove their appointments.

Appointment dated Manila 9 December 1875

Government General of the Philippines.

Your Excellency,

The Rev. Fr. Provincial of the Recollects submits to Y.E. the trio from which to choose the Curate of Inarajan in the Mariana Islands, so that Y.E may choose from among the religious who appear in it.

In 1st place: **Fr. Ramón Orrit** del Pilar, 39 years old, 17 in the country, and 14 in administration.

In 2nd place: **Fr. Casiano Vasquez** del Angel Custodio, 29 years old, 4 in the country and 4 in administration.

In 3rd place: **Fr. Manuel Navarro** de la Virgen de la Peña, 25 years old, 3 in the country and ready for administration.

Note. The undersigned believes that Y.E. may please designate the religious who meets your superior preference.

Manila, 9 December 1875.

Moreno Lasalle

[Minute]

Appoint the first one.

[In early January 1876, the following persons were advised of this decision: the Accounting Section of the Treasury, the Provincial of the Recollects, the Bishop of Cebu, the Governor of the Marianas. Father Orrit had at that time been in charge of the parish of Inarajan for over one year. Father Vasquez, thus serving in Saipan, was recalled to the Philippines.]

Documents 1876F

Political exiles—not enough rations for them

Source: PNA.

F1. Letter of Governor Brabo, dated Agaña 28 April 1876

M. & P. Government of the Marianas—Administration Section.
Letter N° 144.

Dear Sir:

Today, the U.S. packet boat **Fanny Hare** [Capt. Lee] coming from Honolulu entered this port to take on water; it departs tomorrow for that [Capital, i.e. Manila] and I use this opportunity to give a report to Y.E. about these Islands.

The condition of the exiles is bad for lack of rations. The radicals themselves do not wish to work under the pretext that the Government must maintain them, the number of the sick increases and in order to prevent an epidemic or their starvation, they are being fed healthy food from this island, out of the fund for lepers. That was the situation when the bark **Candida** arrived with rations that did not include meat or grease, about whose shortage, as we reported in the last mail, cannot be made up here. So, the situation has improved but after the three months taht they will last, we will return to the same condition.

The provincial funds, such as the Royal Credit, cannot be touched by their Administrations without an express order from their Directors under the closest responsibility. If the Governor dips into them without being authorized by the Governor General, the whole weight of responsibility will fall upon him; for this reason, only in the extreme case of a public calamity impossible to save, would he take the risk of the compromise. In mentioning this to Y.E., it is because the exiles have believed that I could use those funds and they have requested a daily allowance from this Government, when there are no rations. As long as Y.E. does not grant it expressly, I remain ready to deny it and not to do otherwise no matter what happens.

This I bring to the superior attention of Y.E., for whatever decision is considered appropriate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 15 March 1876.

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

F2. Letter of Governor Brabo, dated Agaña 28 April 1876

M. & P. Government of the Marianas—Administration Section.
Letter N° 274.

Dear Sir:

Before the arrival of the bark **Candida** which brought the mail and the rations for the exiles, they had not had any since December as Y.E. would have seen as per the accounts which I remitted in my letter N° 259.

The state of poverty which these people have reached has been brought to the attention of the Governor General in various letters. The lessee of the Island of Tinian, Mr. George Johnston, has, on different dates, succored those of Saipan with 37 quintals [3700 pounds] of dry pork meat, 38 quintals of sweet potatoes, 30 goats and 300 pounds of tobacco. The military Commander of the same island has spent the equivalent of 60 pesos for the same purpose.

This I bring to the superior attention of Y.E. in compliance with my duty.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 28 April 1876.

Manuel Brabo.

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

F3. Letter of Governor Brabo, dated Agaña 19 August 1876

M. & P. Government of the Marianas—Administration Section.
Letter N° 298.¹

Dear Sir:

I take the opportunity of the departure for Hong Kong of the packet **Rupak**² to report to Y.E. the state of this Province under my command.

In this island and that of Rota there is nothing in particular to report about, the general state is good [although] seven European exiles have died during this semester and there are about 25 of them suffering from dysentery, as the rations ran out at the beginning of June, but the latter group is being assisted out of the funds for lepers and in cash.

According to reports received from the Island of Saipan, some severe droughts have caused the failure of all the crops and, for the same reason, the wild fruits, such as the breadfruit, the *Federico* [Cycas], etc. have not reached maturity; they constitute the

1 Ed. note: Reported the following October, as N° 299.

2 Ed. note: Actually the schooner Rupak, Capt. Gall (see Doc. 1875D).

emergency food for the natives and must be sought at more than two leagues in the interior.

Given the state of near starvation that affects that Island, which holds approximately 300 exiles without rations and over 700 natives and Carolinians, the advanced state of the bad weather season in these seas, by an agreement reached by the Council of Authorities, they have been sent 400 cabans of rice, which has been obtained with difficulty, and Mr. Johnston has been contracted to provide meat to the exiles, enough to last 50 days, a period that is thought to be sufficient to await the arrival of the mail ship bringing rations, this ship being expected at the end of the present month.

Given that the ship carrying this letter is not thought to offer a sure means of delivery, this is the reason why I do not dare send more correspondence at this time.

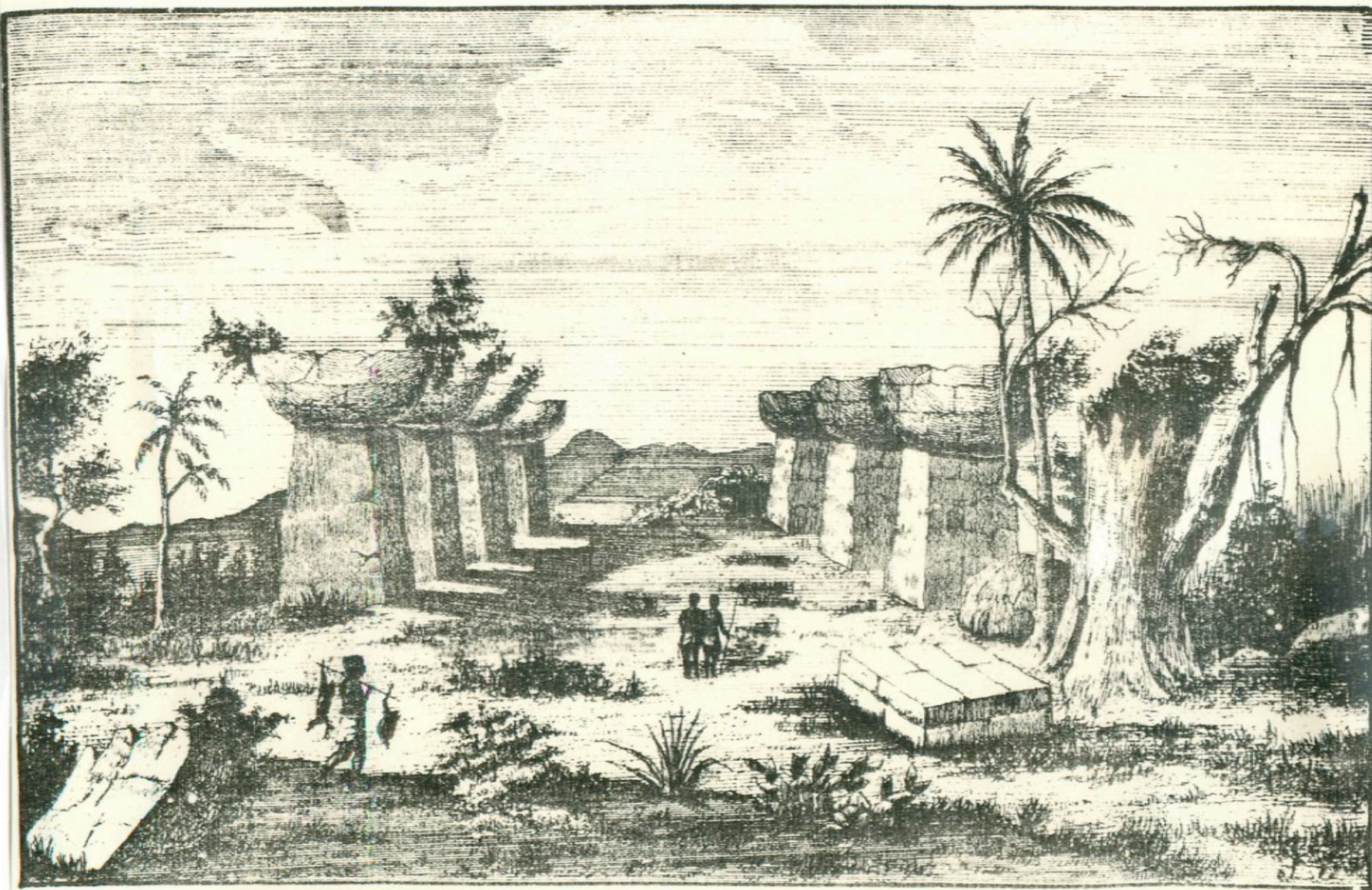
May God save Y.E. for many years.

Agaña, 12 August 1876.

Your Excellency,

Manuel Brabo

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



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 Document 1876G

A Spaniard's wrong ideas about the latte stones of the Marianas

Source: Pedro de Govantes y Azcrraga. "Los monumentos marinicos" in El Oriente (Manila), n° 68 (1876).

Note by the Editor of El Oriente: The author has given us this article, accompanied with a drawing which we publish here. The article was published a few months ago in the Revista de Filipinas.

Editor's note: Freycinet was the first person to give a correct interpretation of the latter stones; see Vol. 19 of the first series for the drawings that make their proper visualization.

[Facing page: **Ruins of a prehistoric monument in Tinian.**]

Introductory note by the Editor of the "Revista de Filipinas."

Among various historical and descriptive reports on the Marianas that we possess and have assembled for eventual publication in the Review, since we have noticed in the laborious and learned Report of Mr. La Corte a few errors that we believe important, without, of course, wishing to tarnish the reputation of such a conscientious author, there is one that says the following:

"The Chamorros lived in houses that were well built **one level up from the ground**, supported by strong **stone columns** and they were covered and decorated, etc. etc. etc. In addition to the private houses, there were others that were common and spacious. One of these common houses, larger than the others, near the cove at Agaña, where the fleet of Legaspi took on water,¹ had four wings in the shape of a cross, with **big masonry columns** and that is where mass was celebrated during the eleven days that the fllet remained there."

We take this opportunity to mention here (though it does not come from said report) that the word Chamorro that many persons think comes from the language of the Marianas, is Spanish and was applied by the first Spaniards who visited that country to the *caciques* or nobles who were distinguished from the common people by the fact that their heads were shaved, that is *chamorra*.

¹ Ed. note: Legazpi stopped at Umatac, not Agaña.

The monuments of the Marianas, by Pedro de Govantes

I.

Description.

In the Islands of Guam, Rota, Saipan and Tinian, belonging to the Archipelago of the Marianas, the archaeologist meets with objects that are worthy of his attention, of special interest because they are monuments of architectural nature, all of the same type and the same time period.

Each one of these monuments consists of a block with a rectangular base and the shape of a truncated pyramid and, upon the top of it, but smaller in area, rests a hemisphere whose flat surface faces upwards.

With respect to size or dimensions, they vary; indeed, in Tinian, they have the true aspect of monuments, but in the other islands, they never exceed four feet in height. In that of Tinian, there are twelve of them that surpass the others; in fact, their bases measure five feet by four, their height is fifteen feet, and the top of these truncated pyramids measures two feet square, which support hemispheres that are from six to seven feet in diameter.

These pyramids are always found in pairs, along parallel lines and placed four yards apart.

The small ones consist of two parts: one stone for the column and another for the cup; however, the large ones are made up of various horizontal layers of coral stones joined with mortar (made up of lime and sand) and each layer is from six to eight inches thick. Finally, let us say that they lack cementation, because some of them have been toppled by storms and earthquakes. As far as the inhabitants are concerned, they look at them with great respect and veneration.

II.

Tradition.

These monuments predate the discovery of the islands. Today they serve no purpose and are covered with moss and abandoned.

Indeed, to understand their purpose, one must refer to tradition.

According to tradition, those pyramids were the *casas de los antiguos* [the houses of the ancient] and, interpreting this phrase, we may believe that they were the columns upon which the **roofs** of those houses rested. This type of construction is so original that we cannot find any similarity with other buildings. So, we may admit this interpretation, but also another, to the effect that the second floor of said houses could have rested upon them; indeed, one must take into consideration that if the first hypothesis is plausible, the inference would be that the dwellings of those ancestors were very low, and the idea goes against the circumstance that they buried their dead relatives under their houses, in which case, given the low elevation, the living would have been almost immediate contact with the dead, and no matter how deep the pit, they would always smell the bad odors. Therefore, it is more probable that, upon those columns rested some floor beams and upon these, the cross-beams that supported the main floor of the dwelling. If we admit the latter hypothesis, and given the earthquakes, though not

strong ones, that are being felt in those islands, one must also admit that this type of buildings does not lack ingenuity. By giving a wide base to the columns, which by the way lack cementation, and the shape of a pyramid, they would resist better to the geological phenomenon: the hemispheres are very convenient because if the beams, which are not incrustated in them, happen to shift their position, they will not fall off to the ground; indeed, in order to do this, they would have to move a distance exceeding the radius of said hemisphere and this would not occur except during a very intense earthquake, such as the one that toppled the columns now found on the ground. The main floor would have been made of cane or reed, and [the roof of] nipa or thatch.

We have already said that in Tinian there are twelve monuments that surpass the others in size; these twelve monuments are laid out along two parallel lines, and are known in the country under the name of House of Taga. Taga was a native chief that appears as a famous person in the military history of those countries. Right next to what was formerly his residence can be found the present residence of Tinian.

Tradition says that on one of these columns, Taga had buried his daughter, and covered her body with rice flour. In 1855, there ruled over the Marianas as Governor, Mr. Felipe de la Corte y Ruano Calderon, a model for all illustrious and hard-working governors, who wrote an historical and description report on the islands such that, if there were a similar report written about every other province of the Philippines, they would be very useful, because we would be able to appreciate them fully. In 1855, to repeat, Mr. de la Corte decided to test the traditional story, and he tells us about his experience in his report, as follows:

“I climbed to the top of the column that pointed at and, although it was covered with shrubs, I indeed found a cavity full of earth in which grew shrubs whose trunks were two to three inches in diameter. I had it cleared and dug up. In fact, I found a piece of a lower jaw and two bones that appear to be finger bones.”

The facts seem to confirm the tradition of the Marianas.

III.

Conjectures.

The existence of the main monuments in the Island of Tinian seems to indicate that this island had a distinguished place in the prehistory of those countries.

The island is suitable for such an honor; it has a benign climate, a tropical vegetation, a flat terrain for over half of its surface, a coast that is gently sloping to the southwest, excellent herds of cows and pigs, etc., a few birds, an absence of harmful animals; and yet, we must lament the fact that, under our paternal government, it is almost uninhabited; in fact, the only people there are a few lepers who have been sent there from the various islands and some 20 more individuals that also depend, more or less, on the Government.

The circumstance that makes Tinian closest one to Japan, and the character of the monuments that we have just described, make us think that they have something to do with the Japanese, whose influence would have been felt in the islands much before the

arrival of Magellan who saw there craft that were moved by lateen sails, reason for which he first gave them that name.

This conjecture is strengthened by the observation that the monuments lack cementation, just like the old tower of San Sebastian in this city, when it was demolished to build a new one, much to everyone's surprise; that tower had been built by Japanese from the large colony of them that existed at the time, and it has resisted various earthquakes.

The Japanese who came to the Marianas belonged to a people inhabiting the shores of that empire and they dedicated themselves to fishing and similar industries, because, in spite of their superiority to any other races of that part of Asia, they have not left behind any other traces of their stay at the archipelago of the great Queen Maria Ana.

We have brought to light a curious object of those distant islands; those who have a better knowledge of archaeology may do a favor to science by studying the problem that the monuments of the Marianas represent.

Pedro de Govantes y de Azcárraga.

Document 1876H

**New Zealand ships trading in Micronesia,
1876-81**

Source: New Zealand Herald, 1876 to 1881.

**Extracts from the New Zealand Herald, Auckland,
compiled by N. L. Millar**

5th April 1876.

Vision brig, [Captain] Loverock, for Tonga-Samoa. L. D. Nathan and Col., agents. Mr. and Mrs. and Master [rather Owner] Farrell, Mrs. Loverock, Messrs. Boylan and Elligan. 4th April 1876. The brig **Vision** will take her departure today on another South Sea Island cruise.

3th October 1876.

Arrivals.—**Vision** brig from Tonga. The brig signalled yesterday afternoon is the **Vision** from the Line Islands and Tonga where she has been cruising for upwards of three months.

4th October 1876.

Imports.—Per **Vision** from the Marshall and Gilbert groups: 10 tons oil, 5 tons copra, 6000 coconuts.

The Brig **Vision**, Captain Loverock, has returned from the Marshall and Line Islands. The cruise among the Line Islands has occupied within a few days of six months and during that period several islands have been visited and communication had with the residents thereon, that have hitherto escaped the attention of our islands trading vessels. The object of the vessel's voyage on this occasion, was not so much for the purpose of securing a cargo as to open up new channels for commercial relationships with the numerous islands in close proximity or northwards of the Line. This we are glad to record has been done and several stations have been opened up by Mr. Farrell the owner of the vessel, which we trust will prove beneficial not only to the enterprising gentleman but also to the commercial community of this city. Visited Friendly [Tonga] Island, Samoa, Gilbert, Kingsmill Groups, Mulgrave [Mili] Island. The **Vision** has visited

all the principal islands in both east and west chains and Mr. Farrell has opened up trading stations on all, making Arrowsmith's [Majuro] his head station; it is a beautiful lagoon, harbour easy to enter and leave.

20th October 1876.

The brig **Vision** returned from a six months cruise among the Line Islands. The object of the vessel's voyage, on this occasion, was not so much trade as to open new channels for commercial relationships with the numerous islands in close proximity or northwards of the Line.

31st October 1876.

Vision, brig, Morton, for Marshall group (October 30).

6th January 1877.

Extract from letter of Rev. George Brown on the Island trade and Mission.

"Sir,

"I have been much interested in several articles and letters which have been published in your columns on the subject of the Island trade, more especially with regard to the North West group. I most heartily sympathize with the efforts that are being made to develop that trade and believe that ultimately it will be one of great importance. I think it well, however, to make a few remarks on the articles which have appeared for the benefit of those concerned.

"It seems to be assumed that the Caroline and Marshall Islands, etc. and especially the former are comparatively unknown and unworked by traders. The fact is that Yap has been for years one of the head stations of Messrs. Goddefroi and Sons of Samoa and that Island and the whole of the Caroline and Pelew Islands are regularly worked now by Messrs. Capelle and Milne, by Messrs. Hershheim and Co. and by several Hong Kong and Singapore firms. Any trader going to the Carolines expecting to buy copra of the usual quality of "Island trade" would, I think, be disappointed. Tower muskets were good sale there at one time; now genuine Enfield rifles offered there for 6 dollars (twenty four shillings each) find no sale. Nothing short of the best breeches-loaders and seven or seventeen shooter rifles being wanted. Our Auckland merchants will have to consider also that most articles of European manufacture for island trade can, I am told, be bought cheaper in Hong Kong than in Sydney or Auckland. I make this statement about the trade in the Carolines on the authority of the oldest trader there who has but recently left Yap. I am inclined to think that in the event of our Auckland vessels visiting the Carolines, timber, food, etc. would be safer cargo for that market than the usual "Island trade." The Marshalls, Kingsmills and other Line Islands are well known enough now and I need not say anything about them...

"Then take Yap, one of the finest islands in the Carolines, but as yet without the Gospel. In the early days it was very profitable indeed to trade tobacco, Tower muskets and brass cannon and fine prices were obtained; but the demand for such things

soon ceased. Then better tobacco and better rifles had to be brought, on all which there was, of course, less profit and for which the demand was more limited. Then, with great opposition, the prices had to be lowered and I could easily have bought Enfield rifles from a Yap trader at a far lower price than I could get them in Sydney. No one knows the instability and uncertainty of this kind of trade than the merchants themselves and for years they have been urging the American Board of Missions and the missionaries in Micronesia to occupy the group. They cannot get the natives to wear clothes—can only excite their ambition for the possession of articles of which from their very nature the demand is limited. The one sad exception is when they can succeed in exciting a craving for spirits and then, if the supply is kept up, the fate of that tribe is involved in no uncertainty.”

13th February 1877.

The well-known schooner, **Belle Brandon**, has changed owners within the last few days, having been purchased by Messrs. Henderson and McFarlane for the island trade and will sail at once for Suwarrow. Captain Ohlson will retain the command of the vessel.

14th May 1877.

Considerable anxiety is being felt respecting the prolonged absence of several of the island vessels which are overdue. The **Vision**, Captain Morton, which sailed on 28th October for the Line Islands is not expected to be away more than 4 months at the outside and yet almost seven months have gone by and not a word has been heard either from her or the sister vessels, the **Fortune** and **Agnes Donald**, which sailed within a few days of each other for the same destination. The brigantine **Helena** from Apia is also anxiously looked for as latest advices via Fiji stated that the vessel would leave for this port on or about mid-April.

22nd May 1877.

The brig **Vision**, Captain Morton, arrived in Sydney on 13th instant from the South Sea Islands with a cargo of island produce and the following passengers—Captain Austen, Messrs. Easton and Paley. Her cargo consists of 150 tons copra, 40 lbs tortoise-shell, 172 lbs ivory nuts, 3 casks coconut oil.

The following report of the passage is from the Sydney Morning Herald, 14th May: “The brig left Ponquepet [rather Puynipet or Pohnpei] (Caroline Islands) on the 31st March at 7 a.m. with an E. wind and crossed the equator on the morning of the 3rd April. For the next four days had thick rainy weather and squally from the N.W., from 7th to 16th, calms; on 17th picked up the trades in Lat. 9°55' S. Long. 164°26' E. sighted St. Christoval, Santa Catalina and Santa Ana Islands and the sight of the Solomons on the 18th. Had light South and S.S.E. winds with fine weather, till the 30th. On May 1st strong S. wind with thick weather, and rain. Passed Ken and Neck reefs on the 2nd in Lat. 23° S. Long. 156°58' E. The wind veered to West strong breeze with head sea on 3rd

wind veered to S.W. and then South squally and died away to a calm. On the morning of the 6th light winds and calms, made the land off Port Macquarrie. **The Vision brings up the first cargo from the Caroline and Marshall groups and the copra is of a very fine quality.**

23rd May 1877.

The schooner **Fortune** which left here for the Marshall Group under Captain Murray has been sold to the natives at one of the islands of that group for £450.

The schooner **Agnes Donald** is now trading among the Marshall and Caroline Islands under the command of Captain Murray who succeeded Captain Austen. The latter gentleman having returned home by the **Vision**, brig.

The schooner **Fortune**, Captain Murray, one of the vessels sent down in October last by Mr. Farrell to trade in the Marshall and Caroline groups made a very long run of it. The passage occupying sixty days. Arriving at her destination on 24th December or two days after the brig **Vision** which left this port some time after the **Fortune**. Captain Murray had the bad luck to lose his rudder and for several days was without one, but ultimately succeeded in shipping another.

The schooner **Belle Brandon**, Captain Ohlsen, returned to port yesterday morning from a cruise among the islands. She brings a small cargo of produce and is consigned to Messrs. Henderson and McFarlane. Cargo: 30,000 coconuts and 5 tons copra.

The brig **Vision**, Captain Hawkins, from Sydney arrived in harbour late on Saturday night and brought up at the powder ground where she will discharge a quantity of powder before coming alongside the wharf. She has on board a quantity of ship chandlery, a portion of the original cargo from the Marshall and Caroline Islands.

9th August 1877.

The brig **Vision**, Captain Hawkins,¹ cleared at the Customs yesterday for the Marshall Group and will sail at an early hour this morning. She carries two passengers: Messrs. G[George]. Cozens² and Lyttlton.

10th August 1877.

The brig **Vision**, Captain Hawkins, sailed yesterday upon a trading cruise to the Marshall Group and other islands in close proximity to the Line. She is expected to be absent about 3 months.

17th September 1877.

The schooner **Belle Brandon**, Captain Ohlson, arrived in Harbour on Saturday morning from the Solomon group via Niue or Savage Island. Her cargo consists entire-

1 Ed. note: According to Westbrook (Doc. 1877H), the captain may already have been Harris.

2 Ed. note: See story about him by George Westbrook (Doc. 1877H).

condition which reflects creditably to the skipper and his crew: 4 tons copra.

7th November 1877.

The brigantine **Flirt** [rather **Flink**], Captain Moller, from the Line Islands was expected daily at Samoa, according to advice.

12th December 1877.

The schooner **Belle Brandon**, Captain Ohlson, arrived in harbour about 9 o'clock last night from a little over two months cruise among the islands. She comes into port with a full cargo of copra and other produce consigned to Messrs. Henderson and McFarlane. She is last from the Solomon Islands via Rotumah. The passage from this latter port occupying twenty-two days.

14th January 1878.

The island trading brig **Vision**, Captain Hawkins, arrived in harbour from the Marshall Group on Saturday morning. After an absence of five and a half months she brings a full cargo of copra and a small quantity of other island produce which is consigned to Messrs. L. D. Nathan and Co. Captain Hawkins reports the traders connected with the venture in excellent health.

1st February 1878.

The island schooner **Agnes Donald**, Captain J. Murray, arrived in harbour yesterday afternoon from the Marshall Group, Line Islands, after an absence of sixteen months from this port. She comes into harbour in a very neat and sound condition, the master speaking in favourable terms of the schooner's suitability [sic] for the trade in which she has been so long employed.

22nd February 1878.

Captain G. H. Harris, formerly of the barque **Glimpse** has been appointed master of the island trading brig **Vision** which sails on Saturday for the Caroline Islands.

23rd February 1878.

The brig **Vision** cleared at the Customs yesterday for the Caroline Group with a large cargo of assorted merchandise. She will sail this afternoon carrying a supercargo, Mr. Cozens.

4th March 1878.

Feb. 23rd.—**Vision**, brig, 159 tons, J. B. Herries [sic], for Caroline Group, with general cargo. Passenger: Mr. Cousins [sic].

30th September 1878.

The day previous to the schooner **Marion** leaving the islands, one of Messrs. Godefroi's barques arrived from the Caroline Group and reported the Auckland brig **Vision** there with only 25,000 lbs on board.

5th October 1878.

The brig **Vision** whose arrival we recorded in yesterday's issue came up the Harbour yesterday morning after a seven and a half months cruise among the Line Islands. She brings into port a quantity of cargo, pearl and tortoise-shell and other island produce. She has been employed chiefly in the Marshall and Caroline groups being as far west as Yap. She sailed from Majuro on September 5th for this port. She brings no island news of importance and has only two passengers, Messrs. G. Cozens and W. Bonar.

17th October 1878.

The brig **Vision**, so well known in the island trade will go into the dock today in order to have her copper examined. We understand she will not return to the islands. (Subsequently removed from the island trade, this being her last voyage).

29th January 1879.

The topsail schooner **Gael** arrived in harbour yesterday morning from an extended cruise among the islands of the Pacific. She comes into harbour a full vessel, her cargo being exclusively copra. The **Gael** left this harbour on August 3rd and the day following for Levuka which was made after a passage of twelve days. Subsequently proceeded on a trading cruise to Rotumah, Ellice, Kingsmill and Marshall groups. Left Arno at the latter islands on December 16th and back the same way reaching Rotumah on 16th instant.

21st May 1879.

The schooner **Belle Brandon** arrived in harbour on Monday night from a lengthy cruise among the Line Islands. She brings a cargo of island produce, such as copra, ivory nuts, etc. which are now being transhipped to the barque **Alastor** for London. The schooner left this port on December 3rd and made direct for the Marshall Group arriving at Arno on January 2nd of the present year and remained there a few days and then proceeded through that group and the Caroline islands touching at no fewer than thirty three islands returning to the Marshalls early last month.

Arrival 21/5/79.—**Belle Brandon**, schooner, Robinson, from Rotumah and the Islands. Passenger: Mr. J. Johnson. Henderson and McFarlane, agents.

9th June 1879.

Wanted for a small schooner trading among the islands an active young seaman to ship as mate. Engagement for 12 months. Apply to Master of **Belle Brandon**, North Shore.

13th June 1879.

The schooner **Belle Brandon** has been thoroughly overhauled and recovered, etc. by Messrs. Sims and Brown, North Shore and is now engaged taking in cargo for the islands. She is expected to sail about Wednesday for the island of Rotumah via Levuka.

17th June 1879.

Legal Jurisdiction in the islands.

The Government, to clear up the state of the law respecting the jurisdiction over the islands of the Pacific, have issued the following notice to masters of vessels trading to the islands in the Western Pacific Ocean.

Marine Dept.

Wellington.

19th May 1879

The attention of masters of vessels and other persons trading to islands in the Western Pacific Ocean is directed to Her Majesty's Order in Council dated 13th August 1877 known as "The Western Pacific Order in Council of 1877" which constitutes a court having criminal and civil jurisdiction over the following islands and places:

The Groups of islands known as the Friendly Islands, the Navigators Islands, the Union Islands, the Phoenix Islands, the Ellice Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Marshall Islands or archipelago, the Caroline Islands, the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz Islands...

19th June 1879.

The schooner **Belle Brandon** cleared at the Customs for Levuka, Fiji; and the island of Rotumah and will sail at an early hour this morning. She will be absent from port several months as the cruise will extend probably to the Line Islands.

Departures.—**Belle Brandon**, Schooner, Robinson, for Levuka, Rotumah and the islands.

15th November 1879.

The Schooner **Belle Brandon** from the South Pacific arrived early this morning. She brings a cargo of copra, ivory nuts and pearl shells.

Arrivals.—**Belle Brandon**, schooner from Marshall group. Henderson and McFarlane, agents (no captain's name given).¹

5th December 1879.

The schooner **Belle Brandon** is expected to sail on Saturday for Marshall group and a cruise through the Line Islands.

¹ Ed. note: It was Captain Harris, says Westbrook (Doc. 1877H). See next page.

8th December 1879.

Departures.—December 6th, **Belle Brandon**, schooner, Harris, for Marshall Islands. Henderson and McFarlane, agents.

December 1879.

Goddefroi and Co. sold their business.

2nd December 1879.

The schooner **Belle Brandon** entered out at the Customs yesterday for the Marshall group and will sail in the course of a few days.

13th February 1880.

The three-masted schooner **Falcon** has again been chartered by Messrs. Henderson and McFarlane for a trading voyage to the islands and will sail in the course of a few days.

20th February 20th 1880.

Departures.—**Falcon**, schooner, Hayward, for the Ellice Islands. Passengers, Messrs. H. W. Henderson, R. J. Smith, J. Marshall, Samuel. Henderson and McFarlane.

13th December 1880.

Arrivals.—12th December 1880. **Belle Brandon**, schooner, T. R. Harris, from Marshall Group.

30th May 1881.

Arrival.—**Ryno**, schooner, Fernandez, from Marshall Islands. Passengers: Mr. and Mrs. Thomas and Mr. R. Smith. Henderson and McFarlane, agents.¹

¹ Ed. note: George Westbrook was also on board (Doc. 1877H).

Document 1876I

HMS Renard, Captain Pugh, visited Apaiang in 1876

Introduction.

The reason why the **Renard** visited the Gilbert Islands was the murder of an Englishman, named John Curtis Keyse, who had been a trader living at Butaritari, with a Mrs. Glover, who was then left destitute with orphan children. The murder was reported in Honolulu by Mr. Chamberlain, the Delegate who had visited the Micronesian Mission stations in 1875. The motive for the killing had been the refusal of handing over a bottle of hair-oil to a native who had nothing to trade for it...

Reports published in Honolulu

Source: Articles in The Friend, Honolulu, November and December, 1876.

Comment by Rev. Damon.

In another column [see below] we publish a letter from the Rev. Mr. Bingham, who has for so many years labored for the people of Apaiang, where Capt. Pugh, of **H.B.M.S. Renard**, was sent to secure the punishment of a native who had murdered an Englishman. It appears that we argued upon false premises in our last issue, and we now gladly correct our statement. From the published accounts in the New Zealand and Honolulu papers, we certainly had the right to say that the murderer was executed by some one attached to the **Renard**. From a review of the whole affair we only wonder that the murderer was secured. He had fled to another island under another king. The king of Apaiang had no more power to arrest the man on another independent island than President Grant would have to arrest and bring to justice the forger Winslow without a treaty between the United States and England.

Visit of H.B. M.S. Renard at Apaiang.

Note: Rev. Bingham was then visiting Honolulu.

[Letter from Rev. Bingham to the Editor of The Friend.]

In an editorial of your issue of November 1, on "Prompt punishment in the South Seas" you ask, "Ought not the commander of the **Renard** to have compelled the King of Apaiang to execute the murderer, or order it done? for it appears from the narrative as published that he was arrested and delivered over by the King's order."

Mr. G. Haina, a Hawaiian Missionary on Apaiang, in a letter to myself of June 15, in which he describes the execution writes, "Te Kaiea [the King] said to Te Tekea, Fire it, and it was fired, and his body was blown to atoms." This supplements what you publish of Rev. G. Leleo's letter of April 29.

Thus it would seem that the King of Apaiang did after all execute the murderer, and so in one sense, "the subject of one nation did not become the executioner of a criminal in another."

No doubt the commander of the **Renard** recommended to our young king the *mode* of punishment, and perhaps he may have insisted upon it, but probably a simple recommendation was sufficient in view of the threat which had been made of burning his town in case he failed to arrest the murderer. In regard to the manner in which the punishment was executed, you remark, "we shall be much surprised if the commander of the **Renard** receives the approval of the people of England and of the civilized world." I would remark the name of his course in securing the arrest of the murderer.

If I am correctly informed the king made every effort to arrest and punish the man immediately after the murder; but he escaped to the island of Marakei, aided it is true by others, not accomplices but friends or relatives. It is doubtful whether public sentiment thus far not sufficiently elevated would have enabled the king unassisted by a vessel of war to punish these men as they ought to have been. Upon the arrival of the **Renard** one was arrested; the other was on Tarawa.

Now it should be remembered that the king of Apaiang rules over that island only, and if so, was it reasonable in Capt. Pugh to demand, upon threat of bombardment, that he should without fail secure the arrest of the murderer at Marakei. It was right no doubt for the captain to insist upon his making a request to the authorities there for such arrest, and even to have supported him in a demand for the same by the presence of a vessel of war, though I am not aware of the existence of any formal extradition treaty. To me it is wonderful that the man was taken alive, that he did not escape as securely from pursuit, as has Sitting Bull. May we not see the good hand of an overruling Providence?

As I look at it, such a threat was unreasonably humiliating to the king, unjust to the innocent inhabitants of a town miles away from the scene of the murder, unjust to the American and Hawaiian Boards and their missionaries whose property was threatened, cruel to the defenseless native women and children, whom the captain was unwilling the missionaries should inform of the signal for the beginning of the bombardment, which had been communicated to them for their own personal safety, cruel to the missionaries and their little ones to offer them no other temporary shelter than the woods.

It may be claimed that the captain was dealing with the veriest savages who had no claim to respect or mercy from a great and civilized nation, and who were not entitled to the treatment which the Hawaiian people would receive in similar circumstances. We do not indeed claim for the inhabitants of Koinawa, the capital of Apaiang, the same degree of Christian civilization which belongs to the Hawaiians. But is it nothing that, in proportion to the population, more people regularly attend church, nay rather, are church members than in London, that probably more can read and write than in Manchester, that a larger Sabbath School is gathered in their midst, that they are called together by the sweet tones of a church bell, largely the gift of the late Lunalilo and others of your city, that a government school house had been built, and a government school taught by Gilbert Islanders, that a training school supported by funds from America and Hawaii was in operation in the town, where teachers were being prepared for that group, that the New Testament and school books had been published for them, that they were in the way of purchasing them with their scanty supply of cocoanut oil, that they are women to contribute monthly more in proportion to their wealth for the spread of the Gospel than any city in Christendom? Is it nothing that the king is himself the son of a king who died in the faith, having made in his old age, great efforts to learn to read and write, to establish a Civil Code of laws, to introduce civilized customs, setting a good example by abandoning idolatry and polygamy, by forwarding in advance \$500 in gold to Honolulu for lumber of a house, and be paying another hundred for its erection? (this house was destroyed in war). Is it nothing that the king is himself married in a Christian way to the Christian daughter of the Christian high chief of Tarawa, that he is not a polygamist like his neighbors, the present kings of Butaritari and Apemama, that he numbers himself among the so-called "Inquirers," that he can read and write, keep a book account in one way of school taxes, that he acts as commission merchant for foreign traders, that he wears much of the time European clothing, that his house is erected in the most beautiful way his people are capable of doing, that the interior is not wanting in signs of civilization, that fortifications have been erected, and his town protected by a battery, that he fines all who drink the fermented "toddy" great or small, that he is in treaty relations with the United States to protect shipwrecked mariners, and all foreigners having his permission to dwell upon his soil?

But enough—that he failed to protect the life of Mr. Keyes, to whom he had given a written permission to reside among his people, was not his fault. As we have seen, he sought earnestly to punish the offender. That he was ready to do-operate with Capt. Pugh in securing his arrest on another island I have not a doubt; and until I learn that it was otherwise, I cannot but look at the threat to bombard his capital as unworthy of a man entrusted with the command of one of Her Britannic Majesty's vessels.

Let us hope that the next vessel of war which has occasion to deal with him in similar matters, will deal with him more as with a man willing and anxious to do his duty toward foreign residents, and as with one entitled to more respect, though he be the ruler of a small people just emerging from barbarism, and not yet acknowledged by the great powers of earth. Let us hope that henceforth the more usual modes of capital pun-

ishment will be recommended to him as the better way for dealing with criminals. Let us hope that hereafter some greater respect may be entertained for the efforts of the missionary societies of friendly Christian nations for twenty years to establish the kingdom of the Redeemer in those far off isles of the sea.

Very truly yours,
H. Bingham.¹

1 Ed. note: There exists a logbook kept by Captain Pugh, in PRO London. The **HMS Renard** was a 120-ton schooner built at Sydney. Her logbooks for the 1873-84 period were not microfilmed by the AJCP. This ship may have visited the Gilbert Islands more than once.

 Document 1877A

Chronicle of the Mariana Islands, cont'd

Part III: The diary kept by Father Resano, 1877-86

Source: Same as for Doc. 1847AB.

—On 10 May 1877, the mail barque **Conchita** left Apra carrying many passengers, among other, Fr. Aniceto Ibañez.¹

On 26 June 1877, the steamer **Marqués de la Victoria** arrived to carry away all the Spanish exiles. She went to Rota and Saipan to remove those who lived there, and returned to Guam. On the 28th, she sailed for Manila carrying all of those still alive, except two.

—On 7 August 1877, the mail barque **Conchita** arrived. She departed on the 29th.

—On 9 February 1878, the mail brig **Manuel** arrived at Apra, bringing Fr. Miguel Ortubia, destined for Rota; Major Dionisio Lopez, and the Administrator Manuel Romero.

—On 22 September 1878, the **Manuel** arrived with new officers for the garrison: Lopez Cortinas, Felipe Dugiol, José Bravo, Julian Saiz, and Mr. and Mrs Vicente Blanco returning to Guam.

—On 11 August 1880, the **Manuel** arrived with the new governor, Francisco Brochero, on board, and other officers: Rafael Baquero, Dr. Pedro Sauza, Rafael Llaverro. Ex-Governor Bravo departed with said ship.

—On 22 October 1881, José de la Cruz lost his life on the road between Agaña and Piti. He was buried by a landslide beyond the bridge at Pigo.²

—On 2 December 1882, the body of a Chinese who had hanged himself was found at Inarahan, His name was Pedro Unpingco, alias Lolo.

—On 24 March 1883, the schooner belonging to the Englishman, Mr. Williams,³ arrived at Apra. He was back from Manila, by way of Hong Kong. In April, he departed for Yap, leaving his wife and sick daughter behind. She had shoooping-cough,

1 Ed. note: He was to come back to Agaña 10 years later, and continue this diary of notable events in the Marianas.

2 Ed. note: The new cemetery at Pigo received the bodies of many victims of suicide that year; hanging was still a popular method of suicide at Guam.

3 Ed. note: The Beatrice, known locally as the Beatriz (see below).

according to Dr. Sauza. Mother and child were isolated in Asan. However, during August, the disease spread throught Agaña, and many children died from it.

—On 2 July 1883, the mail steamer **Luzon** arrived. We had not had mail for one year and two months.

—On 17 August 1883, a strong wind damaged the corn and sugarcane crops.

—On 17 March 1884, the steamer **Estrella** arrived from Manila with the new Governor, Colonel Angel de Pazos.

—On 13 May 1884, the schooner **Beatriz** left for the islands of Rota, Tinian and Saipan, carrying Governor de Pazos on a tour of inspection. He was accompanied by Dr. Pedro Sauza, Fr. Lamban, and myself. We returned on the 21st.

—On 2 August 1884, Governor Angel de Pazos was assassinated by one of the palace guards named José de Salas, a native of Agaña.¹ He was temporarily replaced by Antonio Borreda.

—In early November 1884, the military transport **San Quintin** arrived with a full company of Filipino soldiers, a half company of Spanish marines, and a new Governor, Lieut-Coi. Francisco Olive. Because of sickness, I boarded this ship to go to Manila. The parish was left temporarily in charge of Fr. Miguel de Lasa.

—On 6 January 1885, the transport **San Quintin** arrived at Apra, to take the 47 mutinous soldiers to Manila to be tried in court.

!On 10 March 1885, the mail steamer **Don Juan** arrived at Apra. I was on board, and so was Dr. Antonio Moncada.

—On 7 April 1885, the **San Quintin** arrived at Apra, bringing back the 47 Chamorro prisoners involved in the murder of Gov. de Pazos. Four of them had been sentenced to be shot, 31 got prison sentences, and 12 were set free.

—On 10 April 1885, the four men condemned to death, i.e. José de Salas, manuel Mendiola, Vicente Acosta, and Manuel Aguon, were executed by firing squad on the beach at Agañs.

—On 19 June 1885, the mail steamer **Don Juan** arrived at Apra, bringing Fr. Isidro Liberal, the new curate of Agaña. I went to Agat, and Fr. Lamban who had been serving there, returned to Manila.

—On 11 January 1886, the mail steamer **Don Juan** arrived at Apra, bringing the news of the death of King Alfonso XII.²

1 Ed. note: There follows an account of the incident, which had been caused by a plot for a mutiny, involving 40 soldiers of the standing company.

2 Ed. note: For continuation, see Doc. 1887H.

Documents 1877B

The repatriation of political exiles from the Marianas

B1. List of Spanish exiles who died in the Marianas and aboard the bark Conchita, dated Manila 30 June 1877

Source: AHN Ultramar Fil. 5222/74 N° 217 (a & b); photocopy at MARC under AHN 5222 D-12 Parte 2a, pp. 823-824A.

Herewith the list of those exiles who died in the Mariana Islands and of those who died aboard the bark Conchita during her voyage from these islands to this capital.

[To] the Minister of Overseas

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to let Y.E. know about the peninsular exiles who have died in the Mariana Islands, as per the enclosed list, with the exception of the last three who died aboard the bark **Conchita** during her voyage from those islands to this capital, and I also forward to Y.E. the testimonies drawn up aboard the said ship regarding the death of the latter three persons.

May God keep Y.E.

Manila, 30 June 1877.

Dear Sir.

Mariano Minens(?)

List of the names of the peninsular exiles who died in the Mariana Islands.

Names	Provinces
José Peyus Marín	Murcia
Juan Vasquez Bermudes	Cartagena
José Sanchez Ibañez	Seville
Salvador Alemán	Alicante
Joaquin Bastidas	Murcia
Jaime Miró y Juan	Castellon de la Plana
Pedro Manuel Castillo	Murcia

And aboard the bark *Conchita*.

Joaquin Vasquez Gomes ¹	Granada
Manuel Herrera Fernandez ²	Cadiz
José Vidal Esposito ³	Seville

Manila, 30 June 1877

Aguirre.

Letter to the Minister of Overseas, dated Manila 19 July 1877

Source: AHN Ultramar 5222 Exp. 74 N° 223.

Dear Sir:

I have the honor of bringing to the superior attention of Y.E. that the following exiles have died in the Mariana Islands where they resided: Juan Roche Hans of Cadiz, Miguel Ontemente Asensio of Murcia, Felix Bravo García also of Murcia and Miguel Saez Rodriguez of Alicante.

May God keep Y.E. many years.

Manila 19 July 1877.

Dear Sir.

Domingo Minens(?)

B2. List of Spanish exiles leaving aboard the *Victoria*

Antonio de Garrido, et al.—General list of the deportees who have come to these islands, dates of their arrival, changes in their number and reasons thereof, including those who died, and who embarked for Manila aboard the steamship *Victoria* on 28 June 1877. Dated Agaña 28 June 1877

Source: LC Mss. Division, ref. ...; cited in B&R 53:404 (35 leaves).

...

Editor's postscript.

The survivors were despatched from Manila back to Spain aboard the crowded steamship *Victoria*, Captain Bollegui, chartered for that purpose. The English authorities at Singapore made an inspection of the ship and reported on the bad living conditions aboard. Twelve exiles escaped from this ship while it crossed the Suez Canal. Most of them, it is said, had come from the Marianas. The names of the 12 escapees were: Soriano Romero Garcia of Malaga, Manuel Quando of Barña [sic], Manuel Ebovime (?) Rodriguez of Madrid, Lorenzo Escobar García of Murcia, Jaime Broliá Mone-da of Barcelona, Pedro Bailget Jardá [of] Renz, Pedro Veva García, Rafael Bontierra Cordon of Seville, José de Gracia of Zaragoza, Joaquín Moreno of Cartagena, plus two more whose names are not given. Some of the exiles who had been left behind at

1 Ed. note: According to a document in the same bundle, this man was a carpenter by trade.

2 Ed. note: Idem, this man was a miner by trade.

3 Ed. note: Also a miner.

Manila, on account of sickness or by oversight on the part of the authorities, were subsequently repatriated aboard the ships **Cadiz** and **Yrurac-bat**.

The names of the men who escaped from the Marianas on 8 April 1875 were: José García Cañabate and Gaspar Martínez Rosello. Another man who disappeared from the Marianas was Juan Marin Zamora.

Those exiles from the Marianas whose case was thrown out by the military tribunal of Manila in September 1877 were:

1. For having been pardoned: Juan Cabat Rodríguez, Pablo Carpena Rubio, José Sánchez García, José Navarro Sebrel, José Sánchez Soriano, Francisco Carrion Caballero, Fernando Canovas Parra, Juan Jaen Mondeja, Salvador Arcaitia y García, Augustin Soler Gonzalez, perhaps Juan García Conesa, perhaps also Manuel Rodríguez Valentin, Juan Minguez Ayala, Francisco Morales Sajarzin, and José Navarro Zaragoza.

2. For having died before then: Alfonso Andrés Tudela, Gabriel Toledano Manzano, and Andrés Oroña Rodríguez.

3. For not existing a legal basis: José Morales Pérez.

By Royal Order of 4 May 1875, Miguel Millay Ramírez, had been transferred from the Marianas to the Philippines.

Documents 1877C

The steam yacht *Sunbeam* of Lord Brassey visited Asuncion I.

C1. The narrative of Lord Thomas Brassey

Source: Lord Thomas Brassey. Voyages and Travels ... from 1862 to 1894 (London, 1895).

Note: This British yacht went from Hawaii to Japan via the N. Marianas in January 1877. The text is taken mostly from Lord Brassey's notebook, written afloat and for the most part at sea.

...

V.

A Cruise Round the World in 1877-78.

...

The **Sunbeam** sailed from Cowes on July 6, 1876, put into Torbay on the following day, resumed her voyage on the 8th, and reached Madeira on July 16.

...

[The yacht went to Montevideo and the River Plate, through the Strait of Magellan, then Valparaiso.]

...

After a stay of nine days in that busy but ill-protected harbour [Valparaiso], we proceeded on our long and lonely voyage of 12,333 miles across the Pacific to Yokohama. We touched at Bow Island in the Low Archipelago, at Raitea and Tahiti in the Society Islands, at Hawaii and Honolulu in the Sandwich Islands, sighted Assumption, an isolated extinct volcano in the Ladrões, on January 21 [1877], and arrived at Yokohama on the 29th. We had made the passage from Valparaiso in seventy-two days at sea, and had indulged ourselves in only seventeen days of rest and relaxation in harbour.

...

C2. The narrative of Lady Brassey

Source: Lady Brassey. A Voyage in the Sunbeam, 1876-77 (London, 1878).

Note: The book includes an abstract of the log, from Cowes, 6 July 1876, to Cowes, 26 May 1877.

...

List of Persons on Board the Yacht Sunbeam, R. Y. S.

on sailing from Cowes, July 6th, 1876.

- Thomas Brassey, Esq., M.P. (Owner)
- Mrs. Brassey
- Thomas Allnutt Brassey
- Mabelle Annie Brassey
- Muriel Agnes Brassey
- Marie Adelaide Brassey
- Hon. A. Y. Bingham
- F. Hubert Freer, Esq.¹
- Commander James Brown, R.N.
- Captain Squire T. S. Lecky, R.N.R.
- Henry Percy Potter, Esq. (Surgeon)
- Isaiah Powell, Sailing Master

...
[+ 7 seamen.]

Powell (the sailing-master) has not been so fortunate as usual in his selection of a crew for this voyage, when it was of course specially important that we should have good men. We had a great deal of trouble with some of them at Honolulu and elsewhere, and also at Tahiti, as I mentioned at the time. Still, I am glad to say, we have a large proportion of our old hands, who are as good as ever, and some first-rate new ones, including one from the **Monkshaven**.

At 9 l.m. we had seen a sail on the horizon, the first since leaving our last port of departure. We altered our course and spoke her, and found she was the **Roving Sailor**, of Boston, 37 days out from Sydney. The captain, whose family was on board, informed us that he intended to make Coffin Island, one of the Bonin or Arzobispo group, adding that he, like ourselves, was bound for Yokohama, where he asked us to report him. His vessel was a smart-looking little craft, and sailed well when she got a chance. She had made 260 miles the day before yesterday, and in the doldrums had taken nine days to go 300 miles.

Sunday, January 21st.—We stopped steaming at 6:25 a.m. There was a nice breeze, and the sea was calm, a great contrast to the state of things last Sunday. At eleven we had the Communion Service and hymns, and at 4 p.m. we had evening service and a sermon.

Muriel amused us very much in the afternoon by some of the questions she asked about her Bible-history. First she wished to know, "Where did the ravens get the bread they took to Elijah? because they could not mix it nicely with their beaks," and then,

¹ Ed. note: He also wrote an account of the voyage.

“Why, if I have a Heavenly Father, have I not a Heavenly Mother too? I don’t think that’s at all fair.” Questions rather difficult to answer and explain to the infant mind.

About sunset, the island of Asuncion could be distinguished from the mast-head, and at midnight we were abreast of it.

Monday, January 22nd.—At daylight Asuncion Island was still visible. It is of volcanic origin, and is in the form of a perfect sugar-loaf, 2,600 feet high, rising out of the sea, exactly as I had expected to see the Peak of Teneriffe appear. It is a fine object at a distance, and I dare say a visit to it would be very interesting.

I should like to have landed also on the islands Agrigan or Tinian, to see the interesting remains left by the ancient inhabitants. Some people say they resemble Aztec remains; others, that they are like those of the more modern Peruvians. It is very curious to think that the relics and inscriptions to be met with in the islands of the extreme north-west portion of the Pacific should so closely resemble those to be found in the south-eastern corner of the same ocean. There are proofs, for instance, that the island of Tinian, in latitude 14°58' N., longitude 145°512' E. was at one time inhabited by people of the same race as those in Easter Island, in latitude 27°9' S., longitude 109°25' W.

We were close-hauled all day; the wind was strong, and the sea rough and disagreeable.

Tuesday, January 23rd.—Still close-hauled, and still a heavy swell. I felt very ill, and could scarcely move my head for neuralgia. The galley boiler burst to-day, so we are now dependent on the one in the forecabin. During the night we passed the Euproyne [sic] rock. It looks like a ship in full sail, and abounds with turtle, fish, and sea-elephants.¹

...

1 Ed. note: The name Euproyne is unknown, but the description identifies it as Lot's Wife, or the modern Sofu-Gan.

Documentd 1877D

The lease of Tinian by Alex Milne and the need for administrative reform in the Marianas

Source: PNA.

D1. The lease of Tinian Island by Alex Milne**Original text in English.**

To His Excellency the Governor Genmeral of the Philippine Islands

Agaña April 9th 1877

Your Excellency

I have the honor to inform you that I have arrived here as an Agent for the German firm of Adolph Capelle and Company of Bonham [Jaluit] Island Marshall Group who are trading for Copra among the Caroline Islands, and having heard that the lease of the island of Tinian has expired, I have the honor to apply to you for it and hope you will be pleased to grant me permission to occupy the island on the same terms as the former lessee Mr. George Johnston.

I have the honor to be, Your Excellency's most obedient Servant

Alex Milne

Editor's notes.

The lease held by Johnston was due to expire at the end of June 1877, but, after he had left Tinian for Saipan aboard a Carolinian canoe along with eight Carolinians and a Spanish carpenter named Joaquín Ayala Rey, on 14 October 1876, they all disappeared and were presumed lost at sea. Johnston's widow, Ana Calvo, left Tinian four months before the lease was to expire and sailed to Manila to rejoin her brothers and sisters.

Milne's application was studied in various offices in Manila, for instance, in the Finance Department, where the following note was added:

"I return to Y.L. the file regarding the lease by Mr. George Johnston of the Island of Tinian (Marianas) and the instance of Mr. Alex Milne who requests permission to lease the said Island. Said files were sent by Y.L. to this Directorate earlier today.

May God same Y.L. for many years"

“Manila, 31 August 1877.”

[To the] “Central Administration of Revenues from Government Monopolies.”¹

D2. The need for reform

Note: In brief, it is proposed to update the 1829 Regulations regarding the Marianas and in particular to send a missionary to attend to the Carolinians of Tinian and to provide a boat to the Governor for his own use.

Letter of the Secretary for local administration to the Governor General, dated Manila 13 August 1877.

Your Excellency,

The Office of the Secretary believes that it is necessary to bring to your superior attention the lamentable series of negligences, mistakes, errors and abuses that have presided over the administrative and economic management of the Mariana Islands, given the preceding extract as an example, as well as the responsibility that the Management Centers cause to fall upon the Superior Authority of the Islands by the persevering lack of compliance with the re-iterated Royal Orders issued by the Superior Government to compel it to give an account and antecedents to matters so serious as they always are when part of our territory is put into the hands of foreigners, even when it is done in the form of a lease and contract.

Your Excellency, the Secretary had foreseen all of this, when the incidents about the matter under question and the reason for its happening have passed through his hands, even when the subject of them did not concern his Office, they have served him as a reason and basis to coordinate a most speedy and definite manner for you to exercise in this case the right of supervision that belongs to you over all branches.

However, the damage is not new, because from the beginning, what concerned each branch has not been directed to it in the matter under question, an attenuating circumstance, being the continuous changes of Chiefs and subordinates in all the Offices in the Islands, that has greatly influenced the disorder in this and other official matters of interest and importance.

Finally, it is of urgent necessity for the question itself and to comply with the latest Royal Order. The Secretary understands that all the time that would be lost in sterile lamentations and in trying to determine blame would be largely illusory, because a considerable number of the principals in the case are absent from the Islands for the most part, it would be convenient to use the time instead to open a file on these matters and attend to those of major importance and urgency for the Mariana Islands.

Above all, and in order to discard the question of what is actually secondary in importance, it appears in my opinion that all the communications from the Governor of the Marianas that have caused this file should be transferred to the Directorate of Fin-

1 Ed. note: To anticipate somewhat, in 1904, the Germans leased Tinian to Stein and Lotz, for coconut production.

ance where antecedents can be found, but with timely directives so that their Offices respond to a unique way of thinking and unity of action that Your Superiority would want to inspire and impart in this as well as in other cases whose subject matters are all alike within the distinct obligations of the various Superior Centers.

Now, the Secretary will come directly to the main point. I cannot but feel the abandonment in which the Mariana Islands have been left by the Administration; they no doubt deserve prompt attention. Firstly, for reasons of national pride, as they were the first to be taken possession of in the name of Spain by the intrepid Magellan. Secondly, as it is a high political question, given not only that the Philippine Archipelago possess an advanced post of great value in that part, but also that the abandonment of the Marianas can tempt the greed, today more than ever, of other nations interested in assisting and extending their national navigation towards the Empires of China and Japan. Finally, for our own benefit, for what the State has been doing since the discovery of the Mariana Islands, that is, for more than three centuries, important sacrifices in money to support them, and this way make the territory of that archipelago susceptible to produce in excess of its costs, and not only that, but also the Caroline Archipelago that belongs to the Spanish nation by **right** should belong to it in **fact**,¹ with an effective occupation in order to avoid international complication in the future,¹ because for one thing many of the most sterile islands of Micronesia contain an excess of population, we can more easily fill with immigrants our almost deserted Mariana Islands.

Since 1828, when General Ricafort instituted regulations for the administrative, economic and military organization of the Mariana Archipelago, nothing has been done in a proper way to produce the development of the population and wealth of those islands, with the unity of thinking and action that the said Regulations had proposed, and that were in line with the resources, the means, and the circumstances of that period, but only a few isolated measures from one or another branch of the State Administration were dictated, without cohesion, nor liaison and therefore without producing a vigorous, active and persistently pursued action in order to obtain an end to the burden of the subsidy, and not only to end it but also to make that archipelago reach the degree of development and importance of which it is susceptible.

The Secretary then believed that this important undertaking has been postponed excessively and for it to proceed the immediate resolution of the detailed matters that are for the Government of the Philippines to decide, as well as the urgent study of new Regulations or Administrative Plan for reform, still in force, of 1829, with the cooperation of all the Superior Centers, civil, economic and military—War as well as Navy—in order to form a body of harmonious, and effective directives supporting the important intended purpose and as far as our means and resources can reach, then to submit this body to the Sovereign decision, as this is within its competence.

1 Ed. note: A prophetic statement, in view of the Yap Conflict with Germany, in 1885.

Well then, whenever you hear about the intention of leasing again the island of Tinian to a foreign enterprise or company, and reports already appear favorable to this idea and that the indications of the Supreme Government have been neglected, and it is strange that the previous lease was passed without its approval, even without it having been reported in the first place, it is time, now more than ever, to look at the complications of such commission. It would be proper for Y.E., in your high functions in the Superior Government, to declare that **the petition must be rejected** and communicated to the Directorate of Finance for follow-up action.

The Finance Branch having set asides the matter that concerns it, as it touches on state properties, that Center must pass an authorized copy, of what has to do with the lease of the said island, to the Civil Directorate, to be used as background material for them and so that they may at last attend to what pertains to them and that **they have neglected entirely** to the point of not answering, either to Finance or to my Office, about the points they were asked; they are completely disoriented.

It would be fitting, in the opinion of this Office, that in order not to lose what has been gained by the leasing of Tinian by the lessor, Mr. Johnston, if it were proposed by the Royal Patronage a file about the creation of a parish and post of curate for the said island. The Rev. Fr. Ibañez refers to such a file in his report,¹ but as the definite concession of this creation is a matter for the Supreme Government, with a long transaction delay, it is urgent to attend to a good temporal and spiritual administration of the Carolinian immigrants there and whose disappearance is probably imminent as it is under the direction, almost absolute, of a Chamorro deputy-mayor made worse by the isolation in which the said inferior finds himself and the bad moral conditions of the incumbent, according to Fr. Ibañez' report. The following could be done, if Y.E. agrees, without prejudice to an eventual canonical request, to proceed, with the consent of the Provincial of the Recollects to whose Order the jurisdiction belongs, with the locating of a religious person of proper moral and physical conditions for the important religious and temporal task that would be entrusted to him in the said island of Tinian, either with the title of missionary or as co-adjutor to the Curate of Saipan, whichever appears more feasible, and with the condition that a European lay brother accompany him in order to help him in his temporal work, in the manner and form that the Jesuit Fathers observe in their Mindanao parishes.

This done, a timely order would be given for the Carolinian immigrants residing in Agaña to move to Tinian, thus reinforcing in a very acceptable manner that congregation in order for the island to rapidly acquire the agricultural development of which it is susceptible. and the population nucleus thus purposely created would be sufficient to undertake the necessary public works and would serve as a pole of attraction for the other Carolinian families, as long as the talents of the Missionary would be that of a doer, and as long as more means are put at his disposition for the purpose.

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1877E.

Among such means, there should certainly be, to make it efficient, the grant of a yearly bonus, as for the Mindanao missionary, in order to attract the faithful; a subsidy to cover transport costs, even if it be by the construction of one or two craft of the type built by the same Carolinians, and the provision of a good assortment of tools and equipment for farming, cutting wood, carpentry, smithing and quarrying.

It would be consistent to appoint a school teacher issued from a normal school and to have the election of an inferior leader and inferior ministers of justice from among the Carolinians themselves, but always with the intervention of the Missionary.

Another measure that could be adopted by Your Authority also, and one considered necessary and urgent by this Secretary, is that relating to the mail service in connection with the provision of a ship to the Governor of those Islands to allow him to visit the group that constitutes them.

Today, there is a contract for a sailing ship to make two voyages a year between this and that archipelago and with a chance that the said Governor may use it for a short period for the indicated purpose, but this service does not satisfy the requirements much, the reason being that the communications are very delayed, the crossing very long on account of the wind and sea conditions and short the time available for the Governor to dispose of it for his visits, and also because the said service is completely sterile with respect to commercial relations between this and that archipelago, for the simple reason that its products are similar. Therefore, it is obvious that the commercial traffic of the Marianas should be developed by national ships, in order to make the exportation of its products easy and advantageous, the only way to increase production, give a boost to population and develop public wealth; such is the essential basis to secure revenues for the Treasury.

For this to happen, it would be convenient for the above-mentioned contract to be extended for such ship to be at the orders of the Governor of the Marianas, that the mail be transacted through our Consul in Hong-Kong, every two months, in favor of the said contracted ship and with the frequency with which the national and foreign steamers make the crossing between Manila and Hong-Kong, without prejudice, of course, that in certain cases the contracted ship can come to Manila and above all that our Navy to comply with what has been expressly ordered by H.M.'s Government make regular voyages with government steamers between Manila and the Marianas and with as much frequency as possible, given the services of the small official transport, almost the only one occurring, to send funds, war materiel and government materiel which are those commonly carried, our steamers, and in exceptional cases transport ships, can perfectly suffice.

If in due time a file is started to reform the Regulations of 1829, the Royal Council, the Archbishop as Metropolitan (as the Marianas belong to the Diocese of Cebu), the Captain General's Office, and the Directorate of Finance and Civil Administration should propose reforms that each sees as necessary and feasible within his branch, referring themselves to the report of ex-Governor Felipe de la Corte, in order to bring some

unity of views to those isolated tasks, and give an account of the whole to the Ministry. The Secretary takes for granted that it is feasible to do this now.

Nevertheless, Y.E. shall decide with his superior judgment what he thinks most appropriate.

Manila, 13 August 1877.

Document 1877F

Elections in Rota and Saipan

Sources: PNA; cited in Driver's Carolinians, p. 54.

Chamorros and Carolinians elected for the two-year period, 1876-77

**Report of the appointments by settlement of the justices of the peace
of these islands for the biennial term 1876-77.**

Settlement Office Name

Rota	Mayor	Braulio Mangloña
	Deputy Mayor	Francisco Masga
	Judge for plantations and cattle	Gregorio Taisacan
	Constable	Felipe Mesngon
Saipan	Mayor	Vicente Saralú
	Deputy Mayor for Chamorros	Benigno de la Cruz
	Deputy Mayor for Carolinians	José Malineang
	Justice for Chamorros	Angel de la Cruz
	Justice for Carolinians	Froilan Guimarag
	Constable for Chamorros	Eugenio Cepeda
	Constable for Carolinians	Bernardo Quitipag

Agaña, 4 May 1877.
Manuel Brabo¹

¹ Ed. note: Even by the decade of the 1880s, there were no elections in the Island of Tinian.

Document 1877H

George Westbrook, trader in the eastern Carolines and Marshall Islands, 1877-80

Source: George Westbrook. Gods Who Die—The Story of Samoa's Greatest Adventurer, As Told to Julian Dana (New York, Macmillan, 1935).

Note: Westbrook was a trader at Arno, 1877-78, and at Pingelap, 1878-79. He then visited Mokil, Pohnpei, Mortlocks, Abemana, etc., 1879-81. Later on, he traded at Funafuti, Samoa, and other places. In 1934, he was 74 years old; by deduction, he was born in June 1861, and was only 16 years old when he arrived at Arno.

Synthesis of the first half of his book

CHAPTER I. A BOY'S DREAMS.

As a small lad I always dreamed of strange, green islands set in infinitely remote seas; of leaning palms and brilliant flowers and sun-drenched lagoons; of graceful brown men and women gathered on the whiteness of a crest-kissed shore—brown men and women as happy and beautiful as gods... Maybe all youngsters see the same visions. But my dreams worked out differently than most. For it has been my destiny to spend nearly sixty years in the South Seas; and the far places have become my home.”

...
[He was born in England. His first job as a sailor was as a regular Midshipman aboard the **Famnoth** belonging to the White Star Line of Aberdeen, Scotland, taking immigrants to Auckland, New Zealand. There, he shipped aboard the brig **Vision** for the Marshall Islands.]¹

...
Under these conditions the brig **Vision** was re-chartered and dispatched to the islands. George Cozens was made supercargo and it was his duty to take stock and wind

¹ Ed. note: It was probably on 17 August 1878, under Captain Hawkins (see Doc. 1876H), but Westbrook says below that it was Capt. Harris who brought to Arno. If so, it was as late as the next departure of the brig from Auckland, in February 1878, or Doc. 1876H says Hawkins when it should say Harris. The latter is most probable.

up the estate.¹ He had taken quite a fancy to me in the meantime and made me a very fair offer. Thankfully I accepted it and joined the ship. I was going to the South Seas...

CHAPTER III. BLACK TOM.

Geroge Cozens was a dapper, middle-aged, muscular little man with reddish hair and whiskers. He was very sure and swift and deft in all his movements and he could do anything from navigating the ship to showing the cook how to dress a pig or make yeast. He did not know the meaning of fear, was a dead shot and a fine boxer. I have since thought of him as the first South Seas efficiency expert.

We enjoyed a fair-weather trip to Majuro in the Marshalls. Here Cozens had some slight argument with the man who Farrell had left in charge. However, this fellow soon changed his tactics and acknowledged Cozen's authority in the matter.

After the amicable settlement on Majuro we sailed to the island of Arno. Here the ship was boarded by a powerful negro, more like a great bull than a man, He had built a trading station at Challenge near the weather end of the lagoon, about thirty miles from Ena. He had come alone in his canoe since no islander would accompany him. The natives of one end of the island were at war with the natives at the other end and it was dangerous for them to travel outside the limits of the recognized boundaries.

This negro was the infamous Black Tom who had been deported from Samoa for robbery. He was a giant—at least six feet seven inches in height, muscled like a tiger and he weighed two hundred and seventy pounds.

When he discovered a young English lad on board he was extremely cordial, pretended to take a great fancy to me. With a display of good-humor he made me an offer to keep his books and promised to teach me all there was to be learned about trading.

I was quite taken by the old scoundrel's blarney and the spirit of adventure prompted me to have a try at it—at least until Cozens and the **Vision** should return. So I committed myself to Black Tom's tutoring.

This was the last I saw of the **Vision** and I did not see George Cozens again for years. Here I was, a school-boy of sixteen, set down on a remote island amid savages at war. My only companion was a negro ex-slave, himself the rarest blackguard of the lawless scum then infesting the South Seas. Yet this was the land of my heart's desire, the land of my dreams, and it took more than a war to dampen my youthful enthusiasm.

...
Black Tom had been born a slave in Delaware. He later escaped and joined a whaler out of Boston headed for the Arctic. Then he shipped aboard another whaler as a cook, but jumped ship at Samoa, in the late 1850s and there ran a sailor's boarding-house, small store and bakery. However, he had been and remained a thief.]

1 Ed. note: Of Farrell.

He was deported from Samoa for a robbery at Rugey's Store... Samoa saw him no more. He left in Mrs. Mary MacFarland's ketch **Mary Ann**, Captain "Tarpaulin" Westfallen, for the Marshalls.¹ The ship's mate was Louis Becke, who later wrote such graphic and romantic tales of the South Seas.

Tom landed at Jaluit and was engaged by Mr. Capelle as cook. Later, in 1876 he chose a site on Arno and became a trader.² He would have prospered if it had not been for his innate rascality.

Thus it was on Arno I first met him and there I lived with him for eight months—eight of the most adventurous chapters of my life.

Black Tom could neither read nor write, but he managed to keep a kind of day-book and ledger in hieroglyphics of his own invention. If he sold a pair of pants on credit he would draw the pants and then a crude figure-head of his customer. If the buyer had one eye he would picture a kind of full moon with only three dots to represent the facial organs. Any other peculiarity—a prominent nose, a bald head, a crooked leg, a missing finger—would be grossly exaggerated in Tom's unique style.

The prices of goods were always represented by strokes and crosses; half a dollar was always half a long stroke. As Tom had no idea of drawing, his book was a grotesque hodge-podge—like a slice of plum-pudding sprinkled with toys from a Noah's Ark.

He had promised to pay me five pounds a month, in addition to board and lodging, if I would keep his books. I had jumped at the chance since this was big money for a boy of sixteen. At the end of the first month, when I asked for my wages, he informed me I was mistaken—what he had really meant was five **dollars** a month. Also he called to my astounded attention that I was already overdrawn...

I was certainly in a proper fix. But I made up my mind to bide my time and get away from the old skinflint at the first opportunity.

In the meantime I kept quiet, did my work without question, picked up the language and learned to know the natives. They were very friendly to me, though they hated and feared the giant black man. He was physically fearless yet always went armed; it was his boast that he never missed what he shot at.

...
[Black Tom lived with his Samoan wife. He tortured her like a true devil, even going so far as to stab her with a knife. Their daughter had been married to an old Scot, but, in an attempt to rob him, Tom killed him and then his own daughter, to get rid of a potential witness. Many similar tales were told about him.]

...
While cooking for Capelle and Company on Jaluit in the Marshalls he had saved a few hundred dollars. On arriving at Arno he immediately insinuated himself into the good graces of the King of the island who was very anxious to have a trader there. The

1 Ed. note: Circa 1874.

2 Ed. note: From what he says below, it can be deduced that the station was located on the islet of Kilange, Car. 14-74 in Bryan's Place Names.

astute Black Tom presented the King with a tierce of negro-head tobacco and a few other gifts highly prized by the natives. The King not only gave him a piece of land to erect a trading-post on but even placed a taboo on him and his people. Anyone molesting Tom would be severely punished—death in this case, since the monarch's will was absolute. So this black devil was answerable to the King alone, and not to the King's subjects: it gave the evil Tom a fiendish chance to play his brutal games on them with no chance for them to fight back.

A short time later a native girl of fourteen stole some trifle from his trade-room; he gave her a terrific thrashing and put a pair of handcuffs on her legs. The poor girl lived two miles away and she used to limp the entire distance with her relatives, bringing gifts and begging Tom to remove the irons.

It was a pitiful thing—ran on for six weeks. I had to walk warily with him myself and knowing the manner of man I had to deal with, I went cautiously. Meantime the luckless child hopped about like an earth-bound sparrow; her legs became badly inflamed and I feared she would die. Finally, with the connivance of Tom's wife, I got hold of the handcull key and released her. She was immediately spirited away by her relatives to a small island in the center of the lagoon. Getting wind of this, Tom began to make brutal reprisals on the people of her village. This man's actions led me to the greatest torture I have ever experienced in my life.

One day in the midst of alcohol jimjams Tom became more aggressive than usual. Without reason he knocked down a chief of rank and the man's enraged followers rushed out of the trading-yard, shaking their fists and screaming at Tom. That black gentleman hurried their retreat with a shot over their heads. I was not aware of what had happened and was taking a leisurely stroll along an island track. Suddenly a group of natives rushed toward me. Before I had time even to be astonished I had been seized, stripped, dragged into the bush and tied to a tree. There they left me.

The hours wore on. I could move neither hand nor foot. My wrists and legs were entirely numbed by the tightness of the lashings. Every mosquito in the South Seas winged its way and feasted on my exposed limbs. As my tortured eyes roamed up and down my body in agony I could barely distinguish flesh—I was literally being eaten alive by the maddening pests. Then, somewhere, far off, I heard footsteps. I shuddered anew for I feared some of the natives were returning and I was afraid some further torture might be in store for me. Finally I saw who it was and hope came to me. It was a trembling native girl, glancing cautiously about. I raised my voice weakly, called to her. She came forward, fumbled with my bonds. In a while I was free. But I was so faint I was hardly able to stand. My body was one mass of raised, poisoned blotches and I wanted to tear the skin away with my fingernails.

Without the girl's aid I would never have gotten back to the trading-station, I will never forget that journey. My face began to swell, my eyes were closed now—I was entirely blind. The girl led me by the hand. At last we made it. Mary, Tom's wife, steered me to my bunk, cared for me. It was a week before I was able even to walk.

As for Tom, he was still continuing his bust. His still was kept running all the time. Tom had a continuous supply of liquor made from the coconut palm...

...
For a few weeks he would give up drink entirely and become perfectly normal—as normal as such an animal could be. He would even make the gesture of breaking up his still and pedge himself to drink no more. It was at such infrequent intervals that he would tell me of his slave days in distant Delaware. But his show of friendship and confidence never pulled the wool over my young eyes. At this moment I look on him as the most wicked wretch I have ever encountered in a long life. I was never a physical coward, but this man made me tremble at times.

...
Next morning I went to work as usual—counting out heaps of husked coconuts for the natives to cut. Each heap contained four hundred nuts, for this amount of labor the native received two sitcks of negro-head tobacco. The fortunate one who finished his task first was rewarded with four extra sticks for smartness. This tobacco ran about fourteen or sixteen to the pound and was greatly prized as they grew none of their own.

There was always great competitino among the cutters, both men and women, as to who could win the covered prize. We generally finished the cutting by nine o'clock. The copra was attended to by women who plaited baskets and mats so that it could be spread in the sun.

A few thousand coconuts had just been landed by a chief and some of his men from Tye,¹ one of the islands in the middle of the lagoon. I was doing all the counting myself—Tom had not put in an appearance.

Suddenly a native came rushing up to me and shouted, "Tooti, elan aramatie kom monimoni Komy!" (George, many natives are killing Tom!) Without hesitation I prepared to go to the rescue and the men from Tye volunteered to go with me. Although I had no love for the black brute I still had to play on the safge side; if Tom escaped and there was no show of aid from me I hesitated to reckon the consequences.

Swiftly we armed ourselves. Mary, Tom's wife, took a big *nifo oti* (Samoan beheading-knife) and a Tower musket; I took Tom's revolver. As far as I can remember this was the only time he ever left the house without it; I myself never carried fire-arms.

In five minutes we came in sight of the natives yowling over Tom's prone body. I fired a shot into the air over their heads. They cut and ran without a struggle. We found Tom apparently dead; one spear was through the neck-muscle, two in the brest-bone, and two in the thighs. The spears of clean, finely-polished coconut wood had splintered and broken off as they struck the bone.

Some of the men from Tye began to destroy everyting in the adjacent village which was now deserted. Others chopped down one of the huts to obtain sticks for a stretcher. As soon as the crude makeshift was finished we lifted Tom upon it. Conscious now and

1 Ed. note: Tae, or Taci, Car. 14-69 in Bryan's Place Names.

in fearful pain, he began to groan and curse, damning and forgiving his attackers in the same breath.

“You black bastards!” he snarled. Not one of them was half as black as Tom himself. “You black bastards, you thought you had me that time, did you? I’ll dance on your graves, you bloody niggers, and I’ll get the whole lot of you for this. I’ll get your land as well...”

Then, faintness creeping in upon him, he whispered up to me, “If I am going to die I ought to forgive them first... but if I live I’ll kill the chief and a few more.”

The natives had run from us under the impression that Tom was dead. When from a distance they began to suspect that their work was incomplete they began to rally round and harass us with throwing-spears. The going got pretty warm but our fire-arms kept them from close attack. Tom had swooned off again into senselessness.

He was a very heavy man and we could advance with no speed. To make matters more critical we had to keep to a scarcely-defined bush-track lest the natives should really observe the smallness of our force. I was barefoot and my feet were badly torn by the pandanus-leaf spikes and a species of prickly thorn common on the island.

Luck was with us. The natives evidently lacked the courage to face our weapons in close quarters. We made the station safely though they hovered in our rear, casting their spears at intervals. Their angry cries showed they were bent on finishing Tom once and for all.

We had to stand a siege. The eight or ten men from Tye were courageous fellows who stuck to us through the whole ticklish affair. Without their aid we could never have held out. Our only fire-arms were six old muzzle-loading Tower muskets. Tom’s double-barreled gun, and his revolver. Luckily the natives were without fire-arms of any sort. In those days the Marshall Islanders depended mainly on their spears; they were extremely expert in their use.

The trading-house was built on the ground with the uprights buried, the walls were about ten feet high. Small, white and smooth coral stones made up the floor. Both the sides and roof of the house gave me the greatest concern—they were thatched with highly inflammable pandanus-leaves. Two hundred yards from the house was a surrounding fence of white coral, four feet thick and six feet high. When we saw our attackers were in force we commandeered all the boards that we could find and placed them on edge around the most exposed portions of our fortress, about a foot away from the side-thatching. The floor of stones and sand was dug up and we used the stuff for filling in between the thatch and the boards. In the hole made by the excavation we sheltered safely and potted out at the besiegers when they crossed the coral fence. What I feared most was being burned out and we kept a sharp lookout for fire-sticks tied to spears. As long as we could keep them at a distance we would be safe against that method of attack.

Our only water supply was in a well behind the house. We managed to get water twice before they saw what we were doing. At times they would be round us in large numbers, at other moments they seemed to be very few.

On the evening of the second day I managed to get one of our men away in a sailing-canoe—this despite the fact that the main assault was delivered from the beach. It was really a bit of unlooked-for good fortune. The canoe shot away before a spanking fair wind and the man from Tye carried with him a note from me to old Charlie Douglas. Douglas was an ex-navy man now a trader and an intimate of the King.

Next afternoon at one o'clock we glimpsed a welcome sight in the distance—three great war-canoes following Charlie's boat as she beat her way up against the head-wind. Our attackers disappeared one by one; not one remained by the time the relief party landed.

The only sign of a siege was the spears in the thatch, the hole in the ground inside, my bandaged feet and Black Tom's wounds. Tom himself was running a high fever and was partly delirious. But that splendid body of his hung on to life...

The attacking party, fearing the King's vengeance, cleared out in fishing canoes bound for Milli and carrying their wounded with them. Some of the fleeing canoes were lost at sea and never heard of again. Black Tom recovered from his wound but to the day of his death he had a stiff neck from the spear that I extracted, none too gently, from his neck-muscle.

The King informed him that his safety could no longer be guaranteed, that if he did not leave Arno he would again have trouble with the natives.

Tom thought the matter over and sold out. He returned to Jaluit and started a pub and restaurant. When I saw him last I was on board a ship returning from the Carolines [ca. 1880]. He told me he had acquired the **Lotus**, the sloop formerly owned by Bully Hayes and on which that worthy was killed. He also said that he had done well and made money, and that he intended to fit up the **Lotus** with a trade-room and trade directly from the ship with the natives of Ebon, Namorik, Majuro, and others of the Marshall group.

He had the gal to offer me a job as supercargo.

—"How much?" I asked.

—"Sixty dollars per month and found," he answered.

—"Nothing doing," I said briefly.

—"Seventy-five, then."

I shook my head.

—"I'll make it eighty."

—"Not if you make it a hundred, you black liar," I said sharply. He only grinned.

Then I reminded him of the difference between five pounds and five dollars. He eagerly offered to refund everything if I would take up his offer now. I had never had an idea of going with him and my last answer was merely to turn my back on him with leisurely insolence.

That was the last I saw of the old devil. I did hear he procured some girls for some of them his own grand-daughter—from Samoa for the purpose of entertaining Captains

and sailors visiting Jaluit. There was so much scandal about the house he was keeping that the Germans deported him.

Black Tom finally wound up at Butaritari in the Kingsmill Islands. By that time he not only had his Arno scars but had also lost an arm and an eye while dynamiting for fish. Despite his afflictions and inequities the old sinner lived to be at least ninety.

After his death his wife, Mary, old and toothless, returned to Samoa, her intellect ravaged by senile decay. Several times I tried to talk to her but her intelligence had almost flickered out—like a wick in a guttering candle that has been lit too long.

Once I attempted to bring back her memory by slightly shifting her dress and pointing to a faint scar. It was one of the places her black lord and master had stabbed her the time she ran away from him. But her mind still remained a blank. She gazed at me with unknowing, lustreless eyes.

CHAPTER IV THE KING-WOMAN'S TABU

Black Tom was the second-venturesome trader to erect a station near the weather-end of the lagoon. Strange to say, the first trader had also been a negro, hailing from the Cape Verde Islands. But Tom's astonishing luck had not held in this man's case—he had been murdered by the natives some years before. I was the first white man—or boy as I was then—to ever live among them.

Tom had always been jealous of my popularity among the natives. I not only knocked about among them unarmed but invariably slept with my doors and windows wide open. Tom never dared close an eye without the entire place being barricaded.

I have never judged the natives more cruel or even as treacherous as Europeans; it is true their conduct disgusted and revolted me at times but I tried to make due allowance for the fact that they were existing in a primitive state untouched by the codes I had been thought to believe in. I really think that the confidence I showed in the friendship of these people was my greatest safeguard.

There was another factor, also—my youth. I used to join in all their sports, their work and their mimic warfare. In competitive sport, I could swim, dive and climb a coconut tree with the best of them. No doubt the novelty of my white skin appealed to them. Save for the torture incident, due entirely to Black Tom's fiendish brutalities, I was never molested. I was far safer in a physical sense with these natives than I would have been walking the streets of any European city.

The King had placed his tabu on me. Whenever I visited a village or cluster of houses there was always a rush of friendly islanders to get me a shell of fresh toddy from the tree or an offering of fish. They never expected presents in return for these simple and unaffected acts of courtesy.

They were almost untouched by white influence at the time; they were still under the rule of their chiefs and their customs had not yet been shelved or interfered with by the land-grasping European governments.

[Marshallese canoes]

These people were magnificent and fearless navigators. Their huge canoes stood twelve feet from the beach in some instances. Houses were built on the outriggers; their biggest war-canoes also had houses erected on the platform of the craft's free side. The canoes were fashioned from slabs of native timber, sewn together with coir-sinnet and pitched and caulked with vegetable-gum. They had one immense sail of triangular shape on these boats and they reefed the sails by pulling on clew-lines.

When beating up to windward these canoes made good headway and no time was lost in wearing ship or going about. All they had to do was change the foot of the sail; what was stern on one tack would be the bow on the other tack. In making long voyages—and I have met them a thousand miles from home—they steered mostly by the stars at night.

These Marshall Islanders needed very few trading-stores. What clothes they wore were made by their own hands. They had no use for cash since there were no taxes or missionary-subscriptions to fork out.

The men's sole garment was a bushy kilt that hung from waist to knee. It was made from the fibre of a bush-plant, not woven, and it was dyed a remarkably beautiful shade of brown. It took a long time to make one of these; both men and women sometimes worked for days on a single garment.

The women wore nothing over their breast save, perhaps, a necklet of flowers. The married women wore two mats about three feet square—one in front and one behind. These were neatly embroidered about five inches from the ends. They were supported by a coil of plaited fibre that circled the waist much like a half-inch fancy rope.

The girls wore only one mat if still maidens and just budding into womanhood; that was worn behind and reached only to the center of the thigh. This was indicative by custom that they were still maidens.

The males were all tattooed with a kind of breast-plate on front and rear—the high chiefs on the neck and under the arms as well. All of them had their ears stretched. This was done by piercing the lobes and inserting a piece of pandanus leaf. The leaf acted as a spring and the lobe would stretch, often becoming large enough to carry a saucer or dinner-plate. It was no rarity to see the lobes of their ears extended, hoop-fashion, with pandanus leaves or used as handy pockets to carry pipes and matches.

I never saw a Marshall Islander with cropped hair. When the men occasionally let their hair down it would fall to their hips. Sometimes they twisted it into a kind of pyramid, seven or eight inches high, on the top of the head. Over this was thrown a small chaplet of white flowers. The top-knot itself was a tuft of boatswain-bird's feathers. The contrast of raven-black hair, brown skin and white blooms was quite arresting.

The women wore their tresses in wavy locks that fell over the neck and shoulders. With hair oiled and crowned with a flower chaplet, firm breasts uncovered and shapely legs unhidden by the graceful mats, they were very lovely—at least the young ones were. Their hair was jet-black, except in the case of a few albinos, and was straight, soft and thick—never coarse.

Combs were fashioned from the rib of the coconut leaf and woven round with an ornamental binding. These combs were flat, about three inches across by nine inches long, with about ten prongs to the inch. The teeth were about four inches long; the rest was handle, interwoven to hold the prongs together.

The women had a curious practice—I remember it was most disturbing to me the first time I witnessed it. About eight or ten of them would walk gracefully up and seat themselves on the grass in front of the houses. Then, turning sidewise, each would explore the hair of her immediate neighbor to the right, in a loose circle, exactly like a troop of monkeys.

Catching lice was a fine art. What they caught they nonchalantly cracked with their teeth. Sometimes, on capturing a louse of exceptional size, the finder would add it to her own stock—presumably to improve the breed.

The native lice for some undefinable reason would never stay on a white man's head; this I considered a boon. If one of the pests found he had taken the wrong turning, he would scoot off for his life. Mosquitoes were not so well behaved; they seemed to look on my white body as an ideal feeding-ground when compared with the native's oily hides.

The women were more slimmed than Tongans or Samoans. Their feet and hands were slender, waist small, and their bearing was upright and stately. On the whole, they were as lovely physically as they were unerring in their artistic judgment when designing clothes, tools or homes.

If you live among men and women who are practically nude they soon fail to attract attention. Everyone is attired alike; it is a part of everyday life. Let a nude male or female garb themselves in trousers and petticoats, with the rest of the people nude, and one notes how soon sexual curiosity becomes excited. That which is exposed never excite curiosity; it is that which is hidden.

I recall hearing of a lady missionary bound for the Bismarck Archipelago who was most distressed of leaving her husband's side before she became used to the strange sight of nude men and women. She accustomed herself to the horrifying spectacle by peering through the portholes of her ship as it lay at anchor, herself unseen. Modesty of this description may be possible in those who have been reared in chaste surroundings but I consider it foolish when dealing with natives.

When among unclothed islanders I have never seen anything in their appearance that could be regarded as immodest. I always looked upon them as God's creatures living a natural existence in a tropic land and adapting themselves to their surroundings as best they can by the common-sense theory of trial and error. Certainly the white man's civilization has shown them no methods superior to their own in the arts of living; he has brought them only the detestable gifts of lust, unhappiness, disease and racial extinction.

The natives are quite open in their discussion of sexual matters. If mama is going to have a baby there is need to spoof the other children with some wild tale that the child

is to be delivered by a witch-doctor with a black box who discovered the wee arrival in a taro patch. It is discussed without prurient asides and is usually a matter of joyous general interest.

These people have one very strange custom that has to do with their women during the period of the flowing of the menses. As soon as a Marshall island girl or matron is aware that her periodical time has arrived she leaves her family and village, crosses over to the other side of the narrow island, and remains there until purified.

During that period she is not permitted to handle or prepare food for the family; neither can she associate with them.

The males of many of the islands practiced circumcision long before the advent of the missionaries. Since the islands have become Christianized many things formerly regarded as quite natural are now looked upon as disgraceful. The deplorable result is that abortion is now practiced by many of the natives.

Lesuela, the King of Arno, had a dozen wives. There was a favored one, of course. For a native girl, she showed a remarkable breeding and her manners were charming. I thought her the equal of many a great lady in a distant land.

She became ill. The King was distraught, beside himself. But her malady was fatal and she died in great agony.

For days the King was inconsolable. I tried to cheer him up one day when I met him on the beach. He was moody and shook his head sadly.

"My belly is empty—my sun is burned out," he told me and went on his way. (To the natives the heart is always the belly—the seat of emotions).

Whenever the King paid a call he was always surrounded by a number of attendant warriors in full battle regalia. This precaution can be understood by the fact that the island was at war—a raid might be expected at any moment.

I once noted the fact that the principal members of the royal bodyguard were armed with whale-spades mounted on very long poles and kept bright and sharp as razors. Curious, I queried Lesuela as to how the strange weapons had come into his possession. He informed me that some years before a boat from a whaleship put in at one of the small islands. Whether it was a boat from a wrecked vessel he did not know. The crew lived on a small atoll for two or three weeks and were evidently afraid of the natives, whenever approached they would beat off friendly overtures with these whale-spades. Their actions enraged the King. One night the brown men attacked the castaways in force and murdered the entire crew. These whale-spades, originally owned by the ill-fated stranded mariners, were now the most precious weapons in Lesuela's armory.

One morning the King passed by with his personal bodyguard and I asked him his destination. He told me a strange ship or canoe had made a landing some few miles down the coast and he was going to investigate. I suggested I would like to accompany him. The King was more than willing but Black Tom was not. So I had to give the idea up. Had I gone there there was a good chance I might have saved the lives of a quar-

tette of luckless wanderers. When the King and his entourage returned later in the day they proudly bore four bloody human heads. These ghastly trophies were carried by on the ends of spears.

I was horror-struck by their display but they were not aware of anything out of ordinary. As a matter of fact, they were most amazed and puzzled by my expressions of loathing. They explained very patiently that no foreign native were suffered to land on their shores—they might be enemy spies on some deadly errand of discovery. For the safety of their home they allowed no stranger of any description to leave scot-free after such a landing.

I later learned the four victims were Line [Gilbertese] Islanders who had run away from the autocratic King of Apemama. After days of thirst and uncertainty the poor devils had drifted to Arno. If they had landed on the lee side of the island—or within the bounds of our tabu—they would have been safe.

The Marshall Islanders of those days used the bones of slain foreign natives—or even whites if they could get them—to make certain implements. The preparation was simple. It was the custom to cut off the limbs, strip off the flesh and place the bones in the sea under heaps of coral stones. There they would be picked clean by eels and other fish.

Rank in the Marshalls ran through the female line and not the male—a matriarchal system. Consider the King's dozen wives: if he had a child by a wife who was a common woman the child did not rank as a chief; but if the wife was a King-Woman the child was accorded chiefly rank.

These King-women appeared all powerful and could do as they pleased with their social inferiors. One repulsive old hag pestered me with her unwelcome attentions. To me, a boy of sixteen, she seemed as old as Methuselah and ugly as sin.

I must have done or said something to this ancient bedlam that mortally offended her. Anyway, she put a tabu on the place. Suddenly, and without an explanation, not an able-bodied girl or woman would come near the trading-station. At first we were absolutely astonished and unable to understand what was the matter. Then, by judicious inquiries, we discovered that the doddering hag whose attentions I had repulsed was responsible—that the tabu allowed no woman younger than herself to come near us.

I had taken a great interest in Liganing, the little girl who had saved my life by releasing me when I had been tied to the tree by the angry natives. She was a very bright kiddy, not more than twelve years of age, and we were very pally.

Liganing had taken delight in teaching me her language and I had reciprocated by teaching her English. This lovely youngster used to come to the trading-station despite the ban and showed a childish happiness in my company and pride in her limited English vocabulary.

I was in the habit of bathing in the lagoon at early dawn. One morning, soon after the tabu went into effect, I glimpsed something resting partly on the beach and partly

in the water on the edge of the shore. It was not yet light enough to see an object clearly. Curious, I walked a hundred yards toward it. To my intense horror I found it was my little friend Liganing, cold in death. Her head and shoulders were awash in the murmuring surf that broke on the beach. I grasped her arms, drew her tenderly out of the sea. A spear had been thrust brutally up through the genitals into the body.

Nothing was done. Nothing could be done. She had broken the tabu of a King-Woman of high rank.

Yet I remember the emotions of a heart-broken English lad who held a tiny brown body pressed close to him and cried bitterly in the first gold of that vanished island dawn.

A month after Liganing's tragic death we heard a great row on the Malalei side of the coral compound circling the station. It was in the morning and the cries were evidently made by natives approaching the fence. The tumult was steadily coming nearer and gaining in volume.

Tom, believing us attacked, grabbed rifle and revolver. Rushing down to the wall we found a milling crowd of islanders stabbing one man to death against our coral bulwark. He had sunk down against the wall and only one weak hand was raised in futile fashion to ward off the finishing blow.

Two shots from Tom's revolver went over the crowd's heads, drove them back in momentary confusion. A Niue man and I managed to get the wounded fellow over the wall and into our compound. Here, on tabu ground, he was safe.

The poor native was bleeding like a stuck pig from numberless cuts but was still breathing. We carried him to the house and doctored him up with liberal applications of Friar's Balsam. Then I bandaged him as best I could.

He pulled round wonderfully. In a few weeks he was on his feet, very grateful for our aid, and as good as new.

Lamato was his name and he cheerfully worked round the house as soon as he was able. Naturally he chafed at having to keep eternally inside the compound sanctuary. So he was quite delighted when, after an eleven-week interval, Lataptin came to the store and informed him he could come out safely any time he wished.

This Lataptin was the cause of the entire trouble. He had demanded Lamato's beautiful wife for his own harem. Lamato, being of low rank, had no right to refuse such a request. But when the lustful Lataptin seized his wife and began to drag her away it was too much for Lamato—he struck the chief. It was thus the spearing party had started.

The day after Lataptin's peace offer Lamato left us, quite happy, and bearing numerous little gifts we had given him. We thought the affair settled and done with.

Yet hardly had Lamato gone fifty yards beyond the compound before he was attacked by Lataptin and his murdering pack. Spears and knives worked their way with him and to finish the bloody business his body was dragged to salt water and held under.

This only proves, I guess, that a beautiful wife can be a drawback in any age or society—if hubby isn't strong enough to keep her. Anyway, Lamato's wife was forced to go and live with the amorous Lataptin.

At this point Lataptin's luck ended. His charmer didn't stay with him long. The King demanded her and gave her to his brother, Lasakon. As far as memory serves, this ended the muchly sought-after lady's marital wanderings.

An amusing yarn in illustration of the native's ignorance of white customs at that time was told me by Frank Coffin, whom I afterwards knew in Samoa. He was from New Bedford and spoke with a nasal Yankee twang. Like so many free-spoken, uneducated men, he was most entertaining and told many a good story of his adventurous career.

While ashore at Milli he had been engaged by a firm of island traders to cooper casks which were used at that period as coconut oil containers. This occurred when oil was made in the islands, before the making of copra.

The islanders had the habit of passing the pipe from mouth to mouth when smoking, each man taking a couple of whiffs. Frank always got on well with them and was usually agreeable to most of their requests. If a native asked for a smoke from his pipe Frank would pass it over in his good-natured way.

A time came when his tobacco was running short and he was uncertain when a ship would arrive with a fresh supply. Still the natives kept pestering him for a smoke. At last Frank became so annoyed by their persistence that he insulted a chief of high rank by refusing him in front of his followers. The infuriated chief made a determined grab for the pipe in Frank's mouth. Sensing trouble in the air, Frank tried to pacify the excited savage by handing him the pipe—together with both plates of his false teeth.

Now the natives had never seen false teeth; they were absolutely unaware that Frank's teeth were not real ones. Screaming with terror they fled away and howled that the white man was a devil...

After that Frank offered his pipe of his own accord. But there were no smokers. His audience simply shook their heads and scooted. Natives came for miles from other islands just to stare at him from a safe distance. If he removed his pipe from his mouth and motioned with it—a thing he often did from habit—the show of a revolver could have been no more threatening to their childish minds.

All kinds of fearsome stories were circulated regarding the white devil and the impossible feats of magic that he could perform. The favorite native thriller was to the effect that he had been seen to remove the head from his shoulders, walk around with it under his arm for a time and then replace it.

Alas, this keen interest failed to bring business to the now anxious trader. They might flock to view the worker of miracles but they would not approach him to trade. Things reached a critical stage. Every efforts of Frank to explain the nature and function of false teeth met with disheartening defeat. At the very last, as the current stories became more and more awe-inspiring, the superstitious natives desired only one thing—that he should leave their island.

The odds were too great—Frank gave it up as a bad job and moved out. But he never carelessly exhibited his false teeth after that.

Frank was one of the few white men in the group then. At Ebon and Namorik some missionaries were precariously stationed. On a scattered few of the other islands a small number of Hawaiian native teachers had been landed from the **Morning Star** of the Philadelphia Methodist Mission. But they could make no headway.

I met Henry Burlingame during this period. He was trading at Logologo, on the weather end of the [Arno] lagoon. What eventually became of Henry I never knew. I did know that he remained on Majuro for several years and rendered valuable assistance to King Kaipuke when he was attacked by Gibberick, King of Majuro.

One story stated that Henry died on the island, another report said that he had taken his three stalwart sons, nearly as big and white as himself, and all four had gone to the States where the sons were assisting their father in his former profession.

[Louis the Frenchman]

It was often difficult in those days to find out where he came from. An instance to prove my last point comes to mind. It was told me by this same Henry Burlingame and it concerns that strange character known as "Louis the Frenchman."

About eighteen months after Henry came to Logologo, a sloop flying French colors¹ landed a solitary man. This man was supplied with a meagre quantity of trade and provisions. The sloop was up-anchor and away before Henry could speak to anyone on board.

The newcomer called upon Kaipuke the King and arranged for a native hut to live in. Henry, delighted by the prospect of another white man as companion, strolled over to greet the stranger at once. The Frenchman was very cold and reserved in his manner and barely civil to the puzzled trader. For several long months, this man, whom the natives called Louis, was as much a mystery to Henry as he was on the first day he landed. It was obvious, also, that Louis was off on the wrong foot with the natives.

One afternoon Henry heard an uproar on the beach beyond his station and made out enraged native voices shouting that they were going to kill Louis. The trader grabbed his revolver and rushed out to the man's assistance. A few seconds' delay and he would have come too late. Old Louis, quite calm and with a scornful smile on his face, stood with his back to a palm. He was half-naked, clothes slashed to ribbons, furious natives all about him. In his hand he held a rapier and he fought like a master of the blade. He was bloody and very weak; so were many of his brown assailants. But he could not have held out much longer against the press of islanders.

One of Louis' attackers was poised with a three-prong fish-spear aimed at the Frenchman's belly when Henry arrived. With a cry the trader sailed in, using his revolver as a baton, crashing skulls right and left, knocking natives down like skittles. Soon the pack broke away and started to run. He speeded them with a few shots pointed at bare heels.

1 Ed. note: Perhaps the **Chevert**, mentioned by William Wawn.

Louis, although quite exhausted and faint from loss of blood, was not seriously hurt. His wounds were soon healed. From that moment the two white men were inseparable pals. Though the Frenchman was so chummy, he never discussed his past history. Henry soon saw that Louis, unlike himself, was a man of culture and education. He met Louis strolling the beach one day. When Henry warmly complimented his new friend on the gallant manner in which he had used his sword in the *mêlée*, the old man answered him sadly, "Yes, my friend, there was a time when I was considered one of the best three swordsmen in Paris."

The old man turned from him moodily, stalked away down the beach, head lowered. Later, Henry saw him standing alone, beyond the trading-station, his eyes gazing out over the blue sea...

An incident occurred in the next few weeks that showed Henry his companion was a first-rate surgeon. A sudden illness struck the trader down, so severe was the attack that the sick man gave up all hope of recovery.

The old Frenchman, advised of Henry's illness, came at once to attend him. Louis went over him with professional skill, decided what was to be done. With a few crude implements but with great deftness the unknown Frenchman performed a surgical operation on the dying Henry. The crisis passed. It was successful.

For days and nights the old man hovered over him, intent on his patient's welfare. During Henry's slow convalescence, and in one of his rare moments of revelation, Louis let slip the information that the ship which had landed him was bound for South America and would not return.

At yet another unguarded interval Louis spoke briefly of hardships in New Caledonia and of his having seen the guillotining of a man he knew to be innocent. Though Louis was cantankerous and dictatorial with the natives he never spoke a cross word to Henry.

On occasions the mysterious chap would brighten up and sing snatches from gay French songs and famous operas in a rich, cultivated voice. Again he would turn sentimental. His English was perfect. To Henry, who had never known such a man before, he was a marvel of accomplishment and information.

Two years after his landing Louis himself fell ill from some internal complaint. Henry did what he could but Louis placidly informed him that from the symptoms he could live but a few days. During the last forty-eight hours he was delirious and fancied he was a gay young blade roistering again in Paris. Sometimes he would appear quite happy. Once he sat upright, with thin, outstretched hands, and sobbed, "Oh, Julie, Julie! That you should see me thus!"

In a lucid moment just before the end he gave Henry instructions about his burial. He was troubled because he had heard that the natives were in the habit of using the bones of foreigners to make certain implements. Henry had heard the story but was certain it did not apply to this island. He soothed the dying man as best he could and solemnly promised him that no-one should touch his body.

Louis died in the evening, sitting upright and his last words were a greeting to the lost Julie. All night Henry kept vigil by the dead man. The next day he made the coffin and dug the grave with his own hands. The natives had always hated the autocratic old Frenchman and did not come to the funeral. So the only mourners were Henry, his wife and his assistants. The woman wept a little and Henry made a halting prayer his mother had taught him long ago.

After the burial Henry employed natives to bring in stacks of coral from the reefs; he intended to make a lime-kiln in order to get material to erect a monument on his friend's grave.

On a later day, while walking along the water's edge, he noticed an extraordinary number of small fish evidently feeding on some choice morsel hidden under a heap of stones. A horrid suspicion entered his mind. Swiftly he lifted some of the stones. Under them he found half-devoured human limbs—the limbs of a white man.

He rushed back to his home furiously and caught up his revolver. Then he made a business call on King Kaipuke. The King was seated inside his house talking with a number of his people. In walked Henry unceremoniously and delivered a stern ultimatum. If the King did not immediately order his subject to dig a deep grave close to Henry's house where Louis' bones could be safely interred, then all would be shot down in cold blood.

Naturally the King acceded. But the fiery Henry kept both monarch and servants covered with his weapon until his orders were carried out to his satisfaction. Then he made them secure the remains of the old Frenchman and bring them to the new grave. He then instructed the natives to take the head off a big water-butt, place the pitiful remains of his old pal in it, pack him with lime, head it up and lower it into the opening.

A keen watch was kept on the place until Henry could finish the monument. Since the King ordered his people to assist it did not take long. Indeed, the King had been no party to the violation of the grave. The guilty natives fled the island to escape his vengeance.

So passed "Louis the Frenchman," honored by his last friend and forgotten by those who knew his name.

CHAPTER V PRINCE FOR A DAY

When Tom sold out, which he did at the first opportunity after the natives had nearly finished him, I was a bit at loose ends. The trader who purchased the station was a stocky, coarse, offensive person who had never bathed in his life. I detested him on sight.

King Lesuela had always been my friend and had incessantly importuned me to come and live with him. He was a very gracious, kindly old man and was genuinely delighted every time I visited him. Without further debate, I packed up my gear at the trading-station and moved into the house the King had eagerly prepared against my coming.

He was almost childishly pleased at my arrival and, before I was completely aware of his intentions, he legally adopted me as his son according to the native custom.

I became a prince. No honor was too great to heap on "Negin Iroig"—Son of the King. His Majesty gave me an island and the natives on this atoll were "my natives". No normal youngster of sixteen could help but thrill at being a King's son. I was no exception. The old fellow was very proud of me; so were the numerous wives that made up his harem and they also showed me great kindness.

King Lesuela promised me many things. I was to have a big new house and a great war canoe. Work was begun on them at once. As soon as a ship arrived I was to barter with the Captain and other necessities befitting the dignity of my new station. My medium of exchange was, of course, coconuts. All these supplies were to aid in maintaining my status as a white man and as a royal personage.

By a strange coincidence I became the King's son on the very date of my seventeenth birthday.¹ Looking back I see myself a child. But I was very certain I was a man then—and a very important one.

Two weeks went by. Then the **Belle Brandon**, under command of Captain Harris, came to Arno. It had been Captain Harris who brought me to the island in the brig **Vision**. I was naturally very anxious to see him and begged my new father to permit me to go aboard and make arrangements for the sale of copra and the purchase of my supplies.

The King, who was lying ill at the time, was reluctant to have me go aboard. I had to make him a solemn promise that I would surely return ashore. This I had every intention of doing. I went aboard and was warmly greeted by the bluff Captain Harris. Boylike, I informed him of my new status in island life—I even boasted that I was a Prince. With pride I pointed to the royal escort bobbing about in canoes under the lee rail of the ship.

The genial Captain was not pleased at what I told him. He eyed me keenly for a long moment, shook his head.

"My boy, if I allow you to remain here with these natives you'll soon become one of them—sink to their level. I can't do that. What would your mother think of your consorting as an equal with these brown islanders? You come of good English stock—you can't throw your life away like this!"

I was astonished at his outburst. I was too young to realize the inevitable result that constant association with natives would mean to me. For a long time I hesitated.

"Could I think for a moment, Captain?"

He shrugged and nodded.

I turned slowly and walked on deck. He followed in my rear, very close to me. I went over to the rail, looked past my canoes to Arno.

It was mid-afternoon and the sea was a shimmering mirror of flashing brilliance. Arno itself was a green emerald and I felt a lump in my throat. There lay ease and plenty

¹ Ed. note: It was therefore in June 1878.

and the flesh-pots for the staying—very insinuating lures for an inexperienced lad who had always dreamed of the South Seas. The beauty of the place was so close I felt I could reach out and grasp it with my two hands...

But the call of my kind was strong, also. Dimly I sensed what the big, kind-hearted man beside me meant, was so positive about I turned to him.

“You’re right, sir—I’ll come with you.”

He smiled, clapped me in comradely fashion on the shoulder. “You know,” he observed, “I’ve always blamed George Cozens’ judgment for letting you land on Arno in the first place. Never mind, son. I’ll take you to the Carolines and set you up in business as a trader of your own.”

I was hardly listening. My conscience reproached me for breaking my word to the loyal old man who was anxiously awaiting my return. I knew the King would grieve bitterly at the loss of his beloved new son. In order to soften the blow I told my escort I would remain aboard the ship overnight. They were greatly distressed at my decision and they commenced weeping and wailing.

The natives ashore heard the commotion and put off in canoes to learn the cause. But it was too late. The **Belle Brandon** was under way. Other grief-stricken natives gathered on an island that the ship must pass close by to avoid the “horse’s heads”—big lumps of dangerous coral lying just under the water surface. A great sound went up as we came opposite the island. “Alas! Alas! Negin Iroig is going—the King’s son is going!”

Tears shone in my eyes and I gripped the ship’s railing with both hands. An overwhelming desire to leap overboard and swim back to these friendly people flooded over me. The **Belle Brandon** sailed slowly on and the chance passed.

The failure of my royal escort to return with me must have cost them dear. The King’s will was absolute—and I was certain it would go hard with my bodyguard. I prayed in my heart that my new father might believe his adopted son had been carried away against his will—was not unfaithful to his trust.

I stayed on deck for a long time, my eyes mistily averted. I had been a Prince for a day—and now my kingdom was sinking behind the blue rim of the Pacific—forever.

CHAPTER VI THE WONDERS OF PINGELAP

I had lived in the Marshalls for eighteen [rather eight] months—from early [rather late] 1877 until June of 1878.¹ Besides learning the language I had picked up trading, made many friends and had grown somewhat accustomed to the ways of the islanders.

In the meantime George Cozens had returned to Auckland to report his stewardship. The creditors of the bankrupt Farrell had put his business up for sale and it had been purchased by the enterprising firm of Henderson, MacFarlane and Company. If the creditors realized little from the forced sale it is a certainty that the astute Henderson

1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1876H.

and MacFarlane struck a bargain which was sure to bring them a handsome profit. Already their vessels were running to nearly every group in the Pacific from Pukapuka to Yap and to the Indian Ocean. The firm was sending out ships fitted with trade-rooms in charge of a supercargo to trade directly with islands where there were no resident traders.

The **Belle Brandon** was an Auckland-built boat owned by this firm. The mate was Peter Theet—one of the few men now living who knew me as a boy-trader and a boy-Prince on Arno. I saw him last in 1885 [rather 1886 or 87] while I was on Funafuti in the Ellice group. He was then Captain of the three-masted schooner **Buster**, a vessel chartered by Henderson and MacFarlane to visit all their trading-stations north and south of the line. The purpose of that voyage was to photograph and report on these stations with the tentative intention of floating a company in London. On the ship I met F. J. Moss,¹ member of the House of Representatives for Parnell in New Zealand, and afterward Administrator of Rarotonga; he is the author of "Through Atolls and Islands of the Great South Seas." The photographer for the expedition was Mr. Andrew, now a store-keeper in Apia. Captain Theet is now retired and living in the beautiful Waitakere Ranges near Auckland.

On our trip from Arno we touched at Pingelap (McAskill's Island), one of the smaller atolls in the Caroline between Kusaie and Ponape. The natives had come on board us miles from shore. They were afraid we might pass them by without calling in and they earnestly reminded Captain Harris of his promise made six months before—he had agreed to land a trader and open up regular business on the island.

I eagerly volunteered to take the position for a few weeks. Captain Harris had promised to give me such a chance and he was entirely willing that I should have a go at it. The **Belle Brandon** put in as close as possible to the reef and, instead of returning to civilization, I went again to live as the only white resident on a savage island.

It was easy enough to get my goods ashore. Though it would have been impossible to land a ship's boat in that heavy surf it was not a difficult task for native canoes. Full arrangements were made from the ship, even to the securing of a native hut. Everything safely landed, I shook hands with the Captain and crew. They wished me luck and trusted they would see me again in a few weeks "if I was not scoffed by the bloody niggers."

As soon as I went overside into the canoe the ship squared her foreyard and stood away to the westward. She was out of sight almost before I reached the shore.

The first thing I noticed upon landing on Pingelap was the absence of women; not one was to be seen. This made me feel a bit suspicious; on some of the islands this is a sure sign of treachery.

On going inland a few yards I came to a great barricade of long sticks and coconut leaves. This obstruction stood from twelve to sixteen feet high and ran for seven hun-

1 Ed. note: Frederick Moss (see Doc. 1886Y). It was therefore in 1886 or 87.

dred yards along the beach side of the village. It blended so completely with the vegetation that it was almost unobservable at any distance.

As soon as I entered the boundaries of the barricade and was shut out from the ocean view, the women and children came flocking about from all sides. Persistently they shook hands, rubbed noses, pinched me and acted in a thoroughly friendly fashion.

I discovered later that they never allowed their women to visit passing ships. Ships had to keep 'off and on' some distance outside the reef because there was no anchorage; for this reason very few Europeans landed. Most of the women and children had never seen a white man at close quarters and I was a curiosity. If any enterprising native could have gotten me into his hut in that first week and exhibited me at so many coconuts a head he would have cleaned up a *smalalaa* fortune.

The reason for the imposing yet hidden barrier also came later. I had landed about Christmas time; they call December "Karlock" (flying-fish) since it is during that month the flying fish appear. Woe betide any woman who dared look seaward during that month! If such a terrible offense was committed the flying-fish would certainly disappear and not return for several seasons. Hence the barricade—since a woman, no matter her color, is equipped with a wandering eye.

Before many weeks had passed I could make myself readily understood but in the interim I employed an interpreter. He was the only native on the island who could speak even a word of English, and he was, frankly, pretty useless. About thirty years old and a clumsy ox of a fellow he nevertheless seemed the smartest of the outfit. His big features were mobile but he could never be described as an impressive savage. No, not even when he wore his dress suit—a sou'wester hat, relic of the two years he had spent with Bully Hayes on the *Leonora*, an old waistcoat I had given him, one earring, a three-inch belt, and his embroidery of native tattooing.

The village lay on the lee side of the island. The houses were not built on the ground but on posts five or six feet high; this up-in-the-air construction was due to fear of tidal waves. In fine weather the natives lived underneath their dwellings and on bright moonlit nights they took their mats and lay outside, lulled to sleep by the murmur of the surf breakig lazily on the coral reef.

The population of the island was about fifteen hundred. The women outnumbered the men two to one; the reason for this was that some years before the blackbirders (slavers) had captured many of the men and carried them to distant Peru.

Narbusa, King of Pingelap, was every inch a sovereign. Six feet and four inches he stood in his bare feet—half a head taller than any of his subjects. In addition to the usual tattooing he was adorned on neck and face—a sure sign of royal rank. The lobes of his ears had been pierced and gradually stretched until you could have fitted an ordinary saucer into either of them. As the case was, he carried in his right lobe a one-pound flat salmon tin containing his tobacco; the left lobe was the kingly depository for a dirty clay pipe and a paper box of San Francisco parlor matches. His grizzled hair hung nearly to his waist. Though he had nearly lived the span of his life he was still an

arresting figure—his splendid body was still as straight as a perpendicular, unbending palm.

As seemed to be the Kingly custom I came under Narbusa's protection; he would have severely punished anyone who attempted to molest me. The monarch had at least twenty wives and innumerable children and grandchildren. They ranged from babes in arms to grown-up men and women.

Despite his numerous brown progeny Narbusa treated me with open favoritism—he even wanted to marry me to several old chief-women of very high rank. His intentions were excellent and indicative of his regard for me. According to the custom of the island, the more wives of rank and dignified age a man possessed, the higher he rated on the social scale.

Yet I declined his generous offer with thanks. But the old man always looked pained; I fear I must have offended him by refusing these well-meant patents of nobility.

I have mentioned I was the only resident white man. It must not be supposed that the absence of a missionary was due to any lack of zeal on their part. In reality the history of Christianity trying to secure a foothold on Pingelap beggars the wildest flights of fiction. For more than twenty years the American Board of Methodist Missions strove valiantly with the perplexing problem of how to land a missionary on this gem-like, low-lying atoll.

Every twelve-month the able Captain Bray would bring the **Morning Star**, a fine brigantine of two hundred tons, to visit the island. Each year the white missionary from Ponape was allowed to land. Each year Narbusa would sit in regal state to receive the visitor; he was impressive in his simple dignity as he sat on the *malae* (meeting-ground) near the centre of the village, surrounded by his wives, chiefs, medicine-men and devil-priests, shaded from the tropic sun by dipping bread-fruit trees and coconut palms.

On every visit, after the exchange of elaborate ceremonials, the missionary would get straight to his subject. He needed no interpreter; the dialect was similar to that spoken on Ponape. With earnest vehemence he would point out the advantages of his faith and the enumerated benefits of civilization and immortal existence. In the dramatic ending his plea would be for Narbusa to allow the quartering of a missionary on the island.

At this juncture, in pursuance of an annual rite, His Majesty would consult with his chiefs and devil-doctors. The result was always the same. A very few would favor the innovation; strenuous and emphatic objections would be advanced by the majority. In that majority would be numbered the priests who were afraid of losing their prestige and power.

Pupu, the head-priest, would follow up his refusal with a stirring appeal to discount any headway the missionary might have made.

“Oh, Narbusa, our mighty King, on whom the sun always shines, descendant of the sacred Wai (Turtle), take no heed of the persuasion of the white medicine-man and his

friend. For their wickedness they have been cast out from their own land and now they restlessly wander about ocean in their big canoes seeking whom they may enslave.”

“Hear them not, oh mighty Lord of Pingelap! See what they have done through their cunning and magic spells to Lamato, King of Mokil, and Torkusa, King of Namorik,¹—those kings who on an evil moment allowed these destroyers to set foot on their island.”

“Oh, King, would you be as Lamato, once mighty King of Mokil? He lives now with one wife only, like a slave. No longer does he allow his skin to be kept clean and fresh by the breadth of heaven—his tattoo marks are hidden like a pale-face under dirty clothes.”

“Would you be like Lamato, who has turned cannibal with all his people, devouring his ancestors, the Sacred Turtles? As Lamato who bows down to the white missionary and white men’s Gods?”

“And what of Torkusa, King of Namorik, father of many children? He now cuts his hair like a white man, has become afraid of the sun (Sau) and walks with a roof over his head (an umbrella).”

“Beware, oh might King, of the evil spell of this white medicine-man!”

With so strong and so determined a majority against him Narbusa dared not accede to the missionary’s wish. The white man would bow his head in mortified submission and depart, hoping for a more plastic turn of mind next year. Thus for twenty long years a missionary called on the King of Pingelap, failed in his purpose, and sailed disconsolately away...

Came one year to Pingelap a new missionary—a man of genius—a man who conceived that stratagem could yet win for the Lord. He enticed two local youths to Ponape and educated them there at the Mission College. Some time later the pair returned to Pingelap via a passing whaler. Immediately upon landing, these products of the Mission College set zealously about the conversion of their fellow-islanders to Methodism.

This caused great ado. The priests were so enraged that only active intervention on the part of their relatives saved the two young men from instant death. However, they were beaten and banished for a time to a small island. There only the devil-priests themselves were allowed to visit them.

Time wore on. After deliberation and debate the pair was allowed to return to the island. They were still the objects of distrust in the eyes of those in authority and many privilege were denied them.

Then the King grew very ill; the royal life hung by a narrow thread. The native priests paraded their medicines, spells and charms—all to no avail. The King, if anything, grew weaker.

As a last resort the wily medicine-men advised the stricken monarch that his condition was caused by the two young converts. It was reported that they had been seen on their knees speaking to their God. The devil-priests, under the impression that the King

1 jEd. note: Torkusa, or Tocsa, was actually King of Kusaie.

would not recover, thought this would be an opportune moment to punish the native back-sliders.

A meeting was held and it was agreed to send for the young men and command them to pray to their God for the King's recovery. It was determined that if the King recovered the entire island should embrace Christianity; if the King died the two converts should be killed and buried with him. An outsider might have opined that it looked like a bad day for Christianity.

The King consented to the plan and the two were brought to pray for him. Long and earnestly they exhorted on their brown knees. Between prayers they administered some simple remedies that the white missionaries had given them.

A miracle occurred. Much to their consternation and dismay of the priests Narbusa recovered. They had dug their own pit—and dug it deep.

At once the thankful King gave orders that all his subjects must embrace Christianity. The boomerang snapped back to rest—on the heads of the priests. Even they could hold out no longer in the face of the royal decree. The white man's magic had proved a potency greater than their own.

In a short time Pingelap was transformed. Within six months a rough church had been erected that was large enough to accommodate five hundred people. The first two ships to call after the conversion were whalers; these boats were besieged by the natives. They bartered all they had for something to wear—sailor's stockings, sou'wester hats, oilskins and sea-boots. It was most amusing to watch them go to church after that. One native had been informed that a man must not wear a hat in church but that it was permissible for a woman to do so. On reaching the church he would hand over his sou'wester over to his wife. Just as gravely she would then place it on her head and never remove it during the entire service.

Another would wend his way to devotion clad only in a short shirt and a pair of sea-boots. Sometimes, when there was not enough to go around, a certain distribution would be arrived at. A man would generously share his pair of sea-boots with his wife or a relative; they would go to church, each with a boot on one foot.

The first hour for christianity was the last hour for the turtles. They had always been very numerous for the luxuriant growth of turtle grass—at low water this resembled a salt-water paddock lying between the beach and the reef. The turtles had come and gone without molestation for ages. For were they not sacred incarnations of the native's ancestors?

Christianity killed that belief, and incidentally, opened up a new food supply.

At the beginning, it was with fear and trembling that the natives killed their first turtle. It tasted so delicious they were tempted to kill more. Turtle meat in various dishes became the chief delicacy on an awakened Pingelap. Alas, there was the inevitable aftermath. In a few years they became as scarce as whales near the island. A man no sooner acquired a taste for turtles that the supply was curtailed.

Some years later (active conversion did not come during my time on Pingelap), when I revisited the island, I found the natives living in carpentered houses and wearing re-

spectable clothes. They could wash and iron as well as any professional laundress. One native who had been to Australia was a very fair tailor; he possessed a sewing-machine and could turn out a good pair of dungarees or even a suit of pyjamas. They had rebuilt the village and erected a landing-jetty of coral. They really appeared to me as being more civilized than most natives are who have had missionaries with them for twenty years longer.

One of the great advantages that accompanied conversion was the re-distribution of wives. Formerly each chief had possessed several, while many of the commoners had none at all. But now the commoners had struck a new deal.

The King parted with his twenty wives, one at a time. It would have been too great a shock for him at his age to have handed over 19/20 of his harem in one fell delivery.

When but two remained, Narbusa suffered many misgivings. Both were favorites. Letato was tall and angular; Leolege was short and fat. But the King loved them both with an ardency well becoming a full-blooded monarch.

Eventually, torn between conflicting desires, he made a hesitating decision. He parted with Letato. Regretfully he handed her over to one of his unmarried retainers. Then he settled back to enjoy the comforts of monogamous felicity.

But this was not to be. Trouble reared an ugly head in the royal household almost immediately. Leolege, finding herself sole queen of the roost, began to put on airs. On certain occasions the King was even threatened with deprivation of his legitimate kingly rights. Things looked dark and a scowl grew permanent on the royal brow.

Their Majesties quarreled continuously and audibly. Narbusa saw now that his passionate misgivings had been well-founded; bitterly he regretted the lost Letato. It was then that he dimly began to realize and appreciate the evil that had befallen his neighbor monarchs, Torkusa of Namorik, and Lamato of Mokil.

Driven almost to despair, he sent for Pupu, late devil-priest. But the clever Pupu was not only a changed man but a person of marvelous adaptability. Finding hopeless to work against the missionaries he had been among the first to join them; he was now head-deacon and lay-preacher and the right arm of the Lord. He had lost no zeal in the interchange of faiths; Pupu severely reprimanded the King for harboring the ugly thought of heathenism in his heart and promptly placed the unfortunate Narbusa under church discipline.

Pingelap, once Christianized, gave birth to new societies and cliques. The old highly-developed autocratic social fabric, so nicely adjusted over so many centuries to fit native needs and practices, now rotted away. A new and un-understood condition, almost chaotic, came into being. At the head of the most exclusive of the new cliques was one of the lower-class natives; his rise to great importance had been attained by purchasing from a passing ship a faded, blue-lined umbrella and a moth-eaten soldier's coat. He was the envy of all as he proudly marched to church, umbrella held above him. That prized parasol was carried only on very fine days, however—when the heavens opened and the rain fell with tropic intensity the umbrella was left at home, carefully wrapped in banana leaves.

The islanders on my day were ruled by a spirit world of fearful shadows. I do not think that any faith could ever completely wipe out the webs of superstition from the minds and hearts of the natives. Their animistic beliefs were too much a part of them. Everything that happened—accident, sickness, weather, death—was invariably declared to be the handiwork of some devil or resultant of the evil spell of some witch.

I remember one incident as an apt illustration. After a few months on Pingelap I began to miss some trifling articles from my trade-room—beads, a comb, matches, fish-hooks, and a cheap looking-glass. My stock was always kept under lock and key; Sunday, my interpreter, was the only native who had free access to the place.

Sunday did not turn up one day to get my breakfast; as was always most punctual I inquired where he was. I was informed that he was not only ill but possessed of a devil.

With much haste I barged along to see if there was anything I could do for him. At first the attending devil-priests would not permit my entry into the hut; they insisted on finishing their surgery without outside influence ruining the rites. I was familiar enough with their methods to be quite aware they were burning holes in my poor servant's legs and body with miniature torches made of coconut fibre. While this was going on they were chanting in whining crescendo to drown out the shrieks and groans of the patient. As each fresh torch was applied his wailing grew louder and their chanting gathered volume. When they had finished I went in. Sunday lay on the ground, entirely covered with an old mat and groaning feebly. Stooping over, I pulled the mat from his face. The most grotesque and caricature of a face that I have ever seen looked up at me.

One of the poor fellow's eyes was drawn down on his cheek, his nose was screwed around to one side of his face and his mouth to the other. It was an unbelievably hideous distortion! For the life of me I could not figure out what sudden and obscure malady had stricken him; he had certainly been all right when we parted the day before.

As my eyes wandered inquiringly around the hut I glimpsed the missing looking-glass. The unfortunate Sunday sensed my discovery with one good eye. In a faint voice he spoke: "Yes, you sabe—me very bad man. I steal from white man—white man's devil he catch me."

Then he implored me to cast the devil out of him and began to render an exact accounting of his pilferage—only a trifle, really. I felt very sorry for Sunday, but here, also, was a golden chance to make constructive use of native superstition. To those who were gathered about me I issued a brief warning.

"Look well on this man's face! See what a curse has come to him. It is thus that the white man's devil deal with all thieves! If anyone steals from me I shall tell the devil to treat him in the same way." Then, after doing what I could for ohim—which was little—I went home.

When I arose next morning, a surprise greeted me. On my verandah was a great mound of rubbish—old broken bottles, empty salmon and meat tins, old boots, discarded clothes—all things I had thrown away... No chances were being taken with the white man's devil.

After this, during my year's stay on the island,¹ not a single thing turned up missing. If there was even a suspicion of trouble there was one infallible manner of squelching it in the bud. All I had to do is screw up my face into a grimace and say: "I shall have your face made like Sunday's."

Poor Sunday kept to his hut for some time—I think more of pure funk and fear of ridicule than physical disability. By the time I left his features were nearly normal again. I never learned the cause of the muscular distortion.

There was only one native, a devil-priest himself, who was a bit skeptical about my warning. This chap had the bad habit of picking up my pipe and smoking it on the quiet.

I strongly objected to this on more than one count. Most acute at the moment was the fact that no ship had called for months and I was on my last piece of tobacco.

There seemed to me to be a way in which I could convince this fellow, for once and all, that my devil was a man of his word. With great care I half filled my pipe with gunpowder, placed some ash on top to make it appear I had lit it and set it down again.

A half-hour later, while in the store-room, I heard a bit of a pop—it seemed to come from the house. I rushed in. My pipe-smoking friend was under the table, two wide eyes staring wildly out of a badly-scorched face, minus one eyebrow and his mustache. I upended him and with great fervency he swore to the fact that my devil, ably assisted by a sundry host of friends, had knocked him down and began to pull the hair off his face.

I shook my head and told hiim I thought him very lucky—it was not often my devil was so gentle. After this incident he made an excellent convert and treated me with profound respect. No slight affair in his small world was settled without the cachet of my approval. I had been a Prince of Arno and now I was a Master of Devils.

On Pingelap the natives caught flying-fish at night by torch-light; they used hand-nets resembling butterfly-nets. Often the catch would be so large that the fish could not be consumed at once. When this happened the surplus catch was split open along the backs—much as herrings are split to make kippers. A small platform of green sticks was then erected about a foot high, the fish placed on top of the platform, and a fire was lit underneath. For several hours these split fish would be gradually cooked. Thus prepared they would keep a long time; if dried in the sun after the first cooking they would keep indefinitely. This flying-fish is shaped more like a mackerel than a herring. It makes very delicate, delicious eating; the flesh is white, flaky and firm.

It was great sport to go out with the natives and hunt these flying-fish. From twenty to thirty canoes usually made up a flotilla; one man was stationed in the prow, another in the stern; each held a long-handled net; another man in the middle of the craft held a bundle of long, coconut-leaf torches. These torches have bands of coconut-leaf wound round like straps; when burned to this strap they merely smoulder. As soon as the strap is knocked off, loosening the fibres, it flares up again.

1 Ed. note: From July 1878 to July 1879.

The canoes draw in a wide circle about the quarry, torches smoldering. As soon as they achieve a circle an order is given; the torches flare up in every canoe. The circle is full of fish that are attracted by the brilliance—they lay about in all directions. Others remain quiet in the water as if fascinated by the flaming display.

While the haul is being made, voracious sharks are rushing about within the circle of light and bumping against the canoes in their predatory eagerness. However, it is flying-fish, not men, that they are seeking. And the men are seeking flying-fish, not sharks.

The only denizen of the sea that the natives really fears at this time is the garfish. This ugly customer has a snout something like a swordfish. They fly out of the water and travel some distance with terrific force. The native who is belly-ripped by a garfish is always a goner.

In most of the groups to the Eastward and South of the Line the bonito is caught by trailing a line from a fast-moving canoe. To this line is attached a pearl-shell hook and a few feathers; this decoy gives the appearance of a small fish skimming swiftly over the surface of the water. The bonito rarely manage to get rid of this tasteless bait, even though it is not barbed. The alert natives can see a chool of bonito at a great distance. They are aided by the fact that the small fish which attract the bonito also attract flocks of sea-gulls. The natives man their bonito-fishing canoes when a school has been sighted and, by trailing their long bamboo poles with the line and pearl-shell hook attached, will sometimes catch several hundred. I have never seen them try to catch bonito any other way; they evidently believe that they can only be caught only when they come to the surface.

On Pingelap, the method of bonito catching was reverse. The natives treated them as deep-water fish and secured them in from twenty to forty fathoms; hooks made of bone or pearl-shell were baited with squid or cuttlefish. They often lost quite a number of hooks by having their catch snapped up by sharks and other ocean pests while hauling the fish to the surface—even while lifting them into the canoe. A man always stood ready with an up-raised club or piece of iron to strike at any greedy shark.

There is another fish that is usually caught at night, with very long lines. This is the Tekinapong (night-fish). It often weighs from forty to ninety pounds; the flesh is soft and tastes like the best salmon. It is a great delicacy but one who eats Tekinapong must endure certain after-effects. I have never heard of anyone being poisoned or hurt in any way by eating them; yet, if you do, you must undergo the experience of being severely, though painlessly, purged. After a heavy meal of Tekinapong the natives may be seen lying about while the purging process is going on; patiently they wait until their organs return to normal. Sometimes, after a big haul, I have witnessed the remarkable sight of a whole village being cleansed at the same time. No wonder the white man's name for this finny delicacy is "Castor-oil Fish."

...

CHAPTER VII THE DEVIL'S GRAVE

All morning I had worked in my store-room trading with the eager natives. Four weeks had gone by since Captain Harris landed me on Pingelap—a full month of arrangement and adjustment. There was little to wonder at in the fact that I was a bit weary and fed up with the routine of constant bartering; I felt I would enjoy a lonely moment away from the jabbering herd.

So, in the afternoon, as a sea-breeze wandered lazily over Narbusa's kingdom, I set out on a quiet stroll. I carried a book with me and soon left the village behind; Sunday had wished to accompany me but I had put him off with a trivial excuse.

My slow, aimless pace led me at last to where a palm drooped a welcome envelope of shade over a slab of stone; the seat seemed a cool and inviting retreat for an hour of solitude.

I sat down. Four hundred yards away the Pacific glistened restlessly like a jewel with a billion facets, not a sail disturbed the blue shimmer with its whiteness. I pulled my eyes away, opened the book, began to read...

Drowsiness crept over me after a while; I relaxed, closed my eyes. I drifted easily away into dreamless slumber with the muted voice of the surf in my ears...

It was with great suddenness that I awakened. The surf song that I remembered as I dozed had given way to something more primitive, harsher in volume. My eyes popped open; I jumped erect.

All about me a maddened group of natives screamed in ululating anger; they brandished spears and weapons in great curving arcs. This startling host surrounded me; threats and maledictions stormed in on me from every angle of approach.

Seeing me upright, they began to advance. I was still a bit dazed and there was a question mark in my mind as big as the atoll itself. I knew I must have unwittingly committed sin of enormous import but for the life of me I could not fathom what it was.

The circle of enraged islanders grew smaller; it tightened as I looked and I knew it would not be long before it engulfed my stone island like a tidal wave...

From the rear of the excited mob I barely distinguished Sunday's voice raised in warning. He was shouting with distended lungs that I was on no account to leave the slab. A light broke in upon me; my sin must have something to do with the stone I now stood upon.

I sat down and pretended to read; perhaps a mask of indifference might slow up the brown wave.

The howling lost its tenor but lost none of its fierceness. "The King! The King!" howled the pack in the rear.

Narbusa came striding majestically along, his huge body straight and tall, his entire harem in his wake—a sturdy procession of elderly dames. Behind them trailed his sons and daughters and other close relatives.

He raised a hand and immediately became the center of a milling group in yelping palaver. Things looked bad and I felt more than apprehensive—I knew natives well enough to know that my life thread was suspended between the brown palms of the royal hands.

I had not been long enough on the island to pick up more than a few words of their lingo. So I was pretty much in the dark as to what the King said. Without shame I said a swift prayer that the friendly old monarch would not leave me in the lurch. If ever royal favor was needed it was now.

The King broke away from the concourse and began to advance toward me. Then, quite without thought, I began to march toward him.

But Sunday cried out: "Master, you stay stone—soon all right."

I stepped back, waited. Narbusa greeted me with a smile, grasped my hand in white man's fashion. I breathed easier and drew a left hand across a wet brow.

Narbusa's example of friendship had its effects on his subjects. There was still furtive murmuring among the devil-priests but no actual show of hostility. Walking in state behind his massive Majesty I was safely convoyed to the store-room.

There I presented his Highness with the largest looking-glass in my collection as a token of my gratitude and esteem. He went away, highly pleased.

Sunday came rushing in to me, his eyes wide and staring. I pounced upon him and finally made out the nature of my crime.

I was a desecrator of graves—a criminal of the lowest order. If I had been a native I would have been murdered as soon as discovered in my iniquity. He was greatly relieved at my escape and still in a bit of a lather.

At great length in execrable English he patiently explained that the devil's grave was tabu—to go near it was an offense punishable by death. Only my white blood and the King's intervention had saved me. Yes, it was a devil's grave—was it not a fact that all men became devil-spirits as soon as they died? Assuredly it was a devil's grave. Sunday was volubly unintelligible but I got his drift.

I had been discovered actually sleeping with the devil-spirit! The curious young maid who had crept after me had so reported to the horrified population of Pingelap. Sunday actually shuddered as the thought of my action. The island had turned out to a man—and a woman—to oview this unbelievable of a white man communing with the evil spirits. It was true! With their own eyes they saw it. And the trouble started.

What had the King told them, I queried. The King had said they were not to hurt me—that the devil-spirits themselves would surely kill me in a short time anyway. Also, said Sunday, the devil-priests were greatly annoyed—I must watch myself in the near future to see that they did me no injury; having prophesied my death they might be expected to try and speed matters along to a successful conclusion.

I promised to keep a sharp lookout because of the affair; but the incident was soon forgotten and the priests showed me no open enmity.

The cupidity of a white man brought me much closer to tragedy than my snooze with the devil. Cunning and treachery were almost to end my career in the South Seas before it was well begun.

Early one March morning in 1879, a ship lifted out of the horizon and kept 'off and on' some distance from the shore. Anxious for news and the sight of a white man I determined to pay the craft a visit. After paddling for more than two hours the natives brought me alongside the strange vessel—a large American topsail schooner.

I climbed on aboard. The Captain introduced himself as Thomas Brown¹ and was very cordial. He took me below for a chat and refreshments. I was surprised, since it was growing late, that the skipper did not wear ship and put in for the beach. In fact, the course of the ship was gradually veering from the land; the low-lying atoll had almost begun to dip below the sea line.

Still the Captain talked on. He was showing a suspicious anxiety in his desire to know who I was trading for and how much copra I had on hand. After a while he made a tentative, half-veiled proposition that I should sell him the firm's copra and take free passage with him to San Francisco. With charming logic he explained that a sharp young man like myself was wasting life and talents on an island among 'a passel of savages'; he knew that in the States I was certain to prosper. There were still great stores of gold in California, he said wisely.

Naturally I refused; I might be no end of a fool to bury myself in such a place, I said hotly, but I was no rogue. He grinned and seemed to take no offense.

My one anxiety now was to have the schooner put in toward the land and allow me to go ashore. The breeze had strengthened, the sea was rougher and it was growing dark. There was no moon and still the ship stood out to sea.

I made the deck, the Captain close behind. He made no active move for my detention; just laughed and said he was sorry we didn't see eye to eye. Walking over to the rail, I looked for my canoe. It was still bobbing about below me and the faces of the natives were looking up out of the gloom anxiously.

I started to mount the rail. That was the last moment of actual consciousness I knew for thirty hours.

Late the next morning my loyal natives told me what had occurred. As I collapsed over the rail my body slid off into the sea. Two of my men fished me out in the gathering black, put me in the bottom of the canoe. They experienced much difficulty in getting me ashore through the surf and the night.

All through the darkness and the next day I lay in a heavy stupor. The schooner stood in toward the shore at dawn; a boat was sent ashore by the skipper with copra sacks. This crew of rascals started to bag my copra for transfer to the ship.

The natives were greatly perturbed; they could not fathom my condition but they blamed the men on the schooner. They were also determined the thieves should not get

1 Ed. note: A fake name. This ship was perhaps the *Julia* of Hawaii, or else the three-masted schooner *Venus*, Captain Cummins (see Doc. 1880C) that arrived at Jaluit on 9 June 1880..

my copra. Narbusa was most fearful that, if anything happened to me, it might never be able to persuade another trader to make his quarters on Pingelap.

Things were ugly for a while. The natives drove the crew from my copra house and into the sea; the islanders threatened to smash in their boat if they did not stand out at once. This could have been easily done; there was only one tiny, dangerous passage between the outer reef and the shore and this was only negotiable at certain stages of the tide.

The knave of a Captain cursed and swore an ordinary and honorable business transaction—that he had bought the stuff from me. But they were not convinced. “You bad man,” Sunday had informed him with great conviction.

I dragged myself weakly up at dawn of the second day and crawled out on a tour of personal investigation. Sure enough, my copra had been bagged and sewn. I was slightly the gainer by the incompleting transaction; they did not get my copra but I did get their bags.

When my mind had cleared somewhat I was puzzled to advance a reason that would explain my tumble into the sea. There was only one logical conclusion—I had been drugged.

I could never persuade myself that my collapse could have been caused by the long pull in the hot sun on a jerky sea. I was always in perfect physical shape and used to every phase of outdoor existence.

During the two hours on board the marausing schooner I smoked a cigar and drank two glasses of beer with my treacherous host; the beer must have been tampered with.

There is no doubt in my mind that if I had proved dishonest enough to sell Henderson and MacFarlane’s copra and did a get, I would never have been paid for it nor would I ever have reached my supposed destination. The sharks would probably have come in for a few extra bites.

Life was isolated enough on Pingelap, God knows, but two of facts serve to make it worse. I had failed to tell my people where I was going (indeed, the Pingelap venture had been made on the spur of the moment) and my firm persisted foolishly in dispatching my mail on ships that never came my way at all.

I had some few books and I read them over many times. One I remember very distinctly—“Our Mutual Friend.” I also had two volumes of Shakespeare, Captain Marryat’s “Monsieur Violet”, “The Gilded Age” by Mark Twain and Judge Warren, and two more volumes by Miss E. M. Braddon. I managed to exchange this assorted reading material with a passing ship—I retained the Shakespeare volumes.

In the exchange was part of a fair-sized pamphlet describing the “Battle of Dorking.” This pamphlet lacked first and last pages. I recall with a smile that the loss of beginning and ending caused me much mental anguish and I worried about it a good deal. It is the trivial thing, I found, that bulks large in the life of a dweller in the remote places.

A dramatic yarn that came my way in the Carolines was the story of Johnny Higgins, soldier of fortune. He was a wild character who had spent some time on one of the Line Islands. Higgins had an itching foot and he finally managed to get passage to Pingelap on a whaler.

This happened ten years before my arrival there and I learned the details from Sunday. One day, sometimes after Higgins reached Pingelap, a Gilbert Islander drifted in from sea, weak and almost starved. Johnny befriended the wayfarer and even took him into his own home.

Love of the bottle was the most overwhelming sin of the many to which this member of the Higgins clan was heir. He was a great toper. But alcohol changed him from a friendly, warm-hearted man to a raging fiend. He was capable of any sudden frenzy—hile in his cups.

Two weeks after he had taken the native into his home, Johnny Higgins got roary drunk on some potent liquor made from his own still. Immediately things began to happen. Higgins set his ferocious dog on the Gilbert Islander for some drink-fancied slight. The native promptly killed the dog and turned on his one-time benefactor. He slit Johnny's belly up to the navel with a big knife and then ran amuck.

In his trail of sudden murder the native left two dead women and then he began a wholesome butchery of Johnny's children. During this insane moment he was set upon and killed by the men of Pingelap. They were of a mind to slay Higgins's wife, too, since she was also a Gilbert Islander. But her life was saved by Lamato, a young chief, who hid her away in the bush for a time.

When I came to the island she was living with Lamato as his wife; he seemed very fond of her and had no other woman in his harem. The Higgins' children were not in evidence; probably the crazed Gilbert Islander had killed the lot of them before he went down.

Soon after Higgins' death a whaler arrived whose Captain claimed he was the dead man's brother. Upon being informed of the murder he was abusively angry, demanded all details and finally ordered that all of Johnny's possessions be brought on board.

Among the articles transferred to the ship was a bag full of silver dollars. As this was lifted aboard it fell on the deck and burst. A cascading shower of dollars scattered about in a twenty-foot circle. Officers and crew alike dropped to their knees and fought over the money—all but the Captain who cursed and threatened them. The natives stood calmly by, puzzled by the strange sight and quite unaware of the value of the littered coins.

A short time after Johnny's alleged brother had decamped with the Higgins' gear and dollars, a stranger sailed over from Ponape. He was a Portuguese and familiar with the Pingelap language.

This newcomer asked many and sundry questions in regard to the deceased Higgins and the natives became suspicious of his intentions. A secret watch was kept on the man. He had not been four weeks on the island when they caught him digging up Hig-

gins' grave one moonlit night. He made a lucky bolt and got clear in a canoe before they speared him.

It was discovered that Higgins wore a very valuable ring; this bit of jewelry was the lure that the Portuguese used to dig up the body. The natives buried Johnny Higgins again and to this day the ring circles a finger to dust in the heart of the lonely coral isle.

[A story of Bully Hayes]

One evening, a year after my arrival on Pingelap, I was seated on the platform of my house talking to a Manila native named Soulic. This fellow, with his snappy, guttural speech and kindly ways, had been with the redoubtable Bully Hayes for nearly two years and could tell many an authentic yarn about that nomadic rascal.

Soulic was relating an incident that occurred during his service with Hayes. Bully had returned from one of his numerous filibustering cruises without success; when his wife boarded the ship at Apia he informed her that, though he had had no luck, he had secured something for her that would come in handy and should please her very much.

Mrs. Hayes was consequently quite delighted and demanded to see what he had at once. With solemn face he produced a case on the deck and opened it for her. It contained absolutely nothing but chambers for infant's use.

The Captain's wife was middle-aged and the mother of grown-up children. She picked up Hayes' treasure trove, piece by piece, and angrily threw them overboard while Bully looked on in vast enjoyment of his joke.

[Death by Oa poisoning?]

While Soulic was telling me this anecdote I suddenly lost control of my limbs and pitched directly forward, unconscious. He had me carried into the house and, with Sunday's aid, watched over me for three days. I grew no better and lay in a deep coma, being aware of my surroundings only at brief intervals.

Then the faithful Soulic was stricken. Inside of an hour he was dead. It was a great shock to me in my dazed state to realize that the kindly fellow was no more. My care now entirely devolved on Sunday and one old woman.

I do not know to this day what strange malady gripped me. It has always been my thought that perhaps the drug given me by that rascally skipper was poison, that because I was young and strong I threw off its effects and that later it led to this inevitable and far-reaching conclusion. Still, this deduction would not account for Soulic's sudden seizure; he seemed to abruptly lose all use of his limbs just as I had done. Not one of the other natives became afflicted.¹

The moment before I had been stricken I was as fit as a fiddle and chuckling over Soulic's yarn. Now I was weak as a cat, could not sit up and was even unable to turn over without help. I thought my brain was clear but the natives assured me afterwards that at times I had been delirious.

1 Ed. note: Compare with Louis Becke's tale about Oa poisoning, Doc. 1874J2.

I was most anxious to write out my last message on a slate but did not have the strength. Although so feeble, my brain grew abnormally keen. I could even distinguish the voice of the rooster who crowed first in the dawn to the voices of the others who crowed in rotation. Above all, I was lonely; I longed for the comradeship and association with men of my own tongue and color. I suffered no physical pain and, although I must have slept at times, I was not aware of it. Nor was I aware of the flight of time. For two months I lay there, unable to move hand or foot, and steadily I grew weaker.

The natives were most considerate. They did their best to tempt me to eat. Sunday and the old woman attended me with the greatest faithfulness.

It was only the devil-priests that I feared and Sunday could not stay their unwelcome attentions. They were continually bleeding me with their shark-tooth lances. When my extremities became absolutely numbed they tried to revive life in them by burning me with the miniature coconut torches they had used on Sunday during his illness. I was too ill to resist their ministrations and had to lie and be tortured.

I believe they were really well-meaning in all their efforts. Seeing I was making no improvement, they would try and console me by predicting at just what stage of the moon and tide I should pass out. When one of them would feretell that I should die with the waning of the moon or the outgoing of the tide I was deadly afraid he would attempt to make his prophecy come true in order to maintain his prestige.

If a devil-priest had decreed the same thing with a native, even though the subject of the decree was in good health, that native would most surely have died. I have seen that happen innumerable times in my six decades in the South Seas. A native wills himself to die with exactly the same intensity that a white man, during a serious illness, wills himself to live.

Thus I lay in this state of perfectly helpless and hopeless coma for what to me was indefinite eternity. Then, suddenly, as all miracles happen, I became vaguely aware of a white man bending over me. He was holding my hand and shaking his head thoughtfully. Somehow the very sight of him revived me. I attempted to speak but my voice was an inaudible whisper that lacked strength to give it meaning. He saw I was conscious and he patted me lightly on the head.

"Cheer up, my lad," he rumbled. "You'll pull through without any more trouble. We'll soon have some good food in you."

Those words put new heart in me and I dropped contently off into a refreshing sleep. I awoke to find an angel at my side—a motherly white woman who was persuading me to sip some cordial she had prepared on a little spirits of wine stove she had brought with her. She told the natives how to treat me, made me as comfortable as she could, and gave me more cordial before she departed.

From that moment my recovery was certain; in place of dull apathy and no thought for the future I felt the desire to live again within me. The devil-doctors knew I would live, also, and they stood to lose much manna through that recovery.

That I am alive today is due to Captain Heppingstone of the barque **Fleetwing**, Martha's Vineyard, New Bedford, Mass. [sic].¹ For some months he had been cruising about of the South Seas in search of sperm whales but without success. The skipper had made up his mind to sail for the Arctic Ocean. Before going North he had prolonged his tropic cruise for a few days on the lean chance of sighting a sperm-whale or two.

His course brought him close to Pingelap. Still, he had no intention of landing since he intended to give his men a good run ashore at Ponape before sailing to colder seas. Ponape in those days was called the "The Sailor's Paradise" and whalers were of resorting there to take on supplies of fresh meat and vegetables and give the men a holiday ashore; Apia was a similar Mecca.

Whale-ships would often leave for a two or three years cruise. The men would receive no regular wage but a share in the proceeds, a "lay", as it was termed. A lucky whaler made big money and often the skipper would be chosen for his quality of "lucky whaleman" rather than his ability as a navigator. If a ship got the reputation of being unlucky there might be difficulty in getting a crew; that could sometimes be remedied by putting a "lucky whaleman" in command. During the tropical part of the cruise it was customary for the Captain to carry his wife—and sometimes his children—aboard. When it was time to leave for the Arctic the wife and family would be landed at some port in Japan or elsewhere. From thence they would sail in some other home-bound craft and await the whaler's return.

When the natives saw the **Fleetwing** standing 'off and on'—there was no anchorage at Pingelap—some of them pulled out in a canoe. Shouting up, they informed Captain Heppingstone there was a dying white man ashore. At once he jumped into the canoe and came in with them.

After seeing me he went back aboard and told his good wife I was in a dangerously low condition, apparently due more to lack of good food than actual ailment. This was true; the malady had run its course and it was proper nourishment I needed. She came to me immediately; it was the timely arrival of these kindly people that meant life or death to me.

The barque cruised off the island for some time. During that interval their act of mercy had some material reward—they caught a good-sized sperm-whale. I stayed on shore several days, ate ravenously of well-prepared food and gained in strength. I took on needed weight and managed to hobble about a bit on crude crutches. Then I made up my mind that when they had tried out their blubber and everything was snug, I would go with them. If I remained on the island I was afraid my sickness might return—that if I went without the nourishing food I was now provided with I might not entirely recover.

So one day I was carried aboard the **Fleetwing**. I left my trade in charge of the natives and particularly instructed them to deliver everything in good shape to Captain

¹ Ed. note: Actually, Captain Heppingstone was then whaling out of San Francisco.

Harris on his return. Under no condition were they to enter the store-room or disturb its contents until the **Belle Brandon** appeared.

As the outline of Pingelap dropped into the sea I knew a sudden transition from Hell to Paradise. I had been at death's door and I had seen the portal open; now, I was among my own people, speaking my own tongue, able to use white man's furniture and enjoy white man's food.

There was another delightful surprise in this new Heaven. The Captain's daughter proved to be a charming girl of seventeen. She was witty and bright and gay and her companionship was a continual joy to me.¹

Aboard the **Fleetwing** was a harmonium and both mother and daughter played. The hymns of Moody and Ira D. Sankey were favorites then; I used to lie at ease on the settee in the Captain's cabin and listen to the lovely girl play and sing such hymns as "There is a Land that is Brighter than Day," "Safe in the Arms of Jesus," and "Hold the Fort, for I am Coming." The Heppingstones were very religious, God-fearing people; on Sundays we drifted about under easy canvas or merely clewed-up sail.

I became veery much attached to my new friends and also the men. The crew was a motley crowd. The mate was a big Scot, his boat-steerer was a Shetland Islander, the rest were Swedes, black Portuguese from the Cape Verde group, Mexicans, Peruvians and Hawaiian Islanders. They got on very well together and each man seemed to ride a favorite hobby. One painted whale's teeth and sea-shells with marines—usually ships under full sail. Another carved whale's teeth very cleverly. A third carved all kinds of wood, collected at different ports of call, into animals, ships and men. These last were very well done and he sometimes sold them for a good price to his mates or people at various places. If I recall correctly, each member of the crew received a "120th. lay." for his share of the voyage's profit.

After a few weks longer the Captain concluded to sail for the Arctic without further delay. He was first to land his wife and daughter in Japan so they could return to New Bedford.² Naturally I wished to ship with him in any capacity but he was sure the cold weather of northern climes would be the death of me in my present condition.

Regretfully I concurred with him. Though recovering, I was still weak, and found it necessary to use my improvised crutches. We were then close to Mokil and I asked to be landed there; I expected to be picked up by a boat from New Zealand.

From the beach at Mokil I waved long at the departing **Fleetwing**. I was still but a boy; she carried dear friends away from me and it is my nature to regret the loss of a friend more than the loss of a fortune. Soon her sails dipped into the blue and I saw her no more...

The natives of Pingelap played a shabby trick on me when the **Belle Brandon** returned. They told Captain Harris I had become sick, been picked up by a whaler, and

1 Ed. note: He name was Adaline. Her diary of the 1882 voyage is extant.

2 Ed. note: Rather, San Francisco.

taken all my firm's trade with me. The last was, of course, a lie. They merely divided the contents of the store-room among themselves. Harris was extremely puzzled about the affair and suspected them of some duplicity; still, he could prove nothing.

The direct result of their declarations was that I lost all the wages coming to me, also my commission. I have been dogged by hurricane and disaster many times in my life but this occurrence was probably my first bankruptcy.

In the early months of 1880 the **Belle Brandon**, after touching at Pingelap, came to Mokil. I was overjoyed to see her and Captain Harris, who believed me dead, was very glad to see me. He heard my story and was convinced of its truth. However, he thought no good would come of confronting the natives with their double-dealing; he considered Pingelap no longer safe for me.

My plans were then made to return to the head-station at Majuro, via the **Belle Brandon**, and from thence to New Zealand.

Our next port of call was Ponape. This island had some magnificently colossal ruins that have attracted the attention of many scientists. I might mention that it had other attractions for our crew; these attractions were not as cold as ancient ruins or as scientific.

On Ponape I met several characters well-known to the islands in those vanished years. Captain Rodd was one of the outstanding figures—an active little terrier of a man with one eye, one arm, and a great scar on his head. Rodd once staged a desperate battle for his life in the blood-thirsty Solomon Islands where a band of natives had tried to capture his vessel. In the struggle a native made a vicious slash at him with a heavy island knife. Rodd raised his hand to protect his head; the knife sheared straight through and into his right eye.

This roving chap was always on the move and never satisfied if he was long in one place. He had been apprentice on the mission brig **Camden** in 1839, when John Williams had been slain by the natives at Erromanga.

When I first met him he was putting a very neat patch on a pair of pants. His spectacles had only one glass; they were tied together with a bit of boot-lace. It was most amusing—almost mystifying—to see him thread his needle: he would stick it in his shirt on the stump of his arm and as close to the shoulder as possible; then he would turn his head around, close in, and lo, a needle was threaded.

Some of the white men on Ponape had sailed with **Ben Pease** and **Bully Hayes**, the freebooters. Other residents of some permanency had been aboard whalers during the American Civil War.

The Southern Federate States sent the cruiser **Shenandoah** to these waters during that period. Knowing Ponape to be a rendez-vous for American whaling ships the wily Captain of the **Shenandoah** set his course for there. His utterly unexpected call caused surprise and bitter dismay to four American vessels then in port. These Northern ships were trapped; they were forced to surrender without a blow being struck or a shot fired.

The crews with their belongings were ordered ashore by the officers of the **Shenandoah**. That night the four American whalers went up in flames.

Some of the men thus cast away had left as soon as possible; but some grew to love the island, rich with its tropical fruits, vegetables, delightful climate and charming native maids. Many married and settle down to live out their span in the land of ease and sunshine.

One of the latter chaps was Captain Eldridge. He had commanded one of the shalers burned by the Southern cruiser.¹ Eldridge preferred to settle on Ponape rather than to return to the States, then at war. As a matter of cold fact, Eldridge's ship need never to have been lost to him. It was owned by Dowsett of Honolulu and flew the Hawaiian flag. Hawaii was then independent. But the fiery Eldridge was a Yankee of the Yankees and chose to hoist the Stars and Stripes to the masthead when the gloating **Shenandoah** bored her nose into Ponape waters. He struck to his burning ship until he could stay no longer—then he swam ashore.

Eldridge was now making a living by piloting and supplying ships of call with native produce. He had made one memorable trip as mate² with Bully Hayes and told many tales about that marauding gentleman. Eldridge was a quiet, easy-going chap with no bent for rascality and he had no use at all for Hayes.

Another very queer fish was Lying Jack Smith. There were two other famous Jack Smiths knocking about the islands then—Whistling Jack and Scandalous Jack. Lying Jack was a real artist when it came to tall tales of his personal exploits by land or sea. He had taken part in piracies, made people walk the plank, fought hords of Indians single-handed, defeated numberless head-hunters at close quarters, killed his man in every port, and rescued maidens in distress—to hear him tell it. But Lying Jack was the only soul credulous enough to swallow such yarns; he had repeated them so often he believed them and always delivered the stories to the public with firm conviction. Those who professed to have known him before his South Seas debut said that he spent most of his life washing dishes in a San Francisco hotel. As for firearms—he did not know one end of a gun from the other.

When the **Belle Brandon** left Ponape, Captain Harris set our course for the Mortlocks. On the way we stopped at two tiny atolls. One of them was a small lagoon-island called Nugora [Nukuoro]. Our ship did not anchor here but kept 'off and on' for a short time; I did not go ashore. The trader, James Currie, boarded us. He was the father of James Currie whom I was to know so well in Samoa. The natives followed him off in beautifully-polished canoes; some of them even carried their idols with them. No missionaries had yet invaded this dot on the Pacific and the inhabitants still had their heathen temple and their devil-priests.

1 Ed. note: Captain J. P. Eldridge had commanded the whaler **Harvest**.

2 Ed. note: Aboard the **Malolo**.

From Nugora we called at Saturn [rather Satoan], Namoluk, and another island in the Mortlocks; then we touched at Namorik and Ebon. At the latter isle we met the mission ship **Morning Star**, Captain Bray still in command. One of the missionaries aboard was Hiram Bingham, the father of Senator Bingham.

While on Pingelap I had received from the **Morning Star** a bundle of magazines, including some church periodicals. I recall how one of these told how Bully Hayes had been converted by the Rev. Dr. Snow, missionary on Strong's Island. This miracle occurred when the fast-thinking Hayes had lost his brig **Leonora**, and been forced to remain on Strong's Island (Kusaie) for some months [in 1877]. One could trust Hayes to make every effort to put himself in well with the missionaries under those circumstances.

Some time later the **Belle Brandon** reached Majuro. I was assigned to some light tasks about the station, awaiting the arrival of the big ship. Nearly two months later she arrived—the **Falcon**, Captain Hayward, a two-hundred ton, three-masted schooner with yards on the foremast.

There were but two passengers aboard: W. H. Henderson and John Marshall, the latter a well-known Auckland sportsman. Today [1934] he is the only other survivor of that voyage made in the long ago.

George Henderson and Captain James Robinson came on board with me at Majuro. The crew consisted of Mr. Hinty, the mate, a combination cook and steward named Wilcocks, two white sailors, four Solomon Islanders, three Niueans, and Ernst, a ship's-boy from the Auckland training-ship.

The **Falcon** weighed anchor almost immediately and we began calling in on several islands. After cruising about for some time the ship was still only about half full. It was then decided by Mr. Henderson that we should call in at Apamama in the Gilbert or Kingsmill Islands and there try to deal in copra with King Timbunuka [sic], the famous "Autocrat of the South Seas."

This mission was somewhat in the nature of a gamble for a very simple reason; no trader had ever yet been certain as to his reception by Timbunuka—even if the King proved cordial it was no guarantee that he would continue so for more than a few hours. He was a law unto himself, this atoll autocrat, and he traded only as his soverienq whim dictated.

As we neared the island a native pilot put off and guided us to an anchorage a reasonable distance off-shore. He informed us briefly that a Yankee schooner had departed only the day before; also that the entire island was still enjoying a hilarious spree made possible by the liquor purchased from this vessel. We shrugged our shoulders collectively and prepared to wait.

We lay at anchor forty-eight hours before we were visited by any other native save the pilot and his two paddlers. Nearly everyone on board grew pretty restive under this display of indifference.

In the afternoon of the second day a boat, well-manned by natives, put off from shore; it was steered by a massive individual dressed in European clothes. Our patience was about to be rewarded. It was none other than His Majesty in person.

The craft came smartly alongside and the rooyal gangway was passed on board—because of his gigantic bulk the monarch never trusted himself on any unproved ship's gangway.

Up he came. If Black Tom loomed in my memory as a big man, this arrival was a monster; he was the biggest man I have ever seen and he must have weighed, conservatively, three hundred and twenty five pounds.

King Timbunuka's palm-beach suit would have made three suits for three ordinary men; his bare feet resembled nothing so much as the outriggers of fishing-canoes. When he finally came over the side and reared his huge form erect on the deck I felt like a half-grown child in the presence of a giant.

He was received with fitting respect by the Captain and the owner and was invited to try a bottle of champagne. The King tasted the drink, spat it out, and said in perfect English: "You call this champagne? I call it a bad brand of apple-cider!" Apparently offended by the quality of the **Falcon's** liquid refreshments, he called his boat preparatory to ging ashore.

It was a case of speedy thinking. Henderson made a great show of indignation at the steward's stupidity in bringing the wrong kind of drink and complimented the King roundly on his keen perception of the matter. A bottle of real champagne was produced and opened. The monarch became quite mollified when informed that the inferior liquor offered him by mistake was the stuff served to ignorant kinglets who did not appreciate quality and swilled down any sickly miture as long as it was sweet.

Next Henderson offered the island connoisseur a cigar. Timbunuka examined it carefully before he lit it. He took a few puffs, made a wry face, and tossed it overboard.

"When I go ashore," he promised the Captain courteously, "I shall send you a bo of cigars of really good flavor."

It was not long before he became quite affable; the numerous drinks he had taken seemed to have no other visible effect. He took a great liking to Harry Henderson who was a handsome chap of thity-five then. With continued good humor he remarked that before the ship sailed he would bring his wives on board to dine with Harry; as a special mark of favor he would also make arangements to bring the dowager-queen.

Good fellowship now being the order of the day, the subject of business would be diplomatically broached. He casually agreed to give us the contents of three of his copra-houses—two at Apamama and one at Kuria. Despite the fact that Henderson must entertain the King's seventeen wives, his mother, and the maids of honor, there would still be a handsome profit from the copra.

To keep the royal gentleman in his present humor, Henderson gave him a fine threadle sewing-machine. Surprisingly, His Majesty declined the gift. He informed his host that he owned so many sewing-machines he was using them as anchors for fish-

ing-canoes. Timbunuka blandly suggested that if the Captain had a few anchors he would be delighted to let him have a few sewing-machines in exchange.

The natives were to start shipping copra the next day. Things progressed slowly; many of the islanders seemed still to be suffering from the results of their prolonged spree. The one idea of both owner and Captain was to get that copra on board as soon as possible—before the King could change his mind.

The Captain made some leading remark to Timbunuka in regard to the slowness with which His Majesty's orders were being obeyed. Immediately the King picked up a Winchester and began to fire at random over the copra-house where the natives were engaged in carrying the sacked material down to the boat.

The workers began to move pretty fast at this display of monarchical temper and no loafing was apparent thereafter. "I don't want to kill any of them," observed the King, "but they must move swiftly when I want them to."

Later he invited the Captain and passengers ashore. As he showed us about, I got a good chance to look through his store-rooms. Never have I seen such a valuable and useless collection jumbled together. Stored with cases of wines and spirits were music-boxes, sewing-machines, cases of tinned provisions, swords, knives, revolvers, a baby-carriage, umbrellas, barrels of beef, fine silver-mounted Mexican saddles (on an island that had never seen a horse), anvils, copper boilers, kegs of nails, two unstrung violins, and a host of other articles quite useless to him—even down to a ship's chronometer.

Anything that captured the royal fancy must be possessed. If he took it into his head that he wanted a handsome pier-glass hanging in the saloon-cabin, have it he would, no matter how reluctant the owner might be. All further business with the ship stopped until His Majesty received the coveted whim of the moment.

The second man, a sea-captain named Harry Smith, was a British-naturalized Swede. He was known as "Flash Harry", possessed a very confiding nature, and was one of those happy-go-lucky spendthrifts who never knew the meaning or value of money. He spent all he had freely; but when cleaned out, anything you lent him he would regard as his own 'for keeps.' The fellow simply had no sense of personal obligation.

In those days Flash Harry stood high in the Councils of the King he was known by all the traders as Primer Minister of Apamama. But there came a time when the open-handed and care-free Harry fell from grace. King Timbunuka purchased an Auckland-built brigantine, the **Coronet**, and promptly appointed Harry skipper. The vessel was sent to Auckland to unload copra, and make some necessary repairs.

Unfortunately, the irresponsible Harry chose this moment to go on a spree. When Harry did a thing he did it whole hog or none. With generous thoughtlessness he blew in the lot—cargo, stores, and ship. He had a pretty gay time while it lasted. Finally the boat was seized for debt and Flash Harry became a shipless Captain.

In 1880 [rather 1881] Harry was a passenger with me on board the topsail schooner **Ryno** from Auckland. He was then on the way back after betraying the King's trust. Royal favor was denied him, however, and Harry became an outcast from Apamama. Years later he settled in Fiji; then he came to Samoa and married a Samoan woman.

Old residents still remember him and his easy-going nature. He died some time ago at Manua.

In those days the number of boats bartering goods for copra from group to group was very large. Competition was keen and it was a soft snap and assured fortune if a trader could win his ways into the good graces of the King of Apamama. To achieve that goal devices of every kind were tried. One man even laid down a carpet on the deck for the King to walk upon; others mustered their crews and had them at salute when the sovereign heaved himself aboard. Another fired a salute when the royal craft left the shore.

The notorious Bully Hayes once invited Timbunuka on board the **Leonora** and attempted to get him drunk. Hayes, who was really not a drinking man, pretended to be well under the weather; he danced and sang and kept the King in appreciative roars of merriment. At what he considered the opportune moment, Hayes brought up the business angle. The King suddenly stopped laughing, got up, complimented Bully on his ability as an actor, and went ashore.

In thirty minutes His Majesty sent off an official order to the effect that Hayes must leave port immediately and that anyone landing from the **Leonora** would be dealt with by the Royal bodyguard.

The day after Timbunuka's first visit to the **Falcon** he came on board again. This time his wives accompanied him. We all admired the despot's taste in the selection of his harem; they were certainly the loveliest women to be found on the isles of his realm. They were quite quiet and orderly, also, and appeared to regard their lord and master as a most exalted ruler.

He fulfilled his promise and brought the queen-mother who was very old. She had some beautiful girls with her as personal attendants. It was currently reported that the old lady was a great drinker who possessed remarkable assimilative qualities. Liquor had no effect on her except to make her irritable; in those moments she was reported to fly off the handle and raise particular Cain.

A negro in our crew who had been raised as an European was assigned to look out for the old dowager's comfort—possibly because he knew the language. This fellow was a great drinker himself and clearly welcomed the opportunity of having nip for nip with the old lady.

This negro, Donald, was mightily indignant when he learned that Harry Henderson had bet John Marshall the gin would floor the dark master of ceremonies before the Queen felt its potency. The more the negro brooded on this affront the more determined to show his superiority in the Battle of Tankards.

A large number of delicious pies, baked specially by the French chef for the Queen-dowager, had been brought on board when the visitors arrived. The old lady consumed countless numbers of these small pastries and took nip after nip of gin. Donald kept pace with her but it was evident from his glassy eyes the strain was beginning to tell on him. Finally the Queen grew tired of merely tantalizing her thirst. She picked up a bottle of square-faced gin and gurgled every drop down her throat. At this discouraging ex-

hibition Donald rolled off the main-hatch into the scuppers, dead to the world. From thence he was lifted up, a beaten man, and carried to his bunk.

The old lady seemed none the worse for wear although she became a bit garrulous with her lovely attendants. She even up-ended the empty bottle speculatively to see if there was a nip left. Shortly afterward, however, she fell suddenly silent and hiccupped once or twice. The liquor was evidently having an argument with the rich pastries. Again she hiccupped—this time the warring elements surged out into the open. With great haste the maids of honor escorted Her Majesty's to the **Falcon's** rail and tenderly supported her there for some minutes. Half an hour later the Queen-mother was enjoying another bottle of square-faced gin.

The royal family of Apamama had certainly become acquainted with European luxuries and customs—to the abuse of most of them. I recall the yarn relating how the King gave up tobacco and then cleverly circumvented his pledge.

It has been mentioned that Timbunuka would have no dealings with missionaries, the annual visit of the **Morning Star** found him more adamant than Narbusa, King of Pingelap. But one year the Rev. Hiram Bingham discovered him in a pleasantly alcoholic mood and made Timbunuka promise to give up smoking. This was a great concession to wring from him; he had never been known to break his word but at the same time he was inordinately fond of his pandanus-leaf cigarettes.

Here the King's ingenuity came into play. He discovered a method to keep to the letter of his word and at the same time relish the cast-out sin. His wives, many of them smoking, would be seated round him in one of the rooms of the house he used as a palace. Every now and then he would clap his hands. At once one of his wives would approach him, bend over and blow a thick cloud of smoke into his mouth.

Then Timbunuka, King of Apamama, Aranuka, and Kuria, would blow the smoke through his nostrils with a deep sigh of pious content.

CHAPTER VIII [BULLY HAYES,] THE LAST OF THE BUCCANEERS

The ill-famed name of one man runs like a sinister refrain through all my memories of those vanished years. That man was Hayes, nicknamed "Bully", about whose career something resembling a literature has sprung up.

Most of what has been written is only distorted romancing without factual foundation; this bosh has been advanced by men who knew nothing but hearsay about their subject. Usually this information was twentieth hand, 'doctored' to suit the narrator's sense of values, and often it came straight from the imagination of someone who deliberately pulled the author's leg.

Admittedly I never met Hayes myself; he was killed about the time I arrived in the Marshalls [in 1877]. But I met and talked with scores who had sailed with him or suffered his rascalities. The story of his death I heard first-hand from the man who killed

him, a Hollander. Years later I heard it from the Samoan who stood at the tiller when Hayes was being killed. These accounts, tritely enough, dove-tailed. Members of his crew recounted numberless exploits of their leader to me, many traders of my acquaintance had been defrauded by his smooth practices and occasionally his mailed fist.

Notorious as Hayes was, there were men equally disreputable roving the South Seas in the last half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Hayes' predatory eminence is probably not due so much to Satanic merit as to the permanent fact that he carried on lawlessness at a period when the reign of law was being extended over those regions. He was, in a way, the last of the buccaneers. It was the lateness rather than the outstanding evil of his exploits that had caused him to be remembered when many other freebooters of a slightly earlier time are almost forgotten.

There is no doubt that he was a merciless blackguard who could be charming if he chose. When he wished it, he could be most agreeable, could sing a good song, tell a good story, and was a most amusing companion. In short, he was saint or demon as the whim moved him or the circumstances dictated.

The late Mr. Arvold of Samoa was a staunch friend of Hayes. Bully, for his part, never took offense at Alvord's occasional plain speaking. Although Hayes cheated my old friend Alfred Restiaux, he never treated him as he did others similarly placed in his power. The late Louis Becke also speaks well of Bully in his books.

I remember Becke. He was a harum-scarum, full of the love of adventure and ever on the lookout for new experiences. When excited he stuttered badly but even with this handicap he was a gifted story-teller. He published a great number of stories and sketches of the islands; they were realistic and written by a man who understood native life and customs. His first book, "Under Reef and Palm," a volume of short stories, appeared originally in the Sydney *Sunday Bulletin*. Rolf Boldrewood's "Modern Buccaneer" was really compiled from material supplied by Becke. Boldrewood spun a love tale into it and slightly altered the names of some of the characters. Hayes, for instance, is changed to "Hayston."

Becke has always steadfastly maintained that Hayes was far less of a rascal than his reputation gives him credit for and that many of his tricks were mere practical jokes. Still, he could not deny but that Hayes possessed a fiendish temper. His stories of Bully are authentic enough. He was with the nomadic rascal for some time and was wrecked with him on Kusaie when the *Leonora* was sunk [in 1874].

Hayes must have treated him with particular consideration—probably Bully was a human enough scoundrel to treat his friends well. Becke claims he was on board as supercargo—but fails to mention what sort of trade they had on board for the natives. I have an idea that Becke, who was well-known and liked by the islanders, was there to lend an air of respectability to the piratical brig.

During the months they were marooned on Kusaie after the shipwreck, the crew and motley passengers got out of hand and kicked up Hell's delight. Hayes, realizing his position, cunningly played up to the Rev. Mr. Snow, the American missionary on the island. As I have previously mentioned, both Mr. and Mrs. Snow afterwards published

in their church journal the astounding news that the freebooter had been converted and was a changed man. All who knew Hayes or had ever come into contact with him set it down as either a ruse or a modern miracle.

The Captain of the British ship **Rosario** was evidently unkind enough to hold the former viewpoint. This Commander in His Majesty's Service had been searching for Bully for some time among the islands he was reported to frequent. The officer was hampered, I have heard, by having his powers confined to a certain latitude and longitude. When he heard the object of his search was trapped on Kusaie the Captain made joyful haste to reach there and arrest him.

But Hayes was equal to the emergency. He managed to steal a boat from under the Captain's very nose and cleared off for Guam, then a Spanish dependency. From this island he made his way safely to Manila.¹ The warship did not give chase, presumably restrained because of the cruising-limit.

Still, the Captain took one fish in the net. He arrested Becke and took him to Sydney, where he was arraigned before Commodore Goodenough. The Commodore looked on Becke as a party to some of the escapades staged by Hayes. Many searching questions were fired at the prisoner in regard to the ports of call made by Bully while Becke was with him. The unperturbed Becke admitted that Hayes in a rage was the devil himself and that no man could gauge what he might do; he also admitted he had seen Hayes fly into a sudden fury and knock down some members of the **Leonora's** crew. Still, the prisoner would not admit that Hayes, to his knowledge, had done anything seriously criminal; he testified candidly that there had never been a sharp word exchanged between Bully and himself while he had been aboard the brig.

The Commodore asked pointedly whether Becke and others from the craft had not gone ashore armed.

"Of course, we have—on some islands it is necessary," answered Becke.

"I would go ashore unarmed on any island," replied the Commodore stiffly.

"Yes," replied Becke quietly, "you might do so with a man-o'-war at your back. But you will do it once too often."

Little did the officer presiding at the court guess the truth of Becke's prophecy. The very next time the Commodore visited the New Hebrides he was struck at Tanna by a poisoned arrow; four days later he was dead.

The God-fearing Captain Joshua Slocum, whom I met in Apia in 1895, told me that he had met Hayes twice. The first meeting occurred when Captain Slocum took his big sailing-ship, the **Northern Light**, to Kusaie for provisions. Hayes was then on the island due to the loss of his ship. Bully himself came on board, followed over the rail by Louis Becke. After bartering some ship's provisions for pigs and yams the Captain invited Hayes and his companion below for lunch. The memory of Bully's conduct during thta meal stuck in Slocum's mind. Before he touched a bite of food Hayes asked a

¹ Ed. note: He was then a prisoner about a Spanish ship.

long blessing in a most serious manner with bowed head. After this rite he explained with pious unction that the Rev. Dr. Snow had wrestled with his obdurances in the path of wickedness and brought him to see the true light.

"This world is to me a better and a brighter one that I knew before my shipwreck," affirmed Hayes fervently.

The last time Slocum glimpsed him was fourteen months later in Manila. The filibuster was looking thin wan; he was just recovering from an attack of dysentery. At the moment he was solemnly engaged carrying a lighted candle through the streets of a city of a Roman Catholic procession. In eighteen months—or less—this wily terror of the South Seas had not only been converted to Methodism but to Catholicism as well.

The skipper of the **Northern Light** was called upon by the Spanish authorities to tell what he knew of the man's career; he could only say that from what he had seen of him, Hayes appeared to be a very devout man. Slocum related the Kusaie incident as his only personal contact with the freebooter.

"Of course," Slocum told me, years later, with a twinkle in his eye, "I doubted very much the sudden sanctity of a man like Bully Hayes. But I could only say what I had seen, even though I seriously suspected it was a case of 'when the devil was sick...'"

One of Bully's crew once told me a somewhat humorous yarn of how Hayes enforced respect for some missionary passengers—even though he was cheating them at the same moment. Here's the story in the fellow's own words.

"For some months I was a member of Bully Hayes' crew on the old **Leonora**, sailing from island to island. Hayes was in a proper fix; he had run out of trade and was now short of provisions. The only cargo we had on board was procured by getting a Maori half-caste drunk on one of the Line Islands [i.e. Mili] we touched at. This half-caste was trading for old Captain Eury. Bully persuaded him that Captain Eury had gotten into a mess and was doing a two years sentence in Sydney Gaol. He offered to purchase any produce the man had on hand and give him a free passage to China."

"While the stuff was coming on board, Hayes was getting the half-caste dead drunk. As soon as everything was shipped, Bully now had the insensible man carried ashore, raised anchor, and cleared for the Ellice Group."

"On our way he touched at Arari [Arorae] and managed to pick up a number of native passengers bound for Nanumoa in the Ellice. He made them pay a heavy price in advance for the trip—in produce—and also forced them to bring enough native food on board to last them three times the distance. Favorable winds gave us a swift passage and Hayes landed the passengers without delay."

"The **Leonora** now cleared for Funafuti. Here Hayes managed to steal some barrels of coconut oil stored there for Charley Howard of Rotuma. Bully presented a forged letter to Charley's trader; it purported to be from Charley himself and instructed the trader to give all oil and copra in store to Captain Hayes for transport to Sydney—all this because Charley would not be able to call personally at Funafuti for some months."

“As a matter of fact, Hayes did not dare show his nose in either Sydney or Melbourne since he was ‘wanted’ for some mess on the Australian coast. The port we were really bound for was Apia; he could get rid of this cargo there with very few questions asked.”

“We had a number of people on board Bully had promised to take to the Carolines. It had happened that the Catholic [sic] catechist was about to leave the island and return to Samoa. Hayes offered him a free trip, figuring that the natives would send aboard a large quantity of native food for his use on the voyage. Nor was Bully wrong. Huge piles of fruit and yams, dried fish, taro, coconuts, fowls and pigs were sent aboard. This idea had worked out so successfully Bully repeated it at Vaitupu, our next port. The missionary there was due for his furlough and waiting for the mission-ship **John Williams**. Hayes told him there was rumor the **John Williams** had been wrecked.”

“Consequently the missionary and his wife also took passage with us to Samoa. As usual, the natives sent of lashings of food. Hayes was much pleased with the success of his plan.”

“I noticed Bully was always very friendly with his passengers—or at least pretended to be. He attended their evening services and sang hymns in a rich baritone. Evidently to curry favors with the missionaries, Hays forbid the use of oaths by the crew.”

“It was amusing for me to hear him admonish one of our number severely if the man was heard to curse. A missionary annoyed one man by getting in his way; the sailor shoved him aside and said: ‘Do you think you own the blooming ship because you’re a sky pilot? To hell with yer! Get out o’ my way, yeh damn ...!’”

“He said no more. Hayes had overheard him; with one leap Bully got to him and knocked him nearly senseless with one blow.”

“Didn’t I tell you, you bloody ... Portuguese ... bastard ... that I would have no swearing aboard this ship when we were carrying missionaries?!”

“After this most of the men disapproved of the missionaries more than ever, but I heard no-one so much as mention a damn while Bully was about. However, they had a choice collection of words to express their disapproval—such epithets as ‘tub-thumpers, devil-dodgers, squeezers, Holy Joes, or Bible-bangers.’”

“After reaching Apia I left the **Leonora** and never saw Bully Hayes again.”

Alfred Restiaux, whom I came to know so well at Funafuti in 1883, told me many tales of the Last of the Buccaneers. Restiaux was a forced passenger on board the **Leonora** during one of her filibustering expeditions. While the brig was lying at anchor in Mili lagoon, the Marshall Islands, Hayes was in a fearful temper about a certain Captain Pitman. Pitman had cleared out with the **Neva**, a vessel Bully was interested in, and had gone to Honolulu.... ‘Much as I would like to follow the **Neva** to Honolulu and get hold of that bastard Pitman, it’s altogether too dangerous at the present time,’ concluded Hayes regretfully.”¹

1 Ed. note: Hayes was also wanted in the Hawaiian Islands for past misdeeds.

At another time, my friend Alfred Restiaux, told me the following yarn in regard to his association with Hayes. I pass it on to you in Restiaux' own words.

"In the early seventies [ca. 1872] Bully landed on Pingelap to to purchase coconut oil until his return. He sailed for Samoa and was absent nine months. He told me if I ran short of provisions or trade, I could buy some from any passing vessel. His last words were: 'All you have to do is give an order on me payable three months after date; anyone will give you what you want. I am well known and anyone will cash orders on me. But don't sell any of the oil—for any reason.'"

"After three months on Pingelap I found myself not only short on trade but sorely in need of the common necessities of life. Luckily at this time a Sydney trader was 'off and on' the island and I went aboard her."

"The Captain was very cordial and told me to pick out all I wanted. In all innocence I picked out about two hundred dollars' worth of provisions such as tea, coffee, flour and sugar. After this I lunched with the friendly Captain and had a most enjoyable meal."

"When the time came for my departure I presented the order on Hayes. Never have I seen a man in such a rage. You could have heard him a mile. 'This is the third time I've been asked to accept orders on that ... scoundrel!' howled the skipper. 'First, Tom Derfern on Onotoa, then Bill Blanchard on Muggin [Makin]—and now you! Are you a damn fool or do you rate me one?'"

"Then the burly Captain picked me up and flung me down his gangway into my canoe. Somewhat bruised and utterly astonished, I paddled slowly ashore. I was pretty downhearted and not feeling very friendly toward either Hayes or the violent skipper."

"To my surprise I met the Captain on the beach ahead of me. He said he was sorry he lost his temper but for the moment he thought I was trying to put one over on him. To prove his regret, he had brought me a small quantity of provisions, a bundle of newspapers, and a bottle of whiskey. It was from the friendly—and violent—skipper of the Sydney trader that I first learned of Bully Hayes' reputation in the South Seas."

"The next vessel that turned up off Pingelap was the **Morning Star**, the American Mission brigantine, with the Rev. Sturges on board as visiting missionary from Ponape. He tried his level best to land a native preacher but the devil-priests were too strong for him. He warned the natives that the notorious blackbirder brig **Carl** was somewhere near the island, saying she was nothing more than a slave-ship. Sturges warned them specially against boarding any vessel recruiting labor for Fiji or Queensland."

"True to the Rev. Sturges' prediction, the next craft to arrive off the island was the infamous **Carl** of Melbourne. Dr. Murray and a Mr. Munt came on shore. They bought some things from the natives, made a great show of friendship, and tried to entice some of them aboard. Thanks to Sturges' warning, none of the islanders would go near the craft."

"The boat that had brought the two visitors drifted away and they stayed on the island two or three days. During this period they were perfectly civil to me though they

must have been certain I had told the islanders not to board the brigantine. Still, they had no luck and sailed on the fourth day.”

“Some two months later a topsail schooner came off the island. I thought I’d pay her a visit and see if there was anyone I knew aboard her. After going over the rail I was greeted in a friendly manner and casually asked them the ship’s name.”

“**Daphne**, said one of the crew carelessly before he was ordered to shut up.”

“I asked if they were trading and was informed they were on a labor cruise. Then I remarked they had come to a bad place since the brig **Carl** had tried the same thing two months before and been unsuccessful.”

“There’s no harm in trying,’ said the Captain, and shrugged. ‘Is there any food to be bought from the natives?’”

“Why, yes, plenty of ducks—taro and breadfruit, too, now the season is in. If you wait till morning you might get a turtle or two.”

“Good, we’ll do it,’ said the skipper.”

“After dinner I went ashore with two men in the ship’s boat. One was a Mr. Sinclair; the name of the other I did not catch.”

“When we beached Sinclair asked the King about the purchase of some food. The King assured him there was plenty to be had for the brig’s crew.”

“Sinclair asked them to take the food on board. The King shook his head and said the ship was tabu; the crew must bring the trade ashore and take the produce aboard themselves.”

“During this palaver a few young natives, one of the King’s sons among them, put off in a canoe to approach the brig and do some trading on their own. They were invited below but refused the invitation. Then the crew tried force. The islanders jumped overboard and escaped; all but one man.”

“This poor native was struggling with the Captain when the cook cut him down with an axe—at least so the natives said. He never returned.”

“I was seated in my house with Sinclair and his companion when we heard a great commotion among the islanders. My two guests leaped up, pulled out their revolvers, and rushed into the open. Seeing a great band of natives approaching, the two white men rushed to their boat and started for the ship.”

“Not knowing the cause of the row I had followed the pair out; the King and some others caught me and forced me back inside.”

“No good ship—he kill man,’ said the King. They made me sit down. The King was on one side of me, his brother on another, and an old woman in front of me; in truth, I was wedged in by the whole harem of the King and his brother, more than thirty of them. They were packed so tightly about me that I nearly suffocated. The friendly monarch and his party were resisting those hot-heads on the outside of the circle who were trying to break through and kill me. At the same time other islanders were looting my things—not much, but all I had in the world.”

“When the row was over—the men in the brig’s boat got away—the natives calmed down and saw I was not to blame for the sins of the blackbirders. The young men had

been at fault for disobeying the King and breaking the tabu. In a way, I had let myself open to suspicion by going aboard and returning in the ship's boat but they soon realized my innocence."

"Some of the men who swam ashore had been badly cut up with knives and belaying pins; I did all I could to doctor their wounds and used all the pain-killer I had on hand. The next day the natives returned all my trade they had stolen."

"After that dust-up I got on better with the natives than ever and we were better friends than before. When Hayes returned I told of the Sydney trader episode and demanded hotly if he had thought such a row would happen when he told me to suggest such a thing as offer his personal order."

"All the rascal did was laugh in my face and offer me a drink."

Some time later I heard the brig **Carl** was caught and the murderers on board her tried in Melbourne. The **Daphne**, a hardwood ship built of Indian teak, was afterwards in the hands of the D.H.P.G., the big German firm of Samoa. She visited my trading station on Funafuti in 1883. Her next voyage took her to Niuafou in the Tongan Group, and she was never heard of again.

...
In conclusion, it seems a shame to turn the cold, unsentimental eye of history on Bully Hayes. The romantic raiment given him was altered to fit by Louis Becke, trimmed by the vivid mind of J. F. Archibald of the "Bulletin," and given the correct swagger cut by Rolf Boldrewood and Albert Dorrington.

Thus the man has become a legendary rascal of various pleasing accomplishments and sundry hellish tendencies. It would be better to leave him thus... I should not have you see his fat face filled with terror, his wheedling voice shrilling up to the tropic blue, his brow moist with the sweat of a losing battle. I should not let you see Peter Radeck the Hollander, belaying pin in hand, his usually placid blue eyes flecked with fury, struggling with a shrieking coward on a rolling ship's deck. I should not let you visualize this scene as Bully Hayes's last moment...

...
The **Falcon** made a fine passage from the Gilbert Islands until we came within a few hundred miles of Auckland. Then it began to blow with great violence. We shortened sail as much as possible and hove to. The force of the wind was terrific—of typhoon intensity...

...
For forty-three years [1891-1934] I have lived in Samoa; save for two trips to New Zealand and one journey around the world. Out of this new land I carved a fortune and expected to spend my harvest years in peace and quiet. No longer did the lure of English shores call me inexorably; one by one the living ties to my native land had passed with the marching decades; and the far places had become my home...

...

Today I sit on a broad verandah between Mount Vaea and the sea. And I think of deeds and friends in the old days when I was young and strong...

...
For the most part I live as lonely as a wanderer at world's end, solitary and almost an outcast from my race. Yet there are compensatory things, designed to comfort and assuage. For these final milestones I have achieved neither riches nor possessions; but I have long, gallant memories of the Vanished Years that no man can wrest from me...

Document 1877I

John Westwood, trader in the eastern Carolines, 1877-87

Source: John Westwood. Island Stories, Being Extracts from the Papers of Mr. John Westwood, Mariner (Shanghai, 1905).

Notes: Part of these extracts had previously been published in the North-China Daily News. Westwood had kept extensive diaries, but some of them were destroyed during the 1887 rebellion at Pohnpei, but the author reconstructed the story from memory. The text has been edited by an anonymous person, whose initials are L. D. Before going to Micronesia, Westwood had learned the labor recruiting trade and visited Fiji, among other places in the South Seas. He was back at Auckland at the beginning of the following story. Westwood lived on Lukunor for the first six years of his stay in Micronesia. He was 37 years old when he arrived there.

Warning: Westwood's memory for place names is not good.

ISLAND STORIES

...

Part II.

...

Chapter II.

How I Went to the Islands the Second Time.

I was walking down the wharf (to ask for the appointment of steward on the ship for London), when a hand clapped me on the shoulder from behind. It turned out to belong to a Mr. Farrell.

"I hear you've been down to the islands before," he said, "and I'd like you to come with me, as I've just started business there."

"Yes," I said, "I've been in the islands a bit, and pray, what may your business be—kidnapping, or what? I'm not on that lay."

"It's not kidnapping," he replied, "but a fine chance to go down and trade with the natives for copra, sponge, native rope, and the orange cowrie shells if we can get them, for they are very scarce and much valued in Europe. You may easily make 300 per cent on all the goods you sell, as the natives will buy at first sight; they always stare with amazement at European goods."

“Yes,” said I, “it’s ll talk; and they might take it into their heads to kill me, and have the goods for nothing; how about that?”

“It’s a fine chance,” he went on; “the natives are quiet on this island, and if you don’t like it, I’ll put you on another. For the rest we’ll make an agreement on the island; your provisions will be free until you get there.”

“Then, I’m to be a storekeeper on these lonely islands at mercy of the savages by day and night, and for ever carrying pistol and hatchet to keep the fear of God in their hearts.”

“Six months ago,” he said, “I started a head station on the Marshall Islands, and have a few traders there awaiting my arrival. Out in the stream yonder lie the brig **Vision** and the schooner **Agnes Donnell** [rather Donald] with the other traders on board. They are to sail to-morrow. And there, alongside the wharf, lies the little ketch you are to go in. You can go and see her, but give me an answer, yes or no, because I must be off.”

I accepted on the spot for I was really glad to go anywhere with a purpose in life once more.

“Then at ten to-morrow you sign at the office to go aboard the ketch **Fortune**, at a shilling a month.”

He left me, and we did not meet again until I had reached the Marshall Islands.

I went down to look at the ketch, which was to carry me 3,000 miles across the Pacific. A few sailors were lounging around, and I heard them remarking to themselves that they wouldn’t venture their lives on “that rotten thing,” even to go outside the harbour. They swore she would sink before she had made any way. But rotten or not rotten, sink or not sink, I had given my promise and would go; and was regarded as a venturesome fellow in consequence. The little vessel was of twenty tons and had been built about twenty years before the Maori war. During that war (1863-1864) she gained a fortune for her owners, and so earned her name. Now she was to go to the islands to end her days.

Next morning the brig and schooner sailed down the bay to the heads, with all their white flowing sails set, and I, who had already signed, stood watching them recede from sight. A week later and we ourselves set sail on the 26th October, 1876.¹ Our crew consisted of the captain and two seamen. One of these, who acted as mate, actually did not know the stem from the stern; the other seaman, Jack Ellis of Woolwich, was a slovenly, rough, good little fellow, such as I ever liked to be shipmates with. And finally, as Pat says, there wre two more, that’s me and myself. My galley this time consisted only of a tin can so arranged that I could boil and fry at the same time.

Our captain² was an Irishman, a man who had worked his way “through the hawse pipe” and was a thorough sailor, whom no one would be afraid to sail with. He had a

1 Ed. note: This must have been the date of his signing up, because they left after the Vision, and she left on 29 October (see Doc. 1876H).

2 Ed. note: Captain J. Murray.

bad name for putting his crews in prison, but I myself saw no bad points in him. As for Jack Ellis, he and I became good friends and companions for the voyage.

I pass over many details of the storms, calms, and heavy seas we met with in our one-masted and rotten-timbered ketch, and merely mention that we had north-easterly Trade ground swells, throughout the passage. Our boat behaved very well, but the strong currents made our journey a long one. We had hardly left the coast of New Zealand, when a school of impudent grampus and blackfish came, surrounded us, and then closed alongside. They seemed to want to board us and they certainly remained for hours. The captain thought it dangerous to fire as they might show fight, and they might easily have endangered the vessel. We were alarmed anyway, as we knew they would smell the rotten wood which always attracts fish, and, if any of the monsters had chosen to give her a knock, it would have gone ill with the **Fortune**. We regarded the fish as a bad omen.

Chapter III

I am in Great Peril of the Sea and of Starvation.

No doubt the captain thought he could do the passage in a month and a half and for that reason did not provide extra provisions. But Jack Ellis and I, well aware of the condition of the boat, had another anxiety. Often, when we were in the hold together, I would say: "Look here, Jack," as I would dig my fingers into the rotten wood.

"I'll tell you," I went on, "we'll say nothing about this, but we'll prepare for emergencies. We know there are not many provisions on board, and that the little dinghy is in not much better condition than the ketch — too poor to rely on, in case of accident. There isn't much firewood either; nothing to make a raft of, except my big box. We could fasten that between two casks and it would carry us well."

We kept our scheme to ourselves and for the good of all, stowed a little provision under the ballast, to serve in case of extreme emergency. There was no knowing what might happen, as Jack said, "between the top and the bottom of the sea."

It happened one night, in the middle watch—we were in about Lat. 7° S., the longitude I have forgotten—I was lying in my bunk, when the vessel was caught in a squall. The mate was at the helm, but as I have already said, he knew nothing of his business and got scared. The way he was kicking up the devil's own delight with the helm woke me. I asked him angrily if he wanted to break the thing and was so mad with him that the captain, hearing the noise, also came running up. But it was too late; the helm refused to steer, the rudder in fact had broken in two. And now we saw the value of the captain's experience, for he soon had a spar over the side and steered by that and the sails. We managed to progress thus for several days and reached lat. 9° S. Then it became very calm. This gave an opportunity to unship the noisy, useless rudder, get it on deck and lash it together, to serve till we could reach the Marshall Islands. For it was already the latter end of November and things were beginning to look queer with us.

Plucky Jack Ellis volunteered for the fob and for three hours was slung over the side on a bowline, sometimes half in the water and sometimes out of it, as the vessel bobbed helplessly up and down, with only the jib to command her. There were sharks about too, and the rest of us had to keep a sharp look-out to give him warning in time to get out of their way. At last the rudder was hauled on board and then there was a little carpentering to do as best we could, for we were short of tools on board. The small chains off my galley-stove were taken to frap it together, but it was heavy, clumsy, botched work that made me wonder how long it was going to hold together, especially if we should get stormy weather. For a few days we knocked about the sea in a reckless manner till finally we hardly knew which way to put the helm, for the head of it was one way and the lower part the other.

Right or wrong, we jogged along till we came in sight of a small island. This was a great relief, for our scanty provisions would not have held out many more days. As we approached the shore some dozens of canoes shoved off towards us, laden with chickens, pigs, cocoanuts, and fruit. This nearly always happens when a ship approaches these souther islands, for the natives have a great craving for tobacco, which they cannot grow on their soil, but like to purchase. Our tobacco was, unfortunately very short, but we managed to club up 5 lbs between us, leaving very little for the rest of the voyage, supposing we made it in good time. In return, we got chickens, eggs, and what wood they could spare. Other trade we had none to offer, but the canoes kept hanging round us till finally a breeze sprang up and carried us and them out of sight of their home. Any strangers who have hearts at all would show kindness to these mid-ocean heathens, so kind and gentle and mild do they appear, and of such fair features. They always meet you with a laugh before they speak, and are as much at home in the water as the sharks. When the sharks surround them at all dangerously, they make a sort of humming noise which seems to charm the creatures, who would soon make a meal of anyone else.

Two or three days later we got into a boiling current or whirlpool, which played a fine game with our craft and scared us a good bit, till we got out of it in about an hour or so. Every day we were getting shorter of provisions and at last we had to go on half rations. Running out of tobacco we smoked coffee and dried tea-leaves as a last resort. Before Christmas we were going without food on alternate days and getting thin. At noon on Christmas day itself I put out a couple of tins from our small store, but there was nothing to eat besides. The captain now poured blessings on my forethought and we cheered ourselves with the hope that if we could get a fairly strong breeze we might soon reach the Marshall Islands.

The next day a light air sprang up and continued till the sixth day, when it blew strongly. And within twenty-four hours we ran quite suddenly on the narrowest part of one of the island reefs within a stone's throw of the harbour [of Majuro] where the brig **Vision** and the **Agnes Donnell** [sic] were plainly to be seen, lying calmly at anchor. Mr. Farrell and the traders appeared on the beach waving flags of joy at our safe arrival at last, for they had given us up for lost. Owing to the length of the reef we still had fifty miles to navigate before we could lay alongside the other vessels, but a boat

was loaded with provisions, wine, beer, and tobacco and came out to provide for our immediate needs. Some of the others took charge of our ketch also while we rested our fatigued and starving bodies. By their sailings we arrived late that night within the harbour.

Chapter IV. Of "Terror King Gibberick" and "Bully Hayes."

Safely in harbour, our vessel was now to be fitted up in a spritely fashion to be bluffed on to the natives in exchange for an enormous quantity of copra. But the Namorik (or Baring)¹ Islanders were not to be taken in so easily and stipulated that they should pay only half the amount demanded. Our traders seemed to agree, and, having got the copra, seized the vessel itself again, and refused to give her up. They did not greatly benefit, however, for shortly afterwards the **Fortune** ended all her fortunes by becoming a total wreck.

On the day following our arrival I looked around the spacious lagoon into which we had sailed and which was surrounded with large and small islands. Nearest to us was a very small one, on which the carpenters and traders were busy building and unloading for the newly-established station. On the second day I went ashore to stay and was allotted with another man a small native house for our dwelling. We were given a cask of salt beef and told we should have to put up with any inconveniences for three months or so. At supper time a fish, simply blackened on the fire and served without any cleaning, was set before me. It was so offensive that I got up and said I would never go into the house to eat again, but "use is second nature," and one gets used to the customs of every land. There was just room for the two of us to sleep in the shed on a native mat under my blanket. Just as I was dozing off I was disturbed by a great rustling noise underneath me. The floor seemed to be made up of moving stones, and on examining it we found that it was really moving with crabs and lobsters. Bats were racing and tearing about the room above and altogether we had a very restless night.

For a time I had little to occupy myself except in walking round among the people, studying their customs, their food, and industries. On an island further to the west, called Ebon, an American mission was well established. The people on Ebon and another island from which it was only separated by a swift current were all Christians. They had fine, clean roads and had made greater progress than any others in the group.

There were German traders from Samoa on the island before our arrival and we discovered they had been selling hoops, empty bottles, and other things which cost next to nothing, at 1,000 per cent profit. With our coming, competition began and the na-

1 Ed. note: Namorik has no port or lagoon; he was, in fact, with the other Farrell ships at Majuro, the residence of King Jibberik.

tives also were beginning to get more wide awake, with the result that prices fell enormously.

Among the other traders there would occasionally put in old "Bully Hayes," with his tidy but piratical-looking little yacht.¹ In this he roved the high seas from San Francisco to the islands of the south, bluffing and plundering the natives. His trading station was the Pacific Ocean, and to the Dutch and Germans he was a positive terror.

The most saleable goods next to tobacco were muskets and flint-locks, for the natives, like those of all the islands, were constantly at war. On our particular island resided the "Terror King Gibberick." Down on the sandy beach were drawn up his war canoes, ready for launching at the first occasion, for Gibberick proclaimed himself monarch of the entire group of islands and often had to back up his pretensions. In build he was tall and stout. Long chains of large red coral and tortoise-shell rings hung from his ears down to his shoulders and he wore necklaces of beads and ivory walrus teeth, while round his wrists were half-a-dozen pairs of silvery-looking bracelets, made really out of sea shells and forced on to the extent of disfiguring his hand. In time of war or for festival dances he was made more ferocious in aspect by "tike" [raik]—a kind of yellow colouring used for painting purposes or for food, as we might use curry powder. He would also on these occasions smother himself in oil and be ribboned over fantastically; the finest sea-bird feathers would be stuck in his head, intertwined with wreaths of island flowers. Here and there, too, on his face and body would be dashes of European dried paints. A most extraordinary spectacle it was to see him in his frenzied "demon dance," the natives squatted all around him—men, women, and children crying and singing till the very ground seemed to tremble with the noise. It was on one such occasion that I visited him. How he perspired and trembled! He flourished his spear and dagger and gave one of the greatest war dances I ever beheld.

Before proceeding further with my narrative, I will describe here the native custom of ear-cutting, a most painful operation performed on the children of both sexes, at some time between the ages of seven and fourteen years. The delay till the latter age is due to the terror it usually inspires. The operation is performed on some every year at the season when the young breadfruit has reached the size of a small ball. A man is then appointed for the purpose. First he squeezes the children's ears to benumb them, then he places a piece of prepared cocoanut husk behind, and with a sharp five-inch knife pierces right through ear and husk together. The cut extends from almost the top of the ear to the fleshy part of the lobe, and the children scream with agony; it seems most inhuman and I several times was tempted to interfere, but it is a custom practised all over these islands. Through the fresh wounds are thrust bunches of fine cocoanut leaf stems. This renews the pain, and on the following day the process is continued with larger bunches, until often the children are stamping mad with pain. Finally, with the idea of effecting a rapid cure, though it increases the present smart, the children are made to sit in the salt water of the lagoon for hours at a stretch, their sore ears under water, and

1 Ed. note: The Lotus.

big sun hats on their heads. The parents will stand by, encouraging the children to bear the pain. It takes about a month for the skin to heal, and by then the ears have often stretched out till they almost touch the shoulder.

One evening I was invited on board the brig **Vision**, to witness a dance by native women. It was a somewhat intricate affair, with changing figures and combinations. The women carried an eighteen-inch wand in each hand, and their graceful movements accompanied by singing, were in the most perfect harmony, though they sometimes slightly shocked respectability. On another occasion I was present at a great dance on shore, in which old and young joined to celebrate the return of the King's mother to the island after years of absence. At all these festivals there were great feasting. Thus it may be seen how happily the natives live on these far-away islands, more happily indeed than some of us can in greater countries. I may add that frequently white men, though overcome by disgust at first, will settle down almost to the same life as the natives. One result of their doing so is that English is tending to supersede the native languages with the rising generation. I, myself, used to find entertainment in writing words on slips of paper, dropping them on the roads, and seeing the natives pick them up to study and learn by heart; they are very anxious to speak English.

By the month of April, 1877, we were busy getting ready on the **Vision** and the **Agnes Donnell** to depart, for by this time the Marshall Island storekeepers were all well stocked for trade with the natives. We had a convivial gathering before leaving. I had got all my goods together and marked for Pingelap, the first of the Caroline islands, which was to be my next destination. We sailed down to the mouth of the great lagoon, cheerily enough, and then lay there waiting for a favourable wind. While we were so detained, who should come dashing in, in fine style, but "Old Bully Hayes," who at once wanted to know, who was "marauding his seas?" Our Irish captain speedily gave him his answer, whereupon Hayes brought his sneaking little clipper in and anchored alongside, a clever feat of seamanship, which showed us at least that he knew how to handle his ship, and made us admire his pluck.

"Come on board" was his next invitation, and we quickly clambered down into our small boat and pulled over. His long, snake-like craft seemed no higher than our small boat, but once we had boarded her, she appeared to be a piratical schooner prepared for all emergencies. She had plenty of cargo on board for trade. The captain invited us aft, where we found a table and a couple of chairs in front of the cabin. Hardly were we seated when a big Irish woman started out from the cabin, and just behind, in answer to a roar from "Bully," there appeared the cook, a square-faced, hunch-bacied, very dirty German, who put two equally dirty glasses on the table. He was told to take them back and wash them, but when they reappeared, they seemed little better than before. His whole appearance and behaviour reminded one of the saying, "God sends the tucker and the Devil sends the cook."

"Bully" told us of his intentions and how he planned to get their money off the German traders on these islands. "I hope you won't cross my path," thought I, as I put my

glass on the table; we didn't want a second taste of his gin, but put back to our own vessels.

This was the first and last time I saw "Old Bully Hayes." The next we heard of him was from Jaluit Island, where he and his villainous-looking cook had fallen out. "Bully" threatened him, "You ----, I'll shoot you," and being as good as his word went into the cabin for his pistol. Meantime the cook armed himself with a heavy iron belaying-pin, and as "Bully" was coming out of the cabin with the pistol, clubbed him on the head with it. "Bully" fell dead. The Germans took the vessel to Jaluit Island and the affair was hushed up, like so many murders in these distant islands. Soon afterwards, however, the vessel was wrecked, and the murderer a few years later met his own appropriate doom in Ponape. While he was sailing in pursuit of trade his boat capsized; he was not able to swim and a belt of money fastened round his waist helped him to find the bottom all the more quickly. Thus judgment was wrought, and without the aid of men-of-war, of which there are rarely any cruising in these waters.

Chapter V. I Arrive at my Station and am "Warned Off."

Fair breezes came in a couple of days more, with a change also to fine weather. Our two vessels heaved anchors over the bow and we bade adieu to the Marshall Islands. That same day we found ourselves passing the small low island of Jaluit, destined to become the head German station, both for the Caroline and Marshall Islands, and as usual where the Germans establish themselves no other nationals are allowed to trade. Next we passed the island of Mokil [sic], the seat of a great mission and having a considerable population of semi-English descent; then Ebon; then Numoi,¹ where American missionaries have established themselves, and are doing much good work. Here the brig lay off and on till the morrow while we in the smaller vessel crept in between the two islands and dropped anchor in the swift-running waters of the lagoon. I had an hour or two to run ashore and chose the Numoi side. I very soon found a house and, as I thought, entered, but on passing the door found to my surprise I was not yet inside. It was in fact a house within a house, very cool and delightful, and the people who lived there very pleasant. They did their best to make me welcome and comfortable, and seemed sorry that I could not stay longer, as very little company came their way. But the brief twilight was giving place to darkness, and it was necessary to get back to the vessel.

At seven o'clock in the morning we had the anchor up and were off again, leaving the last of the Marshall group and arriving next at the first of the Carolines, Pingelap [sic]. This was the island with which I was under instructions to trade. We lay off and

1 Ed. note: Obviously the author has a poor memory for names of islands.

onduring a fine afternoon, while I, my old captain, and others took the boat and went ashore.¹ The island had been nominally Christianised, but the first thing to repel us was the dirt all about the beach; it seemed we could not find a clean place to put a foot in, and the odours were abominable. Then again the beach was lined with the most dirtily-dressed natives I ever saw. Talking among ourselves, I suggested that a cargo of missionary soap would not come amiss here. A little way up the beach stood a coral-stone church, and beside it a small house for the Hawaiian teacher. He met us outside, but had not the manners to ask us within; in fact, we soon found we were not welcomed on this island. Our captain explained to teacher what our business was, and while he was speaking another white man made an ugly appearance and corroborated the statement that I should not be allowed to remain on the island. The captain warned the teacher that the matter would be reported to the American mission, and some time later, as a matter of fact, the mission themselves sent a trader, with whom these two inhospitable men had to put up. For myself, I was very glad not to land or remain on such an island, where as likely as not I should be catching cholera. We had spent an hour there already and that was an hour too long. It was a relief to pull back to the schooner and breathe the pure air of heaven again. As it happened it would have been a waste of time to have remained on Pingelap, for we learned afterwards that a few weeks earlier the island had been visited by a typhoon which destroyed all the cocoanuts on the most fruitful island of the little group; just before that the German traders had been along and so there would have been but poor pickings for us. Even at the best of times the island will not produce more than 45,000 lbs of copra per year.

We sailed away westward and by ten o'clock next morning sighted the hills of Kusaie or Strong Island and by evening were within view of the mountains, 4,500 feet high, on the famed island of Ponape.² Next morning our vessels closed in and spoke who should lead the way into Kitty Harbour. Our Irish captain, as a bold and gallant sailor, offered to lead, though he had never seen the place before, and so the brig followed in our course through the narrow, shallow, and rocky passage. By-and-by we touched mud but dropped our anchor just in time. We were soon visited by many natives and a few whites, who were mostly runaways from whaling vessels. We were able to get through all our business here in a day, and then took on board two poor fellows who had been left "on the beach." In helping them we unconsciously helped our owners to a few more thousand dollars. At that time there were on this large island of Ponape, with its circumference of sixty miles, only fifty white people, including missionaries. The natives were, as usual, at war with each other, and there was no idea as yet of a foreign government taking possession, though many considered that the American flag should fly over all the islands thereabouts. The mission schooner used to put in once a year, and the island would also be visited by from eight to a dozen whalers, and by four or

1 Ed. note: Captain Murray was then in charge of the Agnes Donald. However, there was no Protestant teacher at Pingelap at that time; perhaps they were at Namorik.

2 Ed. note: The author is definitely very confused.

five schooners, including Norwegians and Danes, looking for cargoes of copra. On an average the passage from San Francisco to these islands would take two months, and from Hongkong direct a little over two, while vessels from England would require from six to nine months. Often such vessels would get wrecked and their crews scattered about on these distant islands, left in rags till a chance would come along to get home. Poor Jack, in fact, would often be quite ignorant of his possible destination, blown about by any wind which came along.

After remaining two days in snug Kitty Harbour, we again set sail, brig and schooner depping their flags to each other as they parted. The **Vision** was to steer direct for Yap, 1,100 miles away, while we on the **Agnes Donnell** were bound for the Mortlocks. The Caroline Group (of which the Mortlocks form a cluster) consist altogether of about one hundred and fifty principal islands spread over a large area. Every island has its own dialect; the alphabet generally consists of fourteen letters, and the language at first is difficult and disagreeable to understand though spoken in a mild and kindly tone. On the whole the natives are a fine race though many a white man has met his death at their hands.

On the way we called at an islet, just detached from Ponape, called Hants [Ant]. It was really just a rock without a soul in sight and nothing but an old broken-down shed as habitation, but here, by his own desire, we left one of our traders to await the coming of the natives. It was diety, cold, misty weather, and just dusk when we left him to what was likely to be, and indeed proved to be, a hard fate. He was a Dutchman. Some time later information reached the white men on Ponape that he was head, the statement being that he died naturally. It was decided, however, to have the body taken up and examined, and then it was found that he had evidently been killed with club and knife. For years afterwards no-one ventured to trade on the spot.

Nearer the Mortlocks lies the island of Ngatik peopled by the same race as the Ponapeians, and a bold, thieving lot, numbering about three hundred. It was on this island that some years afterwards the schooner **Mazeppa**, of New Zealland, belonging to our same company was badly wrecked on a run from the Mortlocks to Ponape. Her fine cargo of copra was looted by some low-living white men, one of whom subsequently married a dusky Princess and became a King. We did not stay at this island but sailed along its long, sandy beach, skirted Lukunor, and approached the dangerous line of Boddley reefs,¹ sixty miles long, on one point of which a fine large whaler lay stranded. The reefs stand high and threatening and the passage is made the more perilous by the swift and meeting currents. Their only inhabitants are the swarming sea-bvirds and the turtle and shell-fish crowding the lagoon. Were it not for the risk of being wrecked and the difficulty of obtaining fresh water, it would pay a vessel to stop and load for six months with turtel-shells, shark fins, whale-oil, dried fish, and stuffed sea-birds.

For ourselves we were glad to pass the dreaded reef and two days later reach the main group of the Mortlocks. The southerly passage will permit the entrance of the lar-

1 Ed. note: Probably Bordelaise, i.e. Oroluk.

gest vessels afloat into a spacious lagoon, twenty-five miles long by three or four miles wide, though beset with "house-shoes" or sunken patches. We made a few tacks and then brought to anchor off Satoan Island. Our beating manœuvres had been watched with evident interest by the natives, who it may be mentioned are of a chestnut brown complexion and not black. They are quick-witted too and intelligent. The men's fancy dress is a long open gown with a slit in the middle for the head to pass through. It is plaited or woven by the women from the banana stump, though it is sometimes bought by barter from other islands. The women's dress like that of the Marshall Island women, extends only from the waist to the knees. The men like to paint themselves with the yellow "tike," the management of which is one of their chief considerations when they set out to win an island lass.

The first white face we saw was that of a German naturalist and scientist, whose practice it was, we were told, to have dead bodies dug up for the examination.¹ The work was done by an attendant at night-time, and it was not difficult, for the bodies are just laid on the ground, lightly covered with earth and stones, and little houses are then built over them. In these the families sleep for some months after the burial, but they never repair the houses once they are broken. The German scientist ended his own days eventually by suicide.

There were several teachers from the Ponape mission, working in the various islands and very well received by the natives, among whom they moved with the greatest activity and cheerfulness. They landed six months before we did, and already had translations of a few tracts waiting for the mission schooners to be sent to Honolulu to be printed.

My German companion was landed on Satoan to do business. Unfortunately, while he was cleaning a loaded pistol a short time afterwards, it accidentally went off and killed a native. Immediately the islanders made for his hut and he had to run for his life to the mission house. There he succeeded in finding safety for a time but he wisely took the first opportunity to ship away in another schooner.

Chapter VI.

I am Welcomed to Lukunor and Mated at Short Notice.

It so happened that at this time the King of Lukunor was on a visit to the island of Satoan, with his retinue. Hearing of the presence of a white man he was glad of the opportunity to get one to visit his own island, and hurried with his tribespeople, men and women both, to take passage with us and escort us thither. They saw it would save them trouble and risk to have a trader in their copra come to their very doors. We had only to beat about seventeen miles to the north-east, but the weather being a little rough all our company got seasick, especially after eating European food, which did not agree with them. We reached the lagoon through one of the two passages caused by a small

1 Ed. note: He was in fact Kubary, the Polish scientist.

patch in the entrance. The passage, though narrow, is deep and quite safe, while the lagoon itself is picturesque. We sailed close up to the island and dropped anchor in seven fathoms of water. The beach was crowded with inquisitive natives and there was a continual rush of canoes backward and forward from the shore. All were chattering and waving their paddles in delight; finally the women started singing and dancing on the beach, the men joined in, and the place gave itself up to wild revelry.

There are two tribes on the island, the Ralong [Rarelong] men who occupy the southern part and the Rewa men in the north-east. The island is of horse-shoe shape, a mile and a half long by a mile across in the widest part. There is a beautiful wide strip or path, cultivated by the men and boys, and well looked after. The native tools for digging are made of the rib bones of turtles, of wood, and of sea-shells.

I landed on the 21st April [1877], which was to become a day of sad anniversary for me. Before going ashore I looked around to take in the various features in the charming prospect. Away to the leeward or west was another large island, Oneap, more fruitful than Lukunor, and about six miles distant. It lay within the same lagoon, but we were told it was rocky and only afforded a bad anchorage. Other islands, more or less fertile, but uninhabited, were in sight. One particularly rich in foliage lies right abreast of the entrance passage and to the incoming vessel appears almost to close it. Some seventy or eighty years before this date, this little island was reckoned a dependency of the Lukunor tribe, from whom it was only a mile and a half distant. But squabbles arose and the people of Oneap, who only mustered three hundred souls, challenged those of Lukunor, who were one thousand strong, and a war was waged for months by night and day with bows and spears on land, and in canoes on the water. In the end the men of Lukunor were cowed by those of Oneap and thus at a council in full warlike parade the little island was made over as a spoil to the victors. Moreover from that time no "parliament" was held on Lukunor, but the high chiefs had to go to Oneap to council. The downfall of Lukunor was complete and none of its natives dare so much as touch a coconut or set foot even on the ceded islet. Another, three times as large as that yielded up, but no so productive, was left to the conquered tribe. Its chief inhabitants are wild pigeons, of which I have myself shot a dozen, and there are also killcats, which are so numerous on all the islands. At night-time the natives will climb up into trees armed with round nets at the end of bamboo poles; at a given signal they all whoop together, the birds start up, shrieking, into the dark and are caught in the nets. Just before sundown each day these birds make for their homes, usually finding the very tree on which they were hatched. They are not only caught by the natives but frequently treated as pets. From my own observation I learnt that there were fourteen different varieties of birds at least on the island.

I have mentioned that the islands lie in a pretty lagoon; its waters abound in sponge and red coral, which is made up into large and small beads and traded from island to island. Various kinds of sea-shells are also collected and sold, and sometimes during heavy gales the valuable orange currie is thrown up by the surf on to the reef. Properly to preserve all these shells with their beautiful colours, they must be picked up when

the fish within is alive; they must then be buried two feet deep in the sand for feve days, that the inmate may die; and the shell must then be thoroughly washed in salt water. The burying has to be carefully done or the shell-fish will unearh themselves and make for the water again. Such as become exposed to the hot sun on the reefs soon die, and in such circumstances the shells are worthless, though I have known many white men taken in with them by the only natives.

The sponge again is a very slimy substance in life. It grows hard and fast to the rocks and the best is found in from seven to fifteen fathoms of water. The curing is a troublesome process. The best way is to make the sponge fast to a sunken rock, where there is a little surf, and leave the salt water and sun to purge away the grit, sand, and little shells. This takes about two months. The sponge is then thoroughly dried in the sun, after which it is hung in the house on strings, to complete the preparation.

Fish abounds in the season. Sharks are numerous and the natives catch them for their fins and tails, which find a market in China. To China also comes the *bêche-dermer*. Turtles are found but they are not numerous. These used to be worshipped by the natives as deities, but they would sometimes bring me one and then run away quickly. Chicken eggs the islanders would not touch.

To return to my landing, as I have said the natives received me with great curiosity and outbursts of revelry. From the islands to the leeward they came beating up the lagoon in canoe after canoe, racing each other in their eagerness to see the white trader. These people are very clever in the management of their canoes; often mere boys would capsize them purposely in deep water just to see how quickly they could right them again, get the water out, and sail off afresh. It was mere sport to them, so like fish are they in the water, while they are not in the least afraid of sharks. Their canoes will never sink and the song holds good,

“We’ll sail, we’ll sail on the waters so blue,
Like a feather, oh! we’ll float in our bread-fruit canoe.”

Now my goods consisted of two large drums of tobacco, trinkets of all sorts, beads large and small, prints in different colours, tomahawks, axes of various sizes, knives from five inches to eighteen inches long and other odds and ends. These were all packed in cases, and I determined not to open any until I should get a station house built on behalf of the firm. In the meantime my boxes were carried up to the large house of the King, or rather the large canoe shed, for in all parts of the island fine shelters are built for the canoes. In the corner of this shed the King and his wife had an apartment, which they freely placed at my disposal for my present dwelling.

Next day the schooner sailed off to the westward for the island of Yap, the richest in the Caroline group, and the one to which our Scotsman was destined. And so I was left the only white man on the island, to begin by myself an entirely fresh life among these handsome dark faces, whom already I felt to be watching my every move.

My first duty was evidently to make these islanders happy and contented with my presence in their midst; and looking round the company assembled in the canoe-house I noticed their faces all pleasantly smiling. I also noticed what was peculiar, that al-

though not a word was actually uttered, they all appeared to be speaking together iwth their eyes. At last they all squatted on the ground, waiting evidently for me to say something, so I addressed the king, finding he understood a few words of English.

I asked, "Were they pleased that I had landed?"

Thereupon they all clapped their arm-pits and made a great noise. This sort of conversation was kept up for over two hurs, and the house kept filling all the time, as though it were a theatre. It grew late in the afternoon. I presented them all with tobaco and other trifles in honour of my landing. Half-an-hour later a young island lass was brought in and led up to me; the king put our hands together; everybody jumped up and stamped on the ground, making also the ringing noise in the arm-pits, and in a minute the whole tribe had joined in a wild dance, which was kept up till ten at night. Then guns were fired for a finale.



Westwood being married at Lukunor in 1877. "By all the laws of the land we were tied together in marriage." M197*The author being married at Lukunor in 1877.*

How the girl felt I cannot tell, but for myself I was overcome with bashfulness and surprise; for there, by all the laws of the land, we were tied together in marriage, and the next day everyone brought food and came down to the house to renew the festivities. I must have had my attractions in these younger days, but the natives regarded all white men as mysterious beings. One of their ideas was that the world consisted entirely of islands, but they were very ready to learn a little geography and to listen to stories of different countries. Since then they have learned some bad and disagreeable customs of the white people, and have even grown to hate and fight them. I myself

found that these so-called heathen governed themselves on the whole better than many whites, and their lives were certainly happy enough.

Chapter VII.

Of my Island Home, my Friends and my Happiness.

Now I, as the first white trader ever settled upon the island of Lukunor, intended to set before the natives all the good examples I could. To that end I determined to look all round and show pity for any sick and helpless. It was a grand place, clothed throughout in the long-spreading branches of the majestic bread-fruit trees, and yielding the most luxurious fruit.

This wonderful tree given by the Almighty to the heathen for house, food, raiment, drink, and medicine, provides for all the needs of life and there is nothing to pay for its fruit either. Where is the "tree of life" to be found if this is not it?

I found the island full of ugly curs, which the natives reared for eating, craven beasts which ran yelping to their runs when followed. I made up my mind to clear the island of them, and in their place to encourage the natives to rear pigs, chickens, and ducks. I therefore gave small presents to those who would kill them; whether they ate them afterwards or not, I did not mind, so long as the brutes were exterminated. Some of the natives did not like the idea of doing away with the dogs and hid them, but eventually I formed a company who marched over the island, routed out the curs and shot them all; not one was left. They were a good riddance, for they used to make sad havoc, eating my copra, and their claws were almost like those of a kangaroo.

My next move was to secure a couple of acres of ground in the middle of the island, running back from the lagoon for a distance of sixty yards. This I set about clearing to make a proper station. It vexed the natives to see the bread-fruit and cocoanut trees being felled, but I took no notice of their anger, for I knew that before many months I would have ten times that number of trees and there would be a hundred times as many cocoanuts after five years. And besides all that I would have the prettiest little place in all the Mortlock Group. So building after building went up until there were five in all: first a large dwelling-house, then a spacious copra-house, and lastly a summer-house. I fenced my ground all round, leaving two gates, and the part unoccupied by buildings, I laid out as a garden. Right in the centre I put up another small shed, and all around planted cocoanut palms in straight lines. A wide path ran directly from the house to the lagoon, where it was continued into a short pier, to clear the coral reefs. From the boat-house to the water I constructed a slip up which two or three men could easily pull my boat to its shelter. Also along the beach outside the fence and for the whole length of the frontage I built fine strong copra drying stages, with covers to protect the copra against rain. At the far end was a dam and a bath-house. In fact, by the time I had finished my station with its surrounding groves of shady trees, it was a fine house, cool and delightful, in a garden of rustic pleasures. I gave it the name of "Cremorne Gardens," and it became the house of call for all ships and for black men and white men

from near and far. Such then is the picture of my island home, where I hoped to make myself happy and comfortable; but evil times were yet in store for me.

My house was quickly put together by the Rarelong natives, who were very anxious to see my goods. Some of them would not wait for the unpacking even, but paid copra in to be put to their credit in advance to make sure of getting what they wanted in exchange. Their baskets of copra were the largest I ever saw and they were very proud to pay up such large sums. They were in fact the most honest dealing of the natives in all the islands. Thus by the time the schooner returned from Yap, which was in about two months, they found me with a house crammed full with 15,000 lbs of good dry copra, made by the natives themselves and consequently with a further saving of expense. After all my living expenses were paid I had cleared, out of my commission of one and a half per cent, the sum of \$140, the natives never being particular, but giving me overweight, besides sponges, shells, and native rope. The Captain expressed his surprise. "I didn't think it was in you, John," he said; "you'll make a fine trader."

The schooner remained for a couple of days in the port, with the English flag flying high in the wind at the main top-mast, while the decks were crowded with those anxious to do business. Our merriment also drew some hundreds of sightseers, men, women, and children all around the little schooner and when she finally sailed for Auckland, with a full and valuable cargo, cheers of farewell were shouted from native throats. She gave three dips of her flag, as she sailed down the peaceful and pretty lagoon, the flag which was not to be seen again on these islands for eighteen months. The natives ran across the island on to the further sea beach and climbed up on high boulders to see the last of her, eating a nut, of which they are very fond, meanwhile. When at last the sail disappeared like a speck over the horizon a melancholy seemed to settle on the island and many came to condole with me on my lonely lot. But I had grown to like the islanders and soon settled down to business.

Three weeks later my house was finished and we had a great dance inside and out. The women had been busy during the building, making matting, and when this was down the place was cool, pleasant, and noiseless. The decorations were admired by all, and there were provisions for a year in store. It was to be my dwelling for six years [1877-83] and might have been for longer but for an unlucky circumstance.

I must not omit to describe the eagerness with which my wares were bought up. The very sight of the things as they were unpacked set the natives gaping with wonder, and excitement. They were specially eager for tools, and threw away their old stone implements as soon as they possessed those of the white man. Of these they were so proud that they not only carried them about by day but slept with them by night. Smoking is another of their weaknesses and the sale of tobacco to them is one of the most profitable businesses.

Chapter VIII.
I Hear Ver y Bad News and Make a Fateful Decision.

Thus began a new period of quiet settled life, amid the pleasant waters of the great Pacific Ocean. A companion had been found for me, as I have described already—a gentle island lass with whom from first to last I lived most happily. She was industrious, and with a little teaching from me soon perfected herself in household work. I showed her how to cut herself clothes by patterns, taught her fragments of the English language, and interested her in pictures. Her mother, father, sisters, brothers, uncles, aunts, and many others besides came to learn from me as well, so that altogether my time was fully taken up. On the other hand, I myself soon learnt to talk in their language, especially I found myself picking up the bad expressions, which came more readily than the good ones.

I often received visits from the Ponapean mission teachers and in return they made much of me on my visits to them. It was their custom to adopt island children from infancy and rear them as their own. On walking out to the Rarelong district I found they already had a fine church, large though plain, built from the timber of the bread-fruit tree and nicely braced, though not artistic to look upon. The Caroline natives are quite destitute of art. The church was whitewashed inside and out. On Sundays shell horns were blown for service, and on weekdays for morning and evening school. The classes were well attended, for the natives are quick at learning everything, and especially the handling of tools.

My days followed each other busily on the island. I had plenty to occupy myself with during the morning and until the cool of the evening when I would take a walk or sit on the beach, looking out over the dark blue sea, indulging memories of the past and of home, looking, too, for the return of the vessel which should take me away. And still the days passed and there was nothing to break the monotonous prospect of sea and sky save the sea birds skimming the waves.

It was in the month of September that a terrific gale swept over the island and bent the cocoanut trees like a whip. It was grand but sad to see the noble trees bowing their heads to the storm, stripped of their nuts and leaves, yet still undaunted.

Then followed another weary delay, while the months rolled on as ceaselessly as the ever-rolling breakers on the shores. The gales from the south-west damaged the front of my place somewhat, and accordingly I set to work myself with a shovel making the repairs under a burning sun. I was hard at it when I got a sun-stroke. It begun with a curious pain in the spine, which sat me helpless on the ground, from which position I was helped home by my island lass and an assistant. They got me to a couch in the house where I lay in great agony, which was only relieved by the continual rubbing of my body with the wonderful cocoanut oil. It was while I was lying sick, despairing indeed of my life, that on the 21st April 1878 my wife, Lilly, cheered me with the little baby girl, who was to be the pet and darling of my heart until her death.

There came a day when I felt strong enough to satisfy my longing to go outside the house again. With the help of my wife and her father one holding each arm, I got from the couch to the door, three or four paces only. I stood there a moment trembling, my eyes fixed on the sea, fully conscious in all my faculties, but quite unable to speak. I could feel, as it were, death creeping irresistibly over me. First there was a sensation starting as from a circle in my big toes and circling up my legs, through my body to my head itself. I was conscious of thinking I should probably drop dead when the sensation reached my brain, but it passed on to the roots of my hair, and I felt each one of them separately standing on end. Instantly I was blinded, as it were with a sheet of white light, and dropped unconscious on the threshold. My wife and her father stood by helpless, not knowing what to do. After a little time I recovered sufficiently to be able to laugh and to speak. I asked to be taken in to the couch and from the moment of this incident began slowly to mend.

It was about a fortnight later that a great and joyous cry of "Sail ho!" rang out from the top of native voices all over the island. Walter, my right-hand native boy, came running in to tell me that the vessel was making straight for the reef, and if she kept her course would inevitably be wrecked. I came to the conclusion the visitors must be strangers to the island and sent natives out with strips of coloured prints to wave as pilot signals and to show the safe channel. It proved to be the brig **Vision**, the largest vessel the islanders had ever seen come into their harbour. Very pleased they were to see the English flag flying at the peak, and they cheered her lustily as she came in and anchored safely in eleven fathoms of water.

We had arrived at the latter end of May, and this was the first vessel I had seen since my landing, except the missionary schooner, commanded by Captain Bray, which put in during the previous December. Now that news had come, it was very ill news for me, though I was inclined to think ill news better than no news at all. When Captain Harris inquired for me he was told of my illness and at once sent down to fetch me on board. There he gave me some European food and brandy before breaking to me their sad message. This concerned Mr. Farrell who had broken down in all his business; all his ships, goods, and island stations had been seized by his creditors in Auckland. I was sorry to hear it, the more so because I was to deliver over all my copra and receive no more material to trade with. Instead I was to receive a free passage to Auckland; all the other traders had been recalled in the same way.

But my thoughts turned wistfully to my little baby girl, now over a month old, and neatly dressed in her swaddling clothes.

The captain had taken her in his arm; then he pointed out to the brig:

"Well, John," he said, "have you made up your mind?"

"In God's mercy I have."

"What is it, then?"

"To stop here and succour this baby as a father should; and God in His mercy will watch over me in all adversities. So go your way and a pleasant voyage to you."

He gave me powder, shot, caps, a gun, a pistol, and some provisions. Next day we said good-bye, and the **Vision** sailed without me.

Chapter IX. A Cruise Around the Lagoon.

I was now left again the only white man among the islanders, and feeling more desolate, if anything, than before the visit of the brig **Vision**. A rival firm had indeed sent me letters making certain overtures, but these I did not feel it honourable to accept. In this time of trouble my one consolation was the child, whose pretty, brilliant eyes laughed away my cares again and again. The mother I loved for the child's sake and we continued to live very happily together. My trading operations, however, were now ended and the natives fell off in the payment of their debts, thinking that no more ships were coming and therefore no further advantage was to be got out of me. This change in my fortunes proved the real friendship of some few among the islanders, who would never see me in want, but others were ready to kill me at a word. My pistol was now always kept primed and at hand, for I saw I had to take my chances whether good or bad; but we kept up friendly appearances as before, though it was evident some of them began to regard me as "a poor man."

For the good of my health and also to get a change I decided to take a sea cruise in a large canoe, and accompanied by experienced natives, to tour among the surrounding islands of the Mortlock Group. Part of my escort travelled in a second canoe, and after making full preparations we chose a fine day and sailed away down the lagoon towards the leeward island of Oneap. I intended to be away a full month and had taken my wife and child with me. At Oneap we were cordially welcomed by the head Pona-pean teachers in the Mortlocks, Obediah and his wife Opatina.¹ Nothing would please these good people, but we must stop with them a couple of days. Mats were laid out on the floor of their neat whitewashed little house and on the mats was spread out a fine feast. That consisted of good substantial "maa," sprinkled with grated cocoanut and some shells of maa. Maa is very appetising when one gets used to it. It consists of bread-fruit cut into thin slices and pressed into a large cocoanut shell; four or five other cocoanuts are then grated up fine and put into a pan or trough, water is poured over the gratings, and when all the milk has been kneaded out the concoction is poured over the bread-fruit, filling the shell to the brim. Over this again leaves of bananas are pressed, and the whole is then placed over a fire of red-hot stones. With it is laid the other food for cooking, pigs' flesh, taro, lak, and ripened bread-fruit, fine large fish also and other things besides, fresh bananas leaves are spread over the whole and rotten leaves again on top of these. The meal is then left to steam and bake. To such a meal as this I sat down with the native teachers and, as we sat chatting afterwards, I could not help re-

1 Ed. note: These two were the famous native preacher couple from Ponape.

not help reflecting on the bounty of Nature to these islanders, whose food all comes to them without any labour except that of cooking it.

On the second day and with the spring tide my natives walked the canoes out through the narrow zigzag passage over the reefs on to the rolling blue billows beyond. I found my men were smart sailors. We proceeded from Oneap to Etal, another fine island, though not so elevated. It lay fifteen miles to the west and once clear of the reefs we set up the mast, and the large triangular sail, and soon arrived at the little group of which Etal is the chief. The reader should know that closely together as these islands are situated, they differ greatly in their products. Etal, to which there is no approach over the surrounding ring of broken reefs for any craft larger than a canoe, is noted for the number of its cocoanut trees, though the nuts themselves are small. There is little else in the way of vegetation except the taro or *yoit* [= *woot*], but fish abound and are traded to the surrounding islands for bread-fruit. I stopped here for five days with the teacher, Caleb, a very quiet man, not much given to jollity. The island is rough and stony with no pleasant walks and there was little to interest one except that the natives were just learning to build their houses off the damp ground. Up to this time they had simply laid leaves or matting on the earth and put a plain thatched roof over.

It was during my stay that an unhappy affair occurred in connection with the building of one of these modern-style houses. A man asked his younger brother to help him in his building, and when the other refused, threw stones at him in his vexation. All the natives carry knives, and the younger brother, flying into a temper, rushed at the elder and stabbed him full in the breast to the hilt of a five-inch weapon. The victim dropped dead on the spot. The body was brought in to the king in the large canoe house abreast of the mission house, while all the men of the island assembled, armed, outside to take revenge on the murderer. The poor lad, who had acted on the mad impulse of the moment's anger, was now terribly grieved at what he had done. He was only about seventeen years old and both Caleb and I felt sorry for him. We went out to plead for him, pointed out how he had been provoked, and how there had been faults on each side. In the end we succeeded in rescuing him and perhaps saving a general massacre. A guard was set over the lad and his life was spared, though he will probably carry the stigma till his dying day.

Here it may be mentioned that in their temperament the South Sea islanders are very like children. They are quickly angered, but their usual practice at such times is to go and hew down their own trees or destroy anything belonging to themselves, yelping all the time as though they were really bereft of their senses until their friends intervene. Sometimes they will go so far as to rush into the bush and hang themselves, or sent out to sea in fragile canoes never to return.

The next island we reached was in a southerly direction about ten miles distant. It lies at the dangerous north-west entrance of what may be properly called the Mortlock lagoon, the greatest of all the lagoons of the Pacific. We entered on a swift current and

put into the islet of Mort,¹ pretty, rather higher than most of those around, and covered with vegetation. I remained three days, but cannot recall anything of particular interest. We now bore away five miles to the leeward, to the island of Gito,² where the head Ponapean teacher is stationed. This is the westernmost isle of the group and, when the north-east trade wind sets in, the waters are roused to crested white foam against the reef and coral banks which extend a full half mile out as a protecting barrier.

The women go wading out to fish, and while I was here a party of them got out too far with the result that one was seized and devoured by a shark, while the others came screaming home, bruised in running over the rocks. It is quite a common occurrence to see mangled unrecognisable bodies washed ashore, but it is curious that while small sharks are continuously skirting the island the larger will only venture in when compelled by hunger. In their season these islands are visited also by schools of porpoises and occasionally by whale. There is another species of fish frequenting these waters, as voracious as the shark, though smaller. It is the shape of what is described as a "Portuguese man-of-war" and carries a kind of whip over a yard long; this quickly coils around its victim, and although the tentacle is only of the thickness of twine it leaves a heavy black weal wherever it touches the skin and a stinging sensation which is exceedingly painful. Many of these creatures are washed ashore with each tide and the natives take a delight in stamping on them merely to hear the explosion, as of a pop-gun, that follows.

The sharks have a very keen intuition as to the breeding-places in the sand of the young turtles, of whom many thousands are hatched here annually. When the little fellows are first out of the egg, they are secure among the sea-grass on which they feed until they are able to take to the water. From fifty to a hundred and fifty may come out of one nest, and when they go swimming out to sea in a body, then it is that the sharks dash in among them. How many are thus lost annually to the food of man it is impossible to say, but it should certainly be everyone's duty to destroy the sharks which terrorise the sea.

[The coconut]

The island of Gito is specially fertile in the *uopit*, tobacco, and coconut. The coconut plays such an important part in the domestic economy of the islanders that some account of its various uses may here be recorded. For the first two months from the forming of the nut, it is practically good only for the milk inside. In this stage the nut is called "sou." During the next month it is in the stage when it is known as "sou-mou," but even the natives can only tell the difference between this and the first stage by climbing up the pine and clicking a finger nail against the shell. Inside the husk of the "sou-mou," what is presently to be hard shell is now forming and inside this again, sticking

1 Ed. note: Mor, C12--C3 in Bryan's Place Names.

2 Ed. note: Kutu I., also known as Kitu.

to it, if found a substance like a soft, sweet, white custard. This can be scooped out with a spoon and is very juicy.

[Rope-making]

At this stage also the husk makes the finest, cleanest, and strongest twine and rope. It is removed from the nut by a stick and then thrown into a pool of water, where it is allowed to remain for three or four months. By the end of that time it does not smell exactly wholesome, but it is then taken and lightly washed. Afterwards any further dirt and extraneous matter is thoroughly beaten out on a log or stone with a short, thick stick held in one hand, while with the other the fibre is drawn backward and forward till it is not only absolutely clean but opened well out. It is then lightly washed again in salt water and laid in the sun to dry. The next process is to tie up the fibre in rolls weighing about a half-pound each, before drawing it out and twisting it into twine, using the head of the bare knee for the purpose. If rope is to be made, the fibre is pulled out more thickly, suspended from beams of the ceiling and twisted by three or four men; the number varying according to the number of strands required.

Period number three in the cocoanut's life is that during which it is known as "sou-joubert," which brings it to four months' old. It is still useful for the manufacture of twine or rope, but the article turned out is much coarser. At six months the nut hangs by a stem which has been thoroughly dried by the sun, its husk has become quite brown, and in due course it falls to the ground of its own accord. The husk is now usually thrown away as useless, though it can be converted to other purposes, than those already mentioned, and I myself have utilised it in preparing the finest soap by a recipe which anyone who happens to be cast up in any of these out-of-the-way corners of the world would find useful.

Although I had not seen the native teacher on this island, I had been a half month away from my headquarters and was unable to remain longer. We were close on fifty miles from home, with the prospect of a dead beat in our canoes before us. Returning up the lagoon we called again on Dr. Cobara [Kubary], the German scientist, and on Harry Skillings, the dead-body snatcher. I also looked up Obadiah, and at his place met another teacher who had taken the name of Moses. Here we heard of a strange and unpleasant experience. Moses' wife had fallen into a trance so death-like that everyone thought she had in fact passed away. The grave had been prepared, but just as a native was nailing down the coffin he took fright at a noise from inside it. His screams brought the family, who found the supposed corpse sitting up, though still ghastly white. She was able to speak and was taken away to be nursed, but the revival was only temporary. A fortnight later she really died. The occurrence had caused a powerful sensation among the superstitious natives, and a lot of questions were put to me, as a European, on the subject. It was talked of on the islands for a long time afterwards.

At Satoan I visited a German trader established there; he was very cosy and prosperous, except that he was a complete cripple from paralysis and only waiting for an opportune vessel to go to America to be treated. I was lucky enough to be at the house

of a teacher named Barnabas when there put in the German schooner Tuttawilla [**Tu-tuila**], commanded by Captain Fischer. He was a kind old man, and I much enjoyed a visit to his ship. We were always glad in these lonely parts to see a vessel of any sort. At last after a month's absence we entered again the Lukunor passage, feeling much better for our trip, but glad enough to be back in our own comfortable quarters once more.

Chapter X. Fortunes Frowns and Smiles.

On rising next morning I found a crowd of natives waiting round the door to welcome me back. Some of them had brought with them baskets of copra to pay off their former debts, honesty which I was not likely to forget. For a long time, however, there were no signs of any ship to which I could sell the copra. Morning after morning some of the islanders would climb the highest cocoanut tree to scan the horizon for the sign of a sail. In July the wind shifted and heavy squally weather set in from the South. About this time too the natives were attracted in the early hours of every morning by a large and brilliant comet throwing down its wide and splendid rays to the East.

Slowly the months passed till November [1878] when Captain Bray arrived in his brigantine. To him I sold my copra, though at a great sacrifice, for provisions and medicines. The drugs I needed for my daughter, who had been attacked by the dread disease of leprosy, though happily only in a mild form, from which she recovered.¹ After a stay of two days the **Morning Star** sailed off for Honolulu; and here I may say that though the traders in these Pacific islands often profess jealousy of the Missions and their vessels it is to these that they turn for help when occasion arises.

The Christmas ensuing I first taught the natives to keep as a time of joy and gladness, when their knives were to be put away and they were to refrain from slashing at one another. It has often been on my conscience that it is from the white man the native frequently gets his weapons for murdering his fellows.

More months rolled by in gazing on the white surf of the shore where the boys made merry, riding in on planks on the crests of the waves. They are excellent swimmers, but not good divers. They had their superstitions too and when a squall was seen to be coming on they would take horns and by blowing these and waving their arms endeavour to divert the storm from the island.

[Fishing methods]

Their method of fishing is curious and rather a lazy one, though highly successful. They use great baskets made of cocoanut roots, the sides and tops being closely worked together with stems of the long leaf of the tree. The baskets are taken out into five or six fathoms of water, weighted with stones and lowered to the bottom. There they are left for five to ten days before being hauled up, and the contents of each basket in the

1 Ed. note: The disease in question must have been yaws, or framboesia.

way of fish will then usually be enough to feed from ten to twenty people. In the months of January and February the fishing industry is very active. It is then that the great bonito fish swarm the lagoon and every canoe is out on the water, the men and boys armed with their spears. A ring of canoes is made round a school of the fish and inside it a net of cocoanut leaves knotted together is sunk with stones. Boys then wade into the shallow parts inside the ring, but nothing is done and all is quite silent till the word is given by the head man. At a signal from him the spears are hurled into the water, which is soon crimson with blood. The sport or industry is carried on from half-an-hour to an hour at a stretch, and so numerous are the fish that it is difficult to avoid spearing them.

It was about the month of February [1879], if I mistake not, that my patience and prayers were at length rewarded. A good, honest, and sound firm in Auckland then took it into their heads to start trading in this locality. They laid vessel after vessel to the course for the Carolines and thus one fine breezy day it happened, when a lovely north-east wind was blowing, that the longed-for cry of "Sail ho!" again rang out. The natives came running over my grounds, delighted with what they knew would be my happiness and to tell me that a little vessel was bearing down under crowded sail before the spanking breeze, till the foam was thrown out far ahead of her bows. Such was her speed that almost before I could reach the shore, even by a short-cut through the taro patches, she was almost in. The first thing I looked for was her flag and there flew the glorious ensign of old England. I could almost have danced, as the natives actually did, with delight. During the many weary months that had nearly lost count of the days, and distraction was certainly coming on me. Latterly more especially I had been much worried by one of my neighbours who could never look me in the face and whom I strongly suspected of designs on my life and property. The second chief of the island had always stood my friend and his eldest son, whom I had named Willie, was another; but some of the others had said among themselves, "his ship will never come; why should he stay here, let's kill him." Now that a ship was actually coming in, my neighbour, Forerass, and the rest were as lamblike and friendly as possible, though I was never disposed to be on good terms with Forerass at any rate again. I suppose he was bitter because a part of his ground had been given me to make my piece square and he resented losing it though it was paid for.

The incoming schooner was small and I took her for the **Coronet** of Auckland, which indeed she proved to be. Speedily she dropped anchor nearly opposite my station, and I was soon welcoming Captain Anderson ashore. Her supercargo was an old acquaintance, Captain Harris of the brig **Vision**, and it can be imagined they were pleased to see me again and well, except that I had fallen away in flesh from long disappointment. They presented me with a sealed letter from Messrs. Henderson and Macfarlane of Auckland and opening it I found it conveyed their compliments to myself, wife, and baby Sarah, and offered me five thousand dollars' worth of goods for sale, if I chose to enter into a contract to be signed on the vessel. Naturally I could not refuse such a welcome offer and though I did not take up the full amount of cargo offered I took two thousand dollars' worth. Two days later the little schooner sailed away down the la-

goon, dipping her flag in a salute, which I hastened to return in a flag of my new company, which I had speedily rigged up, and leaving me very much cheered and with better prospects by reason of her visit.

Chapter XI. Of Taboo and How I Kept Christmas.

March is a lovely month on the islands, with a glorious atmosphere; the natives call the season "ran allecas," meaning "fine weather." The fourth of the month was my birthday bring me to the age of thirty-nine. I determined to celebrate the occasion with a jollification, and arranged a pulling match for canoes. The race was out to and round a boat anchored a mile distant, and it was great fun to see the canoes, some of them manned by as many as twenty natives, who yelled and whooped as though they were going through the rapids. The curious thing was that by native custom the last boat in was considered the winner. I refused, however, to hand the prize to any but the foremost to arrive.

There were many customers waiting now for my goods, but I did not commence to sell before the coming of the Leeward islanders, who had the best copra to give in return. Up to the present the nutting grounds of these islanders had been "taboo," that is to say forbidden to them for some time. The whole boundary of "taboo" land is lined with stout sticks with young cocoanut leaves laid about them, and to cross within the boundary is considered a serious matter. Sometimes a "taboo" will last for a whole year. But now I went to King Sarsu-ee and begged him to open the "taboo" and give everyone an equal chance to trade. He granted the request, and at the one word from him, there was a mad rush to the grounds as if for life. Some of the people came to look after their rightful cocoanuts, others wanted to steal, and all were gathering the nuts up as quickly as they could in heaps of ten and floating them along to their homes. There they put them up as copra at an average rate per man of six hundred nuts a day, and soon thousands were brought along to me for sale. I would purchase as many as twenty for a paltry stick of Nigger-head tobacco. Of course, at a busy time like this, many of the natives would sell me stolen nuts, but it was my business as a trader to buy any that were brought to me without going into any of their thieving quarrels. It was as much as I could do to watch my own two doors, for they were not particular how they got it so long as they had plenty of tobacco, and they would sell at one door and steal at the other. I had some difficulty also owing to the severe competition for the fowling-pieces: these were only small nipple guns but they fetched 1,100 lbs of copra each, yielding me 400 per cent profit and repaying me well therefore for my pains.

With my new trading enterprise to occupy me, time passed almost uneventfully for two years [1879-81]. Once I was visited by a young American, George Burrows, who had been encouraged to settle on the island of Namoluk, about forty-two miles to the westward, an who complained to me very bitterly of the difficulty of trading there. He

had been persuaded that he could do well there by the supercargo of one of the vessels trading in these parts, and was so angered at the way he considered he had been deceived that not long after he came near murdering his man when the vessel put in for a later call. Barrows went on board and, seeing the supercargo, whipped out a loaded pistol. Fortunately the captain was just quick enough to knock the pistol out of Barrows' hand. The unhappy man was then removed to Greenwich [Kapingamarangi] Island to keep company with an Irish trader who had been there for a while and that was the last I heard of George Barrows for some time.

Another welcome visitor to me in my solitude was the Rev. Mr. Logan, who came to settle on Oneap Island with his wife and children, Arthur and Beulah. Mr. Logan was a medical missionary and greatly astonished and alarmed the natives in fitting one with a wooden leg. They half expected him to supply wooden heads also, or at least some that would take on or off. Incidents like these give the natives a wonderful opinion of the white man whom some of them suppose to come from the moon.

Christmas coming on again I determined to give the islanders a regular Londoner's celebration. I illuminated the grounds with torches, spread tables with all sort of good cheer, had a bonfire and many coloured lights, and then invited the natives from all the islands round to the feast. We even had speeches, I explaining our Christmas customs and the King adding a few words to the chiefs in his own language before giving them the signal to set to work demolishing the good things. It has always been my habit to keep up the Christmas festivities as long as possible, and as Mr. Logan had promised to come over to me on New Year's Day, which he celebrated as a loyal Scotchman, I made a further jollification in his honour. On this occasion we had a procession and parade of natives, seven hundred of whom carried firearms of various sorts and continually fired them off as we marched with flowers and banners round the island. I composed a song in the native dialect and gave it an air. This is how it began:

*"Uta bata monson arimas. Lute, lute, oh,
Oh arku yaff; ah opung oh; a lute, lute, oh.*

In English the first stanza would be:

"Rise up all ye people, hurrah, hurrah, hurrah,
Light up your fires, and make a great noise, hurrah,
Go over Lukunor, and join ye all in the band,
We are all so happy here, hurrah, hurrah,
Come, see the old year out and the new year in, hurrah."

But the greatest attraction was the magic lantern which I now showed for the first time in the island. The natives were so delighted with this that they begged me to repeat it over and over again at ten cocoanuts each man for each show and I made quite a large profit in this way.

[Plant management]

For more than a year I had little to do save study the daily life of the natives of Lukunor. The island in this part grows the finest bread-fruit in the world, and on Luku-

nor alone I found fourteen different varieties. The natives understand exactly how to bring them to the highest point of cultivation, and as nearly as I can describe it the method is as follows: When any of the great overarching branches has reached the age of six months, if it is sufficiently fine-looking, it is handed over to certain men who are told off as specially skilled in dealing with the trees. These split the bark round the branch in strips of an inch and a half wide and a foot or two in length, and cut it completely off at the bottom. Then is gathered moss and fern with the damp soft earth still clinging, and this is placed carefully around and under the bark, which is then frapped back in position. For two months after this the branch is carefully watered and at the end of that period young tender roots will begin to show through. A hole is dug in the ground at some convenient spot, and one evening the branch is cut through, a foot below the roots, and then carried at top speed, but very carefully so that it shall not be twisted, to the hole. There it is planted and secured in position by three or four props. The frapping is not taken off but allowed to rot into the ground, and by this mode enormous trees are reared, bearing many thousands of fruit each.

To gather the fruit the natives climb up among the branches, and it was while doing this that my own boy assistant, good climber though he was, met with a fall and broke his leg. For a fortnight afterwards no-one would touch the rope or stick he had been using, nor could I get any more fruit off the tree. The time appointed being past, the natives came to the plantations with more sticks, and began stealthily to beat all over the ground. On reaching the offending tree, some shouted at it while others struck at it their sticks. After beating it soundly they pulled it down with ropes, and, still beating it, hauled it off to the water. The idea was that a devil was about, and he had to be thrashed off the island. My poor boy was never of any use again; and he had been my favourite.

The bountiful supply of bread-fruit would mostly be wasted but for the knowledge the natives have of a means of preserving it in the ground for winter use. The fruit is all gathered in before the bad weather comes, but sometimes the tempest will break suddenly at night and then there is a great ado. In the darkness and the storm the women will all be out, screaming, rushing hither and thither among the crackling and tumbling branches, rapidly gathering up any fruit they can get, whether from their own or their neighbours' trees. The chief consideration is to get a number of their "maa" holes filled, and if they can do that they are quite happy. When making the "maa" the women and children sit round the holes on cushions of leaves, laughing, chatting, singing, or smoking cigarettes made out of the bread-tree leaves. On one hand they hold a sharp seashell and with this they quickly rasp the green skin off the fruit, which they cut and wash. The whole is first lined nicely with leaves, and the fruit is then put in, covered with more leaves and earth, and weighted with stones. The process is repeated after a month, the main idea being to keep out the damp. Thus preserved the fruit will keep for a full year or more, and affords a good substantial food for ordinary everyday use, but especially valuable for taking on long canoe voyages. The islanders are assuredly much favoured by Nature; their food literally falls about their ears, they enjoy clear atmosphere and a healthy climate, and suffer only from petty sicknesses. Their days are

spent in great part at their native games, some of which are not unlike those played by the boys and girls of more civilised countries; and under the full moon there are ramblings through the bush and among the brambles, with sometimes "a sly kiss and never tell," as I have known it done in other parts of this world of ours.

To me personally the only event of importance during the year was the birth in September of a son, named after my father, Joseph.

Chapter XII.

Introduces a Man-eating Lady and Disposes of Divers of my Acquaintances.

The following Christmas, the mission schooner was late in arrival, and when I went to call on Mr. Logan I found him in some anxiety on that account. For one thing he was running short of provisions. On that point I was able to assure him that so long as I should have any stores at all, he would always be welcome to share them. But he had fallen away in flesh considerably and was reduced to the necessity of making a trip home for his health. I went with him to the church, which was crowded at the service. To stop inside was almost impossible owing to the smell of the paint with which the natives cover themselves and which is one of the most disagreeable things a white man has to put up with on the islands. To the last I always wanted to keep on the weather side of them, and I can quite understand the breaking down of the missionary who was constantly in and out among them. His schooner arrived eventually in February, 1881, and he went away, leaving us sorry enough to lose him.

By the schooner I sent a message to the Mission people in Ponape, asking them to take my daughter and educate her there. I wished arrangements made so that she could leave by the next vessel that called. News of my intentions unfortunately reached the natives who did not want my daughter to go. It happened that in March a party in three or four canoes was to leave for an expedition to the island of Ruk [Chuuk]. The king and Lilly's father, with several others, made it up, and before leaving they left word with some of those on shore that sooner than my daughter should be allowed to be sent away in their absence they were to kill me. I heard of the conspiracy through some of my friends and was on my guard, for I was determined if it were by any means possible to school the girl should go.

The next vessel to arrive brought me, however, a disappointment. It was the brigantine Shanghai [rather **Beatrice**], of Shanghai, commanded by her owner, Captain Williams, who held property and did business in Guam of the Ladrone [Mariana] Islands. He called in at Lukunor with a letter from the Mission people at Ponape, who stated that my daughter was not yet old enough for the school. It was a sad blow to me and from that letter I date the many misfortunes that afterwards befell my daughter. I made another application when she was three years old and again met with a refusal.

Captain Williams was bound for Guam from Samoa. At night he and his ship's company came to my house to picnic. The Captain was himself a good violinist, the mate an accordion player: they had brought brandy and beer from the ship, and the rest of

the supper I provided. They all seemed surprised and delighted with my place and declared it to be the smartest and prettiest station in the Pacific. I thanked them for the compliment and then glasses were quickly filled and we settled down to a glorious time. There must have been over a dozen visitors in all, among them two who were going to trade for the German firm on Puluwat and Unoun.¹ One of them, a tall Irishman, made a great fuss of my baby daughter; the other was a Portuguese, by name Emanuel [Manuel]. I shall have more to say of them both in the following pages. We kept up the revelry, with music and the magic lantern, till long after midnight.

Next morning with my family I returned the call on the vessel and we still found plenty to talk of, for Captain Williams, like myself, was a Londoner by birth. When the time came that they must up anchor and away we exchanged presents with our farewells, and very sadly we saw her sails disappearing down the lagoon.

The Shanghai [sic] had brought back several native labourers from the cotton plantations of Samoa and eight of them were left on Lukunor. They were all well togged up in European clothing, but seemed to be very happy to see their own old home again. They would sit for hours and tell of all they had undergone since they were first captured nine or ten years before. Many of their comrades had died on the plantations and, sad to tell, these eight dropped off one after the other as soon as they got back, so that in four months' time there was not one of them left alive. As far as I could gather, there had been a lot of fighting between the tribes on these islands some years before, and in the midst of it the first foreigners to come trading in oil had arrived. There was an Englishman, named Williams, who got about among them safely by adopting their customs and painting his body from head to heel with the nasty yellow colouring I have already mentioned as their clothing. It must have been the same man, Williams, that I afterwards saw on the Marshall Islands. Those were the days when dollars were to be turned into sovereigns as fast as one liked, except that a man had to risk his head and tail, as the saying is.

There was also left behind by the Shanghai a tall bony woman who was said to belong to the island of Unoun, but because the natives there bore a bad reputation, and they lay, moreover, out of his way, Captain Williams did not go along to them. Our own natives soon came to regard this woman with fear and amazement, for the returned labourers spread the story that, like her people, she was a man-eater. I got into conversation with her one day purposely to fish her true history out of her. While we were talking, her large eyes glistened like coals and I had no doubt she would have liked to snap me up, had I been on her own island. Her name she told me was Te-ark. As for Unoun Island, she said there was nothing to eat there except cocoanuts and fish. I asked her about the customs of her people and she told me plainly that should there be a battle, or a fight even between families, it was the practice for the victors to eat their enemies.

"Have you eaten anybody?" I asked.

"Yes," she replied.

1 Ed. note: The latter island, also written Onoun or Ulul, is in the Namonuito group.

“How many, pray?”

“That I couldn’t say, but a good many. I’ve helped to eat them from my youngest days.”

“Do they still eat one another there?”

“They did when I left home and I suppose they do still.”

“Do you intend to go home again?” I asked.

“No,” was her answer, “I want to go to Ponape and be a servant for life to the white people there.”

This and more the woman told me, and in good English too. By the first chance she went to Ponape, as she had said, and found a home at the German head station there. I saw her some years afterwards, well dressed in foreign clothes and making a very good servant, but I verily believe that had she been taken to her own island she would have gone back quite naturally to the old custom of man-eating.

To return to my own affairs. As months went by and no vessel arrived for me I began to get anxious. What could it mean? Was there to be another break up in my fortunes? My house was getting pretty well stacked with copra, only waiting to be taken away, and to vex me more the German schooners were coming and going all the time. They did not attempt to conceal their delight that the New Zealand firm did not show up, for meanwhile they were getting all the business.

When the fleet of canoes arrived back from the expedition to Ruk they brought me the sad news of the death of the two traders, Emanuel and Powers (or Powell) who had come with Captain Williams and had gone on to Puluwat. From Lukunor to the westward, the Caroline Islands stretch out in this order: Etal, Numaluk, Nama, Losap, Ruk, Puluwat, Unoun, and Soiuse.¹ Even at Ruk it was hardly safe to trade and vessels went to considerable risk in calling, but at the islands beyond it was far more dangerous. Powers, it seems, had established himself on Puluwat, while his companion went on further to Unoun. The natives of Puluwat determined to kill the Irishman, fire his house, and take his goods, and this was done, though I did not learn the exact particulars. The people of Unoun were disposed to be more friendly to Emanuel, but they were under the control of the tribe on Puluwat, who sent over a preremptory demand that the Portuguese trader should also be killed. They threatened to come over themselves and do execution if the Unoun people refused, and in that case they would also have taken the traders’ goods. And so, rather than lose the goods altogether, the Unoun natives did as they were commanded, and poor Emanuel was slaughtered. Once after that a German trader was landed on Puluwat and was left there for nine months, but in such fear and trembling the whole time that he showed the effects of the shattering of his nerves for long afterwards.

1 Ed. note: The last mentioned is probably Schoug, also known as Pulusuk.



Wreck of the brig **Orwell** at Beru in 1881. *"The natives seized everything on board."*

At last a vessel arrived for me It was again the **Coronet** and it was sent to tell me that the brig **Orwell** which had been despatched from Auckland in June 1880 [1881?] had become a complete wreck on Peru (Francis Island), one of the Gilbert Islands, and the natives there had seized everything on board. This was my fourth great misfortune of this character. The firm of Henderson and Macfarlane appealed to the British Government with the result that a man-of-war was sent and retribution was exacted from the people of Peru. Some of the stolen goods were recovered and of these I got my share.

The schooner arrived again very soon with fresh supplies for my trade, and with a letter of Christmas greeting from Henderson and Macfarlane, who were rejoiced to hear of the large amount of 76.000 lbs of good dry copra I had accumulated. They promised that a vessel should quickly follow direct to me and to the trader on Satoan, also that Mr. Harry Henderson would himself pay us a visit and that twenty per cent shrinkage on our stock would be allowed. Before another month had passed the big schooner **Mazeppa** did indeed arrive and all our business was then settled up fairly and squarely. There was to be no more possibility of quarrelling with supercargoes, as happened with poor George Barrows, but the traders were to communicate directly with the firm. Mr. Henry was quite pleased with what I had accomplished, and stayed with me three days, after which the clipper schooner sailed away to Satoan and Namorik [rather Majuro] to fill up, and to land a Dutchman named Jacob, as trader on the latter island.

I have got a little ahead with my story and must go back a month or two. We had on the island a young lad, Homer, by name, who was fast becoming a terror for his daring thievish ways, and was always in fights with his neighbours. He had neither father

nor mother, but a high chief cared for him and on that account everyone was afraid of him. He had often stolen from me and as often as he had done so, I had forgiven him and endeavoured to reform him. But the devil seemed to be in him; he cared for nothing and nobody.

Once, hearing him say, "I don't care," I told him that was a bad expression and would bring him to the gallows. Then he said he didn't care for me and would fight me. These seemed pretty hot words and I thought there must be something behind them, and true enough there was.

The boy lived chiefly about my wife's family's place. After breakfast it was my custom to call my daughter Sarah and play with her a while in the fresh morning air, and I never had occasion to call more than once for her. But on a morning soon after the conversation I have recorded Sarah failed to answer my call. I was vexed and asked her mother where the girl was. Lilly did not know. I searched the grounds over, but could not find her. I was almost distracted, but determined to recover her alive or dead. Empty-handed and without arms I rushed into house after house, searching and making inquiries. No-one knew anything of her, or had seen her. At last I entered a large house, in which was not a soul visible. There was, however, a mat on the floor with something under it. I lifted the mat and there they had hidden the child.

My wife's father came up to seize the girl again, but I was desperate and plugged him in the face for his audacity. Uncles and other relatives came crowding around, and with only my right arm free I had all my work to fight them all off. With the help of an occasional kick out I kept them at a distance, holding little Sarah all the while on my left arm. Soon thirty natives or more, mostly armed with knives and spears, had collected and the place was in an uproar.

Luckily for me the best of the people were my friends and encouraged me. I got the child home, but the danger was not yet over. The friendly natives warned me that another attempt was to be made to steal her. I put her in her cot and stood at the house door with my pistol. Then I sent word that the first man who set foot inside my fence would be shot. This seemed to frighten them and they sneaked off without troubling me.

I could easily have protected myself completely by engaging the men of the second tribe to fight those of the first tribe, for the two parties were glad of any excuse to go to war, but for a few days I was left altogether in peace.

The next step taken by my adversaries was to get the lad Homer to bring me a challenge from them, with a threat to attack me, but I went out boldly to meet them as before, and, as before, they dispersed, so that I returned home without firing a shot.

When Mr. Henderson was on Lukunor, I pointed out Homer to him and asked him to take the lad away. I could not help laughing to see his struggles when he was seized bodily from behind and carried on board. He was put to work for a year on the Marshall Islands to the great relief of many of his fellow natives.

I may as well tell here the remainder of Homer's story, though it extends over several years to come. When he returned to Lukunor he went on thieving as before, and

for a robbery at the German station he was put in irons on board a barque that passed through and deported to the Marshall Islands again. He slipped from his hand-cuffs and jumped overboard, swam to an island, and posed as a Ponapeian. His next exploit was at the great massacre of the Spaniards on Ponape, to be referred to later in this story. In that affair he killed a Spanish officer with the victim's own sword. Some years later in Manila I was summoned to the Court-house to act as interpreter in the Ponapeian language, and when the prisoner was brought in, it was this audacious criminal, whose days were now numbered, for he was sentenced to death for murdering the Spanish officer. And so ended a career which began with "I don't care."

Chapter XIII. Of the Foul Deed Done on Greenwich Island.

A party of natives arriving from Greenwich [Kapingamarangi] Island in August of the same year brought me news of George Barrows, who has already been referred to in these pages. These natives themselves wanted to buy guns and knives. They told me the island was overrun by the enemies, but I had no guns to sell for the purpose of helping them to depopulate the place.

According to their story, which sounded plausible enough, Barrows had taken a Samoan woman to wife, and had gone to live with her at the further end of the island from the Irishman, Reece, who had been living and trading on Greenwich Island before Barrows was shipped there. The newcomer had not long settled down, however, before he was seized with dysentery and died.

There was nothing improbable in this narrative, and when Reece himself called on me at Lukunor in the following year, I did my best to entertain him. I had no idea then of the awful crime which was later on to be disclosed, and yet I had an uneasy sensation of distrust which I could not account for, as we sat at the table playing dominoes together. He had brought another man with him, but his companion lay all the evening on the sofa, and there was very little conversation between any of us. When it drew on towards eleven o'clock, I suggested that we should turn in to sleep. Reece proposed instead that we should go down to the beach.

"To the beach?" said I. "At this time of night? No, you go if you wish, and, in the meantime, I'll make you up a shakedown in the passageway with some boatsails."

He went out. I thought to myself, what can this mean? The sooner these two are out of the house the better for my peace of mind. I looked at the other and he appeared to be asleep. They were evidently close pals and I determined to be on my guard. Supposing I had gone to the beach with Reece, there would have been an opportunity for the other to ransack the house in our absence. In a sort of strange dread I looked to the priming of my pistol and felt for my tomahawk under the edge of the bed. Then taking a peep at my sleeping child I breathed a prayer over her, undressed, and sat in my night clothes waiting for Reece's return.

At half-past twelve he came in and I showed him to his shakedown. There was evidently something oppressing his mind. I was to find out later on what it was.

At the first peep of daylight I gave my uncomfortable visitors cake and coffee and they went off to their canoe and so back to their island. By the next vessel putting in to him, Reece went, I subsequently learned, to Ponape, where he obtained a post as mate of a schooner. Soon afterwards he was reported dead from dysentery, but if the truth were known, I think it would be found that he died of slow poisoning, self-administered.

All this time the position on Lukunor was getting worse for me. Another German schooner had arrived and landed a trader in opposition to my firm; consequently I obtained a good deal less copra. Like myself the new arrival was speedily provided with a wife and settled down to the native life. I have known white men declare that they would never do this, that, or the other thing; but when it came to the point they have been the first to be stuck hard and fast in the very position they vowed they would never enter. But without digressing further, I repeat that I was getting less and less copra, while the Germans went quietly trading on, confident that presently they would have the station to themselves. I set about trying to get my outstanding debts in, and amused myself further, while waiting for the coming of my vessel, by trying to cultivate a garden. The attempt was not a success.

Murder will out, and during this period of waiting, it came to me how George Barrows and his two faithful boys had been foully done to death, and how his Samoan wife had narrowly escaped the same fate. It seems that Jack Reece was very resentful of Barrows' arrival on Greenwich Island, as an independent trader, and knowing, moreover, that his rival possessed \$2,000 and that it was very rarely that a vessel put into the station, he resolved to kill him. He did not, however, undertake the deed himself, but hired some fishermen, who were to commit the murder. Barrows was warned of his danger by some friends, but paid no heed to what they told him. A few days later the fishermen pulled round in a canoe to opposite their victim's house and called to him to come down and inspect their fish.

"All right," said George; and was leaving the house when his wife begged him not to go out to the men.

"Why not?" he asked.

"Thy'll kill you," she said.

"Not they," he answered and waded out up to his waist into the lagoon to the canoe.

"Here's a fine fish." said one of the natives, and as Burrows bent over to look at it, the party of them seized him and plunged him under the water, holding him down till he struggled no longer.



Trader being drowned at Kapingamarangi. "They seized him and plunged him under the water."



The trader's assistants also killed. "Reece saw them, pointed his pistol, and fired."

Jack Reece came along the shore.

The natives answered: "Yes."

"Then throw the body away, and go to my house, and I'll pay you."

All this dreadful time George's two faithful native boys had been high up in a tree gathering cocoanuts. Reece saw them, pointed his pistol, and fired twice. The lads fell to the ground dead. Reece now rushed into the house, and covering the trembling woman with his still smoking pistol demanded her husband's money.

He got the silver.

"Now where's the gold?" he demanded, and to enforce the request fired a shot, which just grazed the woman's side. He had no intention of killing her, but wanted her for a mistress.

The poor woman succeeded in escaping from the wretch's clutches and presently got away to the island of Nukuoro, a hundred miles or so south-east of Lukunor; and when, in January 1883, the **Mazepa** again arrived at Lukunor, she was on board, on her way to Ponape. It was from her own lips I had the whole terrible story, to confirm which she still had her wounded side to show.

The time had now come that, after a residence of five years and ten months, I must bid adieu to Lukunor. I had had many misfortunes there. Had all my plans and schemes come to fruition I might have been a millionaire by now, with vessels of my own. But things went ever contrary with me. Even in leaving the island I had a quarrel with the King. He wanted me to give him a gun as a parting present. I refused and told him that it was due to his encouragement of the German trader that I had to leave at all.

Chapter XIV. The Shortest and the Saddest.

I had gone aboard the schooner, taking my daughter, now only two months short of five years old, with me. And now some foolishness possessed me not only to go ashore once more, but to take the girl also. I went, indeed, to ask my wife Lilly, if she would come away with us to Ponape. She said "yes," but the natives had resolved that she was not to come. *It was pitiful to have her clinging, weeping, round my neck, and little Sarah heartbroken too. Had I been able to bind her legally to me, as Mr. Logan had urged, I could have defied the lot of them, but the fatal blunder of which I was the victim in Australia, and which had interposed between my conscience and my wishes on this matter, now rendered me helpless and I knew it.*

We decided presently that Lilly should keep the boy Joseph, and that I should take Sarah with me to Ponape, there to put her to school. But even this was not to be, for while we were talking, making our tearful farewell, some of the islanders stole round and forcibly carried off my pretty darling girl. I looked up and she was gone, snatched away to become a slave. The thought was horrible but all my entreaties, all my enevours, could not get her again. I tried to get help from the ship, but there was none to give that would have availed anything. My agony was intensified by Lilly, who flung

herself on the ground, and was tearing her hair, but we were separated at last and I went aboard the boat. The foreigners there tried to console me by telling me that at Ponape we should be able to persuade the missionaries to interfere in my behalf, but I could not bring myself to look back upon the island as we sailed away.

Soon after my arrival at Ponape **H.M.S. Espiègle** put in to the harbour there. She was the first modern man-of-war I had seen for years and I dressed in my best to present myself, as a British subject, to her commander. This was Captain Bridge, afterwards to be known as Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge. He received me very kindly, inquired after my experiences on the islands and listened attentively to the story of my daughter's loss. In this latter affair he interested himself to such good purpose that the American missionaries of Ponape were stirred up to take steps to effect her rescue from a life of shame and misery.

To tell the sequel very briefly here, I may mention that, through the Mission, my daughter was removed from Lukunor and sent to America, the land of the free. At thirteen years of age, she came back again to Strong Island, where she was under the motherly care of Miss Fletcher; but alas! her young life was finished. Before we were able to meet again, she had died, surrounded by kindness, but among strangers. Her last words, as she sat up in bed, were a request for her father. Poor, fragile, loving, little Sarah! She is gone and I am left with a sorrow I shall carry with me to the grave.

Chapter XV.

Of the Great Massacre on Ponape and How I Returned to Civilisation.

On the way to Ponape, I landed on the island of Narlap at the entrance of Kitty harbour and we were boarded by a young American, who wished me to stay with him. On landing I found this to be a barren and sandy island, not at all pleasing to my mind: it had for entire population thirteen Kingsmill (Gilbert) Islanders, with whom the young American was doing a little trade when and how he could. It was not a place to tempt one to stay long, so I wrote to the American missionaries on Ponape and after a few days they sent several canoes to fetch me and my belongings across. The distance is at least twenty-five miles, often through crooked and difficult passages, while at night we had to contend also against darkness, cold, and bad smells as we picked a course through overhanging salt-water bushes, which would now and again give us nasty blows on the head. But taking no notice of these little discomforts my canoe-men went ahead, singing as they stood up to pull at their long oars. The voices of these natives though musical are rough, caused by a throat operation which they perform as a precaution against the local fever. They are of strong, robust build, and are tattooed all over their legs and arms. Though not prepossessing in appearance and of a fierce aspect, I found them really kind and polite in manners. At intervals our boats would cross open waters surrounded by lovely scenery, where waterfalls ran laughingly down steep cliffs and the air was melodious with the singing of gaily-plumed birds. Presently there came in view the high pinnacle of Ja-Koit [Sokehs], rising precipitously some hundreds of feet, and

terrible for the custom the women of the place have of hurling over it their unwelcome children and sometimes throwing themselves down as well. Here reside the most ferocious of the natives, and here it was that four years afterwards [in 1887] a massacre of Spanish settlers took place of which I was an unhappy witness, and which I am shortly to describe. We pulled up for the night at a little cluster of huts, where my tired men could refresh and dress themselves, a point on which they are very precise. For myself I made such shift as I could, rather than be left on the rocks, but a miserable night it was; we were almost eaten up with mosquitoes and closely huddled together in a little house. All the night long could be heard the crack of the natives' guns, so fond are they of their weapons and such good use do they make of them too. At daylight we were off again and at nine o'clock I arrived at the Mission, which is situated on the spot where the Spaniards established their first colony in 1886.

Ponape is of rugged mountainous formation and, were it well populated and fortified, would make a second Gibraltar almost, supposing such a fortress were required in this part of the earth. The island is ruled by four kings, under whom in rank come kings' sons, who never become kings themselves, and then lesser chiefs, all of whom have attained their particular grade by some acts of bravery. Neither rank nor name is permanent and titles are constantly changing. A welcome is always extended to white men, specially to English and Americans, while the poorer he is the better a man will probably fare. At the big feasts which take place very often the stranger will be seated on the right hand of the king or of the presiding chief, and kept abundantly supplied with the choicest delicacies in the way of food. The principal feasts take place on Saturdays, for no cooking whatever is done on Sundays: the natives are most scrupulous in observing the "day of rest," and seem thoroughly attached to the Protestant religion, though the Catholic has now been forced on the islands. The best return a foreigner can make to a native is a pipe of tobacco but Europeans have various ways of spoiling the natives.

It must have been about 1885 [rather 1886] that the Germans took temporary possession of Ponape and had their flag painted on boards and nailed to trees on the island: in a few months, however, they returned to take them down again, and that in a hurry, for the Spaniards were already landed in Yap. One fine August morning a full-rigged frigate hove in sight and turned out to be the Spaniard **Dofia María de Molina**. She sailed smoothly in and landed her officers and men close by the compound of the American Mission. Now the Americans had been established in Ponape, as well as on Strong Island and in the Marshall Group, for many years, and had laid firm hold on the affections of the natives. Their influence even extended to the Mortlock Islands. But now the Roman Catholic religion was to make an attempt at entry and the natives would flock to see the newcomers though they mocked at their ceremonies. By degrees the winning ways of the priests led to some converts being drawn from the Protestants and jealousy and suspicion made their appearance among the people. The Spaniards had established themselves in a small colony of houses built by men brought with them from Manilla. Within this settlement they set the natives to work on roads and at clear-

ing the bush. The chiefs they conciliated by giving feasts and making other demonstrations of friendliness. Outside a spirit of tension was abroad and mysterious firing of guns, which I could not understand were constantly being heard.

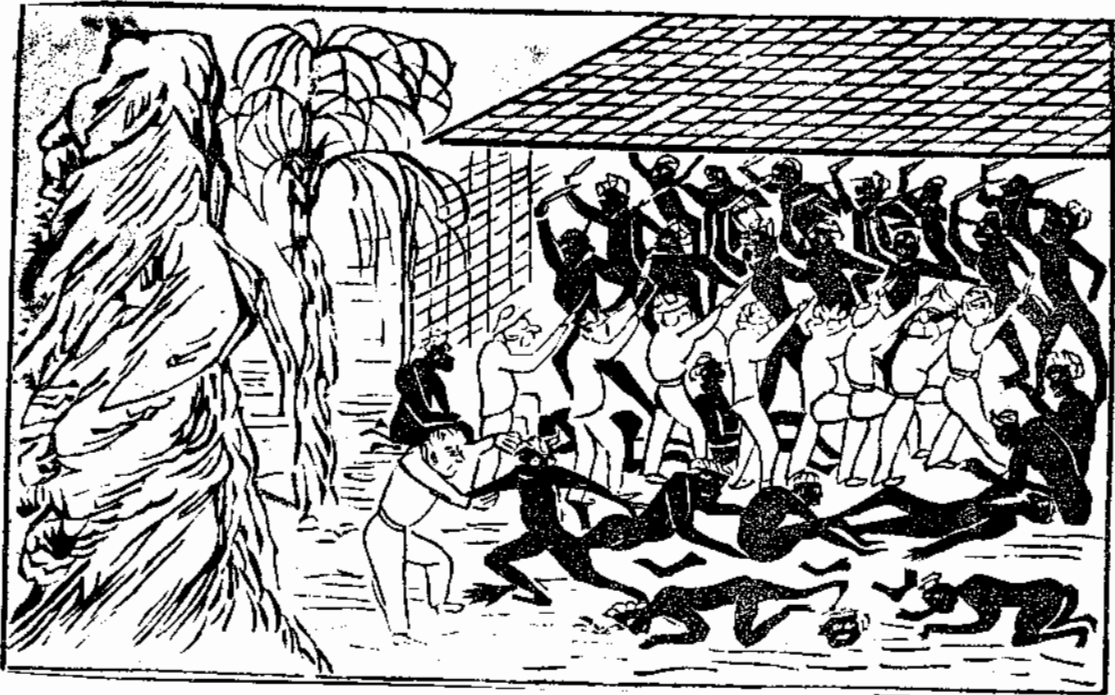
At this time there were on the island about fifty white men in all, and some of these were glad of the introduction by the latest comers of some kind of civilised government. All of them were trying to do what little business was possible. Germans from Samoa had the most of it, but there was also a little trade with New Zealand and San Francisco. Others of the settlers were deserters from whalers whose crews had originally been Shanghaied on board and who had taken an opportunity of escape. One such was a Portuguese negro who had got ashore by leaping overboard and swimming fifteen miles to land. Such were the elements making up our white population when the Spaniards seized and made prisoner on their transport **Manila** one of the American missionaries.¹ Some of the white people protested, but others felt it a hopeless attempt to go against the government in power, and held back accordingly. Thus it came about that the missionary was kept on board for fifteen days and then shipped to Manila.

I was turning into bed one night about eleven o'clock when I was called upon by one of the Americans, a man who had lived a long time in the backwoods and who had a remarkable appearance from the long hair he always wore. He had in his hand a roll of paper which turned out to be a petition he was anxious I should sign. But I had not forgiven the [Protestant] missionaries for refusing to bring back my little daughter from the Mortlock Islands and refused even to look at the paper. I would not, I said, be a party to any of the squabbings then raging between the various parties on the island. My visitor went off looking black as thunder and saying I should be sorry for what I had said. For myself I thought no more about it but went to bed and slept soundly.

Next day came a further warning in the shape of an anonymous letter threatening me with the same fate as the other foreigners, and this I thought it worth while to take to the [Catholic] Mission for whom I was then doing a little building. The transport **Manila** had now left the island some days but no serious trouble seemed imminent. The threat, therefore, passed disregarded: of the horrors so swiftly to descend upon us I can truly say I had no suspicion.

It happened as I very well remember on the 4th of July—the Glorious Fourth [1887]. The stillness of middle night was broken by a sudden alarm of massacre. Springing into my clothes I was met outside the house by an indescribable scene of hideous slaughter. The whole place was alive with natives, infuriated to the point of madness: their long knives dripped with blood: their hands and bodies were red with killing. There had been an attack, so I gathered on the Spanish settlement: the belief was that not a man had escaped. Already some of the savages had dressed themselves out in the uniforms of murdered officers, and their foreign swords hung strangely by their sides: firing was going on all around. Panic had seized the whole foreign community and as it grew, so grew also the thirst for blood on the part of the natives. The Germans deserted their

1 Ed. note: Rev. E. T. Doane.



The Pohnpei rebellion of 1887. *"The stillness of middle night was broken by a sudden alarm of massacre."*

head station even to put on to their neighbouring island of Pingelap: the Americans fled to Natic [Ngatik]. In the confusion it was impossible to tell who were friends and who foes.

Homeless and alone, with everything I possessed lost, I wandered aimlessly along, full of bitter thoughts, questioning with myself whether it were worthwhile to try to live longer, and asking if it could be because of my desire to befriend others I was always getting into trouble and misery. Occupied with such reflections I presently came to a rock by the wayside, whereon was seated a man with folded arms and hat pulled over his head. He leaned forward as if in grief, and changing my first impulse to pass him by, I went up to speak to him. He returned no answer and I spoke again. Still he did not speak, so I lifted his hat from his forehead and was confronted with two great staring eyes and a tongue which hung half out of his mouth. I opened his coat and now saw the horrid cause of his mysterious silence. The man's stomach had been ripped wide open and the entrails had been taken out and hung round the unfortunate victim's neck. Overcome with nausea at the sight, I staggered a few paces and fell there and then in a faint.

When I regained consciousness a native whom I knew was leaning over me. He asked: "What, John! all alone; you're not dead?" "No," I replied, "but I had a good scare a little way back." Even of this fellow I was afraid, lest he should bring his long knife across my throat, so shattered were my nerves by the horrors of the night. I dragged myself back towards what had been my home, but home, alas! it was no longer. Every-

thing was gone except one box of clothes and, as chance would have it, my bookful of island stories, the reminders of happier days gone by.

To remain in the house all unarmed as I was would have been at jeopardy of my life, but I found refuge in a tow-storey house with two other white fugitives. One of my comrades was a Portuguese who, I soon discovered, was not to be trusted too far: the other was an Englishman, who had stowed himself away inside a locker as soon as he heard the firing. We hid ourselves together in the upper storey just above the stairs, the Portuguese cheering us with the frequently repeated remark that we should never leave Ponape alive. There was luckily a tomahawk and a good stout club in the room, and our only chance was to watch the top of the stairs closely and club the first native whose head appeared above the floor, serve the second and third the same if possible, and possess ourselves of their weapon; our plan of defence was never put to the test. We remained in the house undiscovered and undisturbed for several days until at length I ventured out as far as the [Protestant] mission station at Oua.

These were the circumstances leading up to the massacre, as I subsequently learnt them. The Spanish Governor, it appeared, had the idea he could do exactly as he liked with the natives, who were not very numerous though brave as lions. Accordingly when he sent a peremptory order to the chief of Ja-Koit to appear before him in the settlement, the chief sent back a point blank refusal to do anything of the sort. If the Governor wanted him, he said proudly, let him come for him himself. The Governor, needless to say, had no such intention, but did send a young officer with a detachment of [Filipino] soldiers to bring the refractory monarch by force before him.

When the Spaniards arrived at the big house where the king held his court, they found him at the head of a long room, surrounded with his tribesmen, all armed with knives. The lieutenant ranged his soldiers in line and then asked for the king.

"Here I am," said the chief.

"The Governor wishes to see you," said the lieutenant.

"I answer I will not go to the Governor," said the king with dignity.

"Then I must take you," was the lieutenant's rejoinder as he ordered his men to make the arrest. Immediately the whole body of natives sprang to their feet with wild yelping and their knives flashed out. Before the Spaniards could get in a volley they were swept down upon, and in less than fifteen minutes there was not a living man of them left. The bodies flung into the stream crimsoned it with blood and set the rebellion in full career.

The [Doña] **María de Molina** had been moored alongside the island as a defensive hulk, but it now appeared she had been very badly located and as a matter of fact her guns could not protect the colony at all. Some boatloads of marines were sent ashore, but they shared the fate of the colonists they came to rescue, and the boats themselves were seized and carried off.

Meantime the Governor was doing his best to fortify the colonists behind bags of rice but nothing could save them against the mad onrush of the natives. Some ran into the bush, only to be made prisoners; most were cut down where they stood, but a few

managed, bleeding from wounds, to escape to the ship. The Governor was captured and shut up in his own improvised battery. There they kept him four days and nights, almost naked and without food or drink. On the fourth night he managed to escape and endeavoured to swim to the transport. He was calling out "María de Molina" to attract attention on board, when a native came canoeing swiftly towards him and with a loud "Hurrah" clove his head clean off with his long knife. The lives of the priests were spared, but they were turned out from the colony without a stick and the village was then fired. An attempt was even made to capture the **María de Molina** but, although there were but twenty men left on board, the ship was too well protected to be taken. Still matters were pretty bad on deck. The Captain's wife went mad with privation and anxiety, and others came near following her example. Provisions could only be obtained through the assistance of two Portuguese, runaway whalers originally, who acted as go-betweens with the shore.

Stray foreigners left on land were having in the meantime some desperate adventures. There was one poor fellow, who had taken refuge in a hut together with a half-caste boy from the Marshall Islands. The boy had a splinter in his foot which rendered him half lame and at the best he was only a weak companion. In the middle of one night a band of natives armed with guns surrounded the hut and called out to those inside to open the door. The boy did as he was bid in fear and trembling, and just then the noise woke up his comrade who had been asleep. He raised himself a little but was shot down dead the next instant. Another man, a Portuguese, was chased about from island to island and lived for days in his skiff. While the light lasted he kept out at sea and only crept ashore for food at dead of night. How he managed to escape all the shots aimed at him I don't know. Eventually he was received on board the **María de Molina**. Others tried but unsuccessfully to get away to the Mission steamer **Morning Star**. By this time the natives, satiated with blood, were turning to fresh orgies. They make a strong toddy from the juice of the cocoanut tree, keeping it about ten days to ferment: and they had besides the liquors taken from the Spaniards. Day and night there were carousals, the men dressed up in fantastic gala costumes, their heads wreathed in laurel and stuck over with feathers, and shining knives dancing by their sides, ready for use at the slightest provocation.

All this while myself and companions had been remaining in close hiding, as I have already stated. One day I was sitting reading when looking up I saw about twenty natives fully armed had crept up and were surrounding the hut. The leader rushed straight at me and I closed my eyes expecting to feel the next instant the cold steel at my heart. Just then there was a shout. Opening my eyes again I saw the savages were divided into two parties, some my friends and some my foes. The former, as it chanced, had the preponderance and the others were forced to drop knives and guns. I was saved once again, but only after a torment of suspense as bad as death itself.

Not long after this we were relieved by the arrival of the troop-ship **Sanguitine** [**San Quintín**], which brought back the American missionary who had been sent to Manila. We determined to get aboard if possible. Packing our scanty belongings in a sailor's

bag we armed ourselves and set out in a canoe for the twelve-mile pull to the vessel. We reached it to find that already men had been sent ashore and had made captive some of the natives, among them the man who had tried to kill me in the hut and whom I freely forgave.

A day or two later we left the island where I had once been so happy. The rice was grown to a fair height and was looking fresh and green, but not a soul was to be seen on shore. I could not bear the silent ghastly sight. Let your engines go, steamer; carry me away from this land of sad thoughts while we steam between sky and sea¹

¹ Ed. note: Westwood arrived at Manila aboard the San Quintin on 21 September 1887. When his story was published in Shanghai, he was confined in the Isolation Hospital there.

Notes 1877J

Documents relating to Likiep Atoll, 1877-1887

Source: Cecil B. Gill Collection, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.

Documents required for a full understanding of this subject matter

- J1. 7 August 1877.—Agreement between A. Capelle & Co. and José de Brum
...
- J2. 14 August 1877.—Statement of sale of Likiep by Jurataka, King of Aur, Maleolap, Erikub, Wotje, and Likiep, to José de Brum
...
- J3. 26 June 1878.—Statement of sale of Likiep to Capelle & Co. by José de Brum
...
- J4. 30 June 1880.—Statement of Understanding between the subjects of King Jurataka living on Likiep and José de Brum (considered by them the lawful owner of Likiep)
...
- J5. 30 January 1880.—Agreement between the residents of Likiep and the owners
...
- J6. 20 December 1880.—The Jaluit Company, Deutsche Handels- und-Plantagen Gesellschaft der Südsee Inseln zu Hamburg, give(s) up all claims to Likiep
...
- J7. 17 May 1887.—Statement dividing Likiep between Charles H. Ingalls, Adolph Capelle and José de Brum
...

Note 1878A

S.M.S. Augusta, Captain Hassenpflug

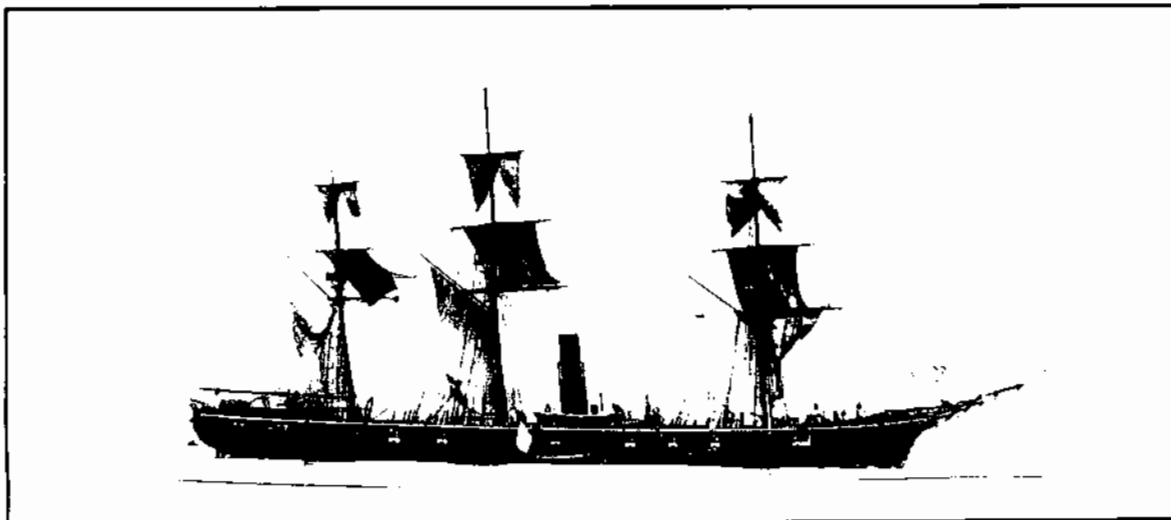
Source: Article in Annalen der Hydrographie, vol. 6 (1878).

Trip report of S.M.S. Augusta, Corvette Captain [i.e. Cmdr] Hassenpflug**Synthesis of this report.**

Captain Hassenpflug in the **Augusta** left Tonga for Samoa in October 1877, with Lieut. von Maltzahn as Mate.

In January and February 1878, she sailed from Samoa to Yokohama (from 15 January to 21 February). They crossed the equator by 167° long. **West**. By 31 January, they had passed the Marshall Islands and were sailing directly for the Northern Marianas.

On 12 February, they sighted Farallon de Pajaros, whose position was checked by Lieut. Maltzahn. They passed by the Volcano [Iwo] Islands and northward to Yokohama, where they arrived after a 42-day passage from Apia.



SMS Augusta in 1878. (From Hildebrand et al., I, 272).

Documents 1879A

The old Agaña school-house for girls is sold and a new one built

Sources: PNA; LC Mss. Division, ref. ...; cited in B&R 53: 403; 21 leaves.

A1. The case file, summarized

Governor Bravo, et al.—Mariana Islands. Case file of the sale of a small and old house that existed in this city for use as the school for girls and that over 8 years ago was found in a ruinous state, and of the construction of the new school in the Magellan Plaza through donations and work. Dated Agaña and Manila, 1 April-13 October 1879

...

A2. The file received at Manila

Note: Last document in the file.

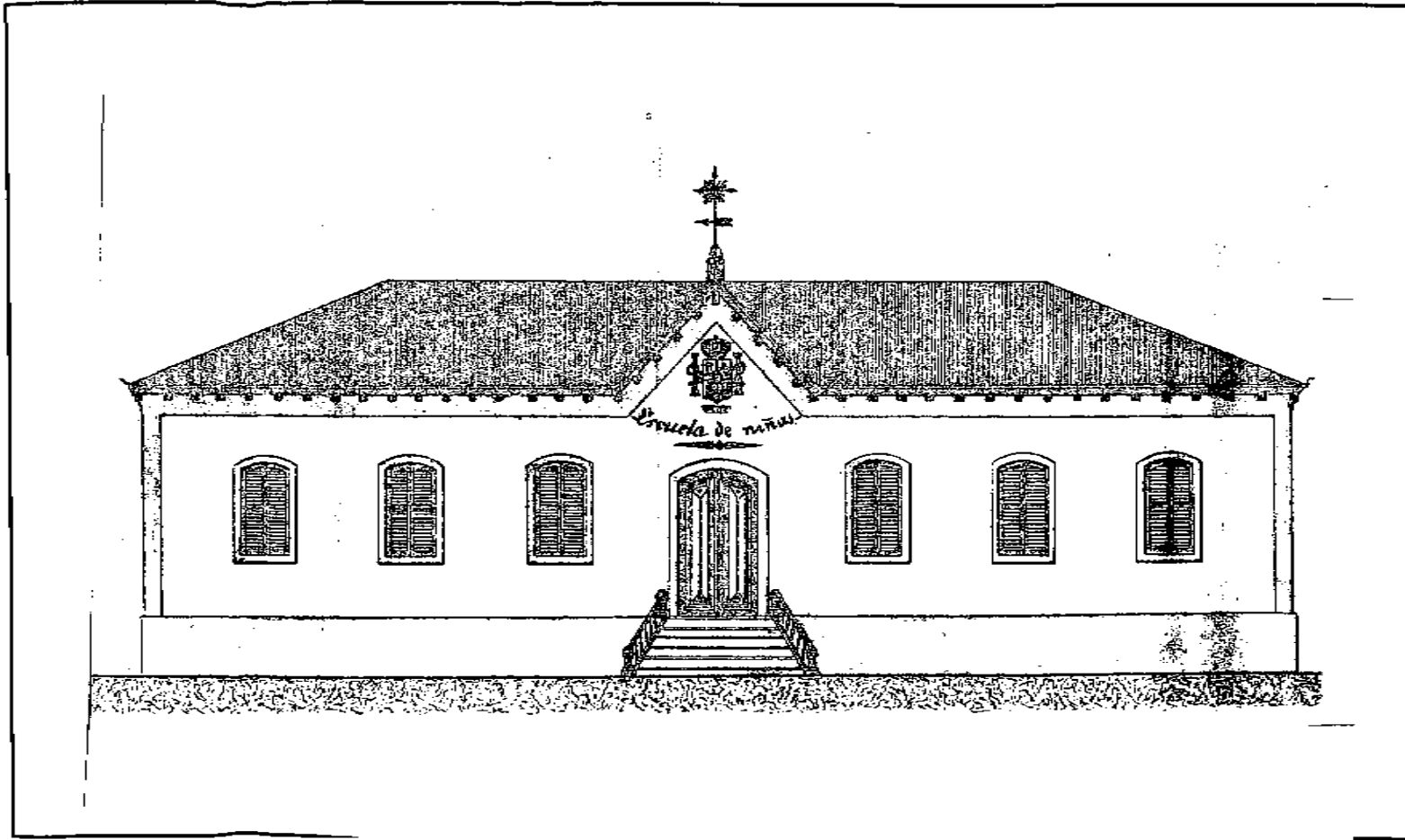
Note dated Manila 13 October 1879.

Manila, 13 October 1879.

Write to the P.M. Governor of the Marianas to acknowledge the receipt of the plan for the construction of one school of masonry for girls, letting him know at the appropriate time that this Government General has been pleased to see the initiative and the realization of this useful project, and also in the many persons who have contributed gifts, hoping that when he will give an account of the inauguration of the building, he may propose the names of the persons whom he considers worthy of a reward, indicating their rank and social status so that we can agree on what is proper upon informing the Overseas Ministry.¹

[Next page: A new school for girls at Agaña, built in 1880.]

¹ Ed. note: According to later reports, the School for Girls was indeed built, in 1880.



Document 1880C

The diary of James L. Young, 1880-81

Source: PMB 22 and 23. Note: James Lyle Young was agent for Capelle & Co., of Jaluit, in the Marianas.

Summary of the diary

—On 11 Jan. 1880, he arrived at Langar Island, Pohnpei, from Guam, aboard schooner **Beatrice**, Capt. Williams.

—28 Jan.: Whaler **Fleetwing**, Capt. Heppingstone, visited Pohnpei.

—About 8-9 Feb.: Wreck of ship **Undine**, Capt. Kustel, at Metalanim Harbor.

—8 Feb.: 20-ton schooner **Jaluit**, Capt. Witt, arrived from Bonjah [Jaluit].

—10 Feb.: 54-ton schooner **Tori**, Capt. Kaminga, arrived from Bonham [Jaluit].

—11 Feb.: Kubary visited Langar Island in Pohnpei harbor.

—14 Feb.: Rev. Doane visited Langar I. with mail for Honolulu and U.S.A.

—16 Feb.: "Great preparations for war between Auk [Owa] and Uu [U] tribes."

—17 Feb.: **Tori** left for Guam.

—26 Feb.: Young visited on board whaler **Pacific**, Capt. Nowlan, in Bonatik Harbor, passing by whaling barks **John Howland**, Captain Green, and **Rainbow**, Capt. Cogan, both at anchor in Mutok Harbor. Ship **Belle Brandon** had left for Mokil on 24th. Schooner **Elizabeth**, Capt. Witherington, from Fiji via Kosrae anchored at Metalanim.

—29 Feb.: Schooner **Beatrice**, Capt. Williams, arrived at Langar from the Mortlocks.

—2 March: Schooner **Franziska**, Capt. Rohlf arrived with German consul Hershheim aboard, via Kosrae.

—6 March: Whaler **Helen Mar**, Capt. Bauldry, anchored at Kiti.

—8 March: Capt. Witherington of **Elizabeth** visited Langar I. from Metalanim

—17 March: List of whalers that visited Pohnpei in early 1880:

Jan: **Fleetwing**, Heppingstone, off & on at Jokoits [Sokehs]

" **Norman**, Keenan, in Mutok

Feb: **Thomas Pope**, Adams, off & on at Kiti

" **Pacific**, Nowlan, in Ponatik

" **Rainbow**, Cogan, in Mutok

" **John Howland**, Green, in Mutok

March: **Helen Mar**, Bauldry, in Kiti

—21 March: “Went on top of the hill [at Sokehs Rock] to look for vessels and came down road under the western precipice for the first time and was much surprised to find such perfect basaltic polygonal columns as are hanging or standing in the western face of cliff. The road was dangerous but amply repays the trouble. What wonderful evidence of design... even in these miserable islands, fit only for Kanakas to live in.”

—26 March: Barkentine **Mathilde**, Capt. Nissen, arrived after visiting Agrigan, Pagan, Guam, Woleai, Faraulep and Yap. “Reports having found **Lotus** schooner at Oleai with 35 Marshall Island natives on board. This vessel drifted away in going from Jaluit to Ebon in October last and after being 60 days at sea with but little provisions, finally fetched Faraulep 1500 miles to leeward of Ebon, all living but very much exhausted.”

—13 April: Arrived at Kosrae aboard **Mathilde**.

—21 April: Arrived at Jaluit. The vessels in Jaluit Harbor at the time were:

Ferdinand, barque, Westergaard;

Nicolaus, brigantine, Jepsen;

Montiara, schooner, Schneiders;

Olosega, schooner, Westfallen.

“At 2 p.m. that day, the **Montiara** left for Arno, Grösser supercargo. Find that **Sophie** barque arrived here from New Britain and left 3 weeks ago for Samoa, also that F. Hensheim has gone to New Britain in **Franziska** and Robertson remains here in charge. Find a liquor mill in full operation here run by old black Tom and a large assortment of “beachcombers” among others Haggerty, Jack Smith Severin, Miller (once of “Lotus”), E. A. Blow, etc.”

—22 April: **Jaluit** sch. arrived from Ailinglaplap, Ujae and Lae with 30,000 lbs. copra. Began discharging **Mathilde** into **Ferdinand** barque.

—28 April: “Made draft of liquor law for Chiefs to sign “*Kien in mia dren in Karek*,” to prevent sale of liquor to natives and got Lebon and Loek to sign it and also wrote letter to German consulate demanding consul’s assistance and sent copy to Thomas Litton. This law is the first ever made by these Chiefs affecting foreigners in any way, and is one very much needed as the natives are rapidly becoming demoralized by liquor. It was with much trouble I got this arranged as some of the liquor-selling whites are strongly opposed to it and threaten the chiefs for interfering with this practice.”

—4 May: “**Ferdinand** barque, 480 tons, Westergaard, left for “Falmontt” for orders. **Vavao** sch. 75 tons, Brechwoldt, arrived from Kingsmills.”

—8 May: **Mathilde** bound for Samoa.

—14 May: “Much talk of war between Lebon & party and Loek & party. Great firing of guns & war-dances going on all day and night.”

—15 May: “Fighting excitement still hot among natives. No one killed yet, but plenty of firing going on all round island... At 8 p.m., **Fortune** schooner, 21 tons, Wallace, arrived from Kingsmills with 22 labourers for Hawaiian Government.”

—16 May: "Great excitement this morning among natives. At 8 a.m., 17 canoes comprising Loek's fleet of warriors passed down one mile off going to Lolan from Mejato. Kedias & party firing off guns on beach expecting attack which did not come however."

—17 May: Showery.

—18 May: "Loek's fleet passed up to Enijet and began cutting down cocoanut trees & destroying food."

—31 May: "Many bullets flying over vessels and round houses from the natives' guns. Sent to stop their careless shooting."

—9 June: Arrival of the **Venus**, 3-masted schooner, 191 tons, Capt. Cummins, (McKenzie supercargo) from Sydney via Kingsmills. The **Venus** belonged to DeWolf & Co. of Liverpool, England.

—16 June: "At 2 p.m., I left in Schooner **Olosega**, 50 tons, H. Schlüter, Master, for Ponape."

—19 June: Arrived at Pohnpei.

—6 July: "Purchased the whole of Langar Island from Lepen Not. Paid \$250 cash & stock, and got deed signed."

—8 July: Left for Guam aboard the **Beatrice**.

—17 July: Arrived at Guam.

—19 July: "Called at Palacio at 8 a.m. Got permit from Governor to land goods as per manifest. Arranged to go to Agrigan & Pagan and asked Governor for authority to keep present Alcalde on Agrigan & to engage fresh labour at Saipan. landed some goods at Antonio Diaz' house at Apra."

—20 July: "Called again on Governor & talked some general business with him."

—22 July: "Called on Don Felipe Delgado, Padre Francisco, Don Luis Herrero, Antonio Garcia, etc. to return calls."

—24 July: "Called at Governor's at 8 a.m., left him at 9 a.m. with Foster, went on board **Beatrice** at 11 a.m. and at noon sailed for Agrigan Island, on way ports passengers: Padre Miguel Ortubia, Padre Miguel Lasa, Antonio Pangelinan & servant, and 8 persons for Pagan. Also Mrs. H. T. Williams. Laid course for Rota but at 9 p.m. were becalmed 18 miles South of Rota."

—25 July: ... "6 a.m. Rota Island distant 7 miles to NNE. Calm all day with cloudy weather, very warm. 6 p.m. S. end Rota distant 6 miles NE, calm..."

—26 July: ... "6 a.m. Landed Padre Miguel Ortubia & Antonio Pangelinan & goods at village at West side Rota. 7:30 a.m. Shaped course NNE for Saipan."

—27 July: Arrived at Saipan. "Landed at 8:30 a.m. at point & walked to town. Staid all night at Padre Lasa's house."

—29 July: "Engaged 4 Carolinos for Agrigan before Alcalde. Don Francisco Suarez, could not get any more."

—30 July: Left for Agrigan.

—5 Aug.: "Lying off and on at Agrigan Island... Station on SW side Agrigan distant 1-1/2 miles. Heavy surf on beach. 8:30 a.m. Left vessel in boat with 4 boat crew, and 4 Carolinos labourers. Tried to land at the Cave ("Casa Real") and again at Station

houses but failed owing to heavy surf. Finally at 11:30 a.m. sent 4 Carolinos to swim ashore at the Cave, with all letters for Alcalde which they accomplished successfully although there were many sharks about."

—6 Aug.: "... Lying to off West side of Pagan Island"...

—7 Aug.: "Left Pagan for Guam..."

—9 Aug.: Stopped at Tinian I.

—12 Aug.: Arrived at Guam. "Find that... H.I.G.M.S. **Freyse** called here 7 days ago on her way from Honolulu to Manila."

—13 Aug.: ... "At 4 p.m., Brigantine **Manuel**, Captain Eguilar [Aguilar], 23 days from Manila, anchored in Port Apra, passengers Don Francisco Brochero (New Governor), Don Pedro Sauza & wife (Medical man), Don Rafael Yavera [Llaverro] & wife (Military Instructor) & Don Rafael Baquero (Second Commander of the Presidio) and some chamorros who all came up town in night."

—20 Aug.: "Called on new Governor Don Francisco Brochero at palacio and gave him letter on business."

—22 Aug.: ... "At auction of Don Manuel Brabo's effects at the New College—present all officers and priests—purchased desk & porter for A. Capelle & Co."

—4 Sept.: "At 10 p.m., Brigantine **Manuel**, Capt. Eguilar sailed for Manila; passengers: Don Manuel Brabo & wife, José Brabo, D. Isidro Cortina & wife, & Don Vicente Calvo's daughter. At 6 a.m., H. T. Williams, José Portusach and self left Agaña on horseback and rode up coast arriving at Hion Coconut plantation at 8 a.m. Walked all over plantation (which I judge to contain 5000 trees) and returned to town again at 4 p.m."

—7 Sept.: "Walked with Williams down Asan Road, and afterwards called with him on Padre José Palomo and saw A. Milne's private diary. Saw Padre José going in sedan chair to "beatico" [*viatico*] to administer the Extreme Unction to a Chamorro. Bells ringing all day for the feast of the "Nativity".¹

—8 Sept.: "Fiesta de Natividad. Called at José Tudela's house and saw his sugar, cacao and coffee."

—12 Sept.: "Fiesta de Dulce Nombre de Maria (Feast of the Sweet Name of Mary). After mass the soldiers marched round the town and proclaimed some new laws relating to municipal affairs... Smart shock of earthquake at 3:30 p.m. No damage done."

—13 Sept.: "At 6 a.m. left Agaña on horseback with Captain Williams & Padre José Palomo and rode across Island to Pago, and thence down the coast to Tarafoko River where we had lunch, thence through Martinez Cattle Ranch to Ynarahan at which town we arrived at 4 p.m. Stayed at Padre Ramon's [Orrit]."

—14 Sept.: ... "Left Ynarahan at 6 a.m., rode down coast and arrived at Merizo (SW point Guam) at 9 a.m. Stayed at Padre Mariano's [Martinez]."

—15 Sept.: "Left Merizo at 6 a.m., passed Umata at about 8 a.m. thence very rough road to Agat arriving there at 11 a.m. Dismounted at schoolmaster's house to wait for

1 Ed. note: The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

our provisions coming up on bullock, and Padre José feeling very ill lay down. At 1 p.m. Williams pushed on, while I stayed behind with Padre José who fell too ill to go on. Saw Padre Isidoro [Liberal] who visited us, and at 4 p.m., Padre José being a little better, we started for Agaña and after a ride through a fearfully muddy road through the rice fields, arrived at Point Piti at dark, and at Agaña at 7:30 p.m.”

—18 Sept.: „, “Government officers killing dogs. Killed 200 today.”

—23 Sept.: ... “Called on Padre José Palomo and received A. Milne’s private diary from him... Called on Governor this morning with Juan Guerrero by appointment to receive A. Milne’s books when he handed me a small package which I found was not Milne’s but belonging to some deceased Spaniard. Governor then told me coolly that “nobody was to blame” but that he would write to Manila and inquire where Milne’s books really are; as he says he thought that the package he gave me was the books in question. Had some difficulty to preserve my temper, but did so, knowing how unavailing argument is with a Spanish Governor in his own Palace. It is now 20 months since we applied for the return of these books to us and today we are not a whit nearer getting them, the fact being that the Government is determined to tire us out, as if we saw the books we would know how much Governor Brabo stole out of the Estate of Milne when he died.”

—25 Sept.: ... “Hear that upwards of 700 dogs have been killed by policemen since new law came out.”

—27 Sept.: “Called at Governor at Palace at 8:30 p.m. by invitation with Williams & Button and met there Don Lino Herrera, Don Felipe Pugiol, Padre Francisco Resano, A. Martinez and Second Comandante. Drank coffee and left at 10 p.m. In course of conversation the Governor stated that the Spanish Government does not like to see German firms settling in these Islands as the Germans are anxious to extend their territory, and Germans everywhere are only spies for Bismarck. *Verbum sap*: his expression was that the Germans are “*muy mala gente, y muy covetoso*” [very bad people and very covetous].”

—2 Oct.: ... “Saw the old well down which 700 condemned dogs were thrown a fortnight ago. Did not see the dogs, but smelt them plainly.”

—5 Oct.: Bound for Pohnpei aboard **Beatrice**.

—11 Oct.: Sighted Faraulep.

—14 Oct.: Sighted Woleai.

—16 Oct.: Sighted Ifaluk.

—20 Oct.: Lying off Lamotrek.

—24 Oct.: Sighted Satawal.

—26 Oct.: Sighted Puluwat.

—29 Oct.: Sighted Chuuk.

—5 Nov.: Entered the passage at Pohnpei.

—11 Nov.: “Kaminga returned from Kiti, having been on board **Pannonia**, Capt. Kustel.”

—17 Nov.: Sighted Pingelap.

—21 Nov.: Sighted Kosrae.

—22 Nov.: "Went at 8 a.m. at Mwot Mission Station. Saw there Mesdames Whitney, Pease & Bray, also King and Teacher..."

—25 Nov.: "King came on board at 7 a.m. and told me that he wished me to inform the German Consul-General that Capt. HERNSHEIM when he was here in July threatened to bring 100 Solomon or Duke of York natives, and to land them on Kusaie and said that he (H.) would make one of them King of Kusaie..."

—27 Nov.: Sighted Pingelap.

—29 Nov.: Sighted Pohnpei.

—30 Nov.: "Find **George Blohm** barque, Witfeld, **Tongatabu** sch., Huffnagel, and **Olosega** sch., Schleuter, all at anchor here. Also find Mr. A. Capelle ashore."

—3 Dec.: On board **Beatrice**, bound for Guam.

—8 Dec.: Sighted Guam.

—7 Jan. 1881: ...

...

Note 1880D

S.M.S. Vineta, Captain Zirzow

Source: Article in the Annalen der Hydrographie, vol. 8 (1880).

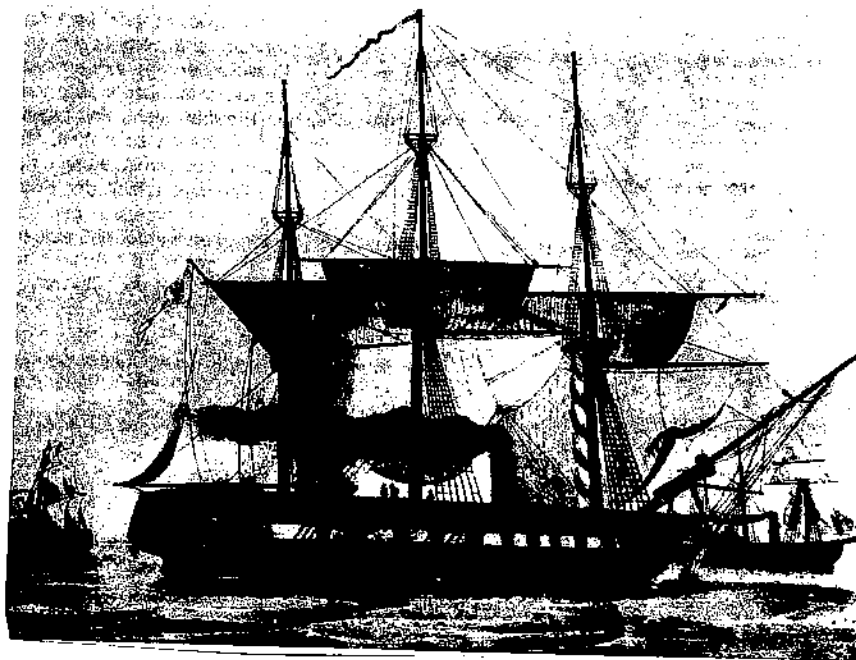
Trip report of S.M.S. Vineta, Sea Captain Zirzow

Synthesis of this report.

The first part of this trans-Pacific voyage began at Panama on 24 March 1880. They arrived at Acapulco on 3 April and spent three days there. Then they headed for Honolulu where they arrived on 26 April. Departing Honolulu on 7 May, they arrived at Yokohama on 6 June.

The track of the last part of this voyage took them by way of Wake Island, whose position they calculated to be $19^{\circ}15'$ N and $166^{\circ}32'$ E. They also passed in the vicinity (60 miles) of Marcus Island, and they saw only one bird.

This ship therefore did not sail through Micronesian waters as such.



Documents 1880E

The anthropological works of Otto Finsch

Introductory note.

Otto Finsch visited the Pacific Islands between 1879 and 1882. He referred to Oceania as the Malaysian Archipelago, and considered Micronesia as a sub-region of Polynesia. For a list of his works, see HM 20, Bibliography, under 1880.

Most of his works are too technical, e.g. his *Reise in der Südsee* (Berlin, 1884) is actually a study of anthropomorphy and anthropometry.

Some of the lighter material, more descriptive, has already been translated, as follows.

E1. The Jaluit Incident of 1880

Sources: Otto Finsch. "Bilder aus den Stillen Ocean: Kriegs-führung auf den Marshall-Inseln" in Die Gartenlaube (Leipzig) 29 (1881). Translated by John Honigmann in 1942 for the Yale Cross-Cultural Survey in connection with the Navy Pacific Islands Handbook Project, Human Relations Area Files, 1961 (MCF OR11 Marshalls). See also the partial Translation No. 1103 in UH Pac. Collection. The story has also been summarized by John Perry in the Micronesian Reporter, 1st quarter, 1976.

Warfare in the Marshall Islands, circa 1880.

We must thank Adelbert von Chamisso, the sensitive and intelligent author of the world-famous **Peter Schlemihl**, for the first detailed account of the inhabitants of the Marshall Islands. He became acquainted with them for a short time on the memorable world journey of the Russian corvette **Rurik** (1814-1818). Full of warm sympathy for the brown children of nature and filled with true love for them, he gave such favorable descriptions of his new friends that they now have the best reputation of all the peoples of the South Seas. Had Chamisso remained as many months as he remained days along the natives, his judgment undoubtedly would have been quite different. Then the in-born idealism of the poet would have yielded to a view based on more exact knowledge.

Moreover, Chamisso's child-like nature and definite philanthropy tried, if not to hide the bad side of the things he observed, at least to push the good into the foreground. Of course, it is possible that more than sixty years ago the conditions in the Marshalls were quite different from those of today. The great ship with its firearms, which at that time were hardly known in the islands, created fear among the natives, even though the strangers, in carrying out their philanthropic mission, performed only good deeds,

generously presenting the natives with priceless gifts of iron and iron objects, as well as cultivated plants and domestic animals. The latter gifts did not flourish on the islands, probably because the natives did not understand their value. The trade that developed with the whalers also provided the islands with a great many hitherto unknown objects. Within the last 25 years the [ABCFM] Mission strengthened and extended the influence of the Whites on several of these islands. At times the Mission achieved a predominant position, but this did not generally last very long. It not only taught the islanders a new view of the universe, but naturally also sought to introduce practical skills. The Mission did not give the blessings of Christianity for nothing, but understood very well how to make the church-goers into tribute-paying members so as to enrich the church and to acquire articles in exchange for goods.

As a result the Mission frequently came into conflict with the traders, which led to complaints from both parties that were not always groundless. We shall not go further into this unpleasant chapter, although it should be given an objective presentation. It would be rather interesting to compare the Marshall Islanders of Chamisso's time with those of today. In that connection we are brought face to face with the question: Have these natives painted in such idealistic tones by Chamisso, really gained, spiritually and morally, as a result of the influence of the White civilization, or has the influence of the white trader, bringing whiskey and tobacco, morally ruined and physically enervated them as others insist?

According to my experience, neither is the case. As a result of the monotony of their surroundings and the isolation of coral islands, the Marshall Islanders together with all inhabitants of atolls (ring or lagoon islands), cannot be considered highly developed spiritually. For this reason their development will stop at a certain point. The Marshall Islanders are still far from this point; actually their whole civilization, as well as their Christianity, runs to superficialities.

Just as the people's harmless entertainment, mimic action accompanied by song and drumming, and wrongly called dances, was forbidden by the missionaries, so also the long black hair and in part, the national costume of the natives were sacrificed to the zeal of the Mission. The converts are easily recognizable by their European clothing, from which originated the term "calico Christians," as they were called in a mission report. To be sure, some of these converts are regular church-goers, but even the most zealous can have no real understanding of the truths and ethics of Christianity, since their entire understanding is based upon a few memorized hymns and psalms and only a small percentage of them have gone farther than being able to scribble their own names.

In summary, what civilization has brought the Marshall Islanders, other than inadequate clothing, is confined to a few useful iron objects, among which knives, axes, needles, fishhooks, cooking pots, and trunks and chests are the most important, and a few trinkets, such as glass beads, ribbons, hair oil, and rings, besides all kinds of guns and cutting weapons. Among foods, rice and hardtack are the most important, and occasionally salt meat and a few preserves, but especially beverages among which beer is

highly valued in the islands. Beer, however, costs two Marks a bottle, and therefore frequent enjoyments of it is impossible. The native, like the majority of Whites, turns to gin, which is cheaper and stronger. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to say that drunkenness is prevalent among the natives. One seldom sees anyone drunk, and such persons generally are not common Kanakas, but their lordly superiors.

Certain aspects of native life were improved with the coming of the Whites, but it must be expressly noted that these improvements were not the result of any effort on the part of the natives. European improvements have been only rarely adopted in native house-building. They rarely bothered to plant bananas and other useful plants which flourish under the white man's care. Only their primitive skill in plaited work was adapted to constructing huts in the European manner. Their other skills have been lost, such as the highly developed techniques of building canoes, which are gradually disappearing so that now only a few old people still understand the principles.

The Marshallese, like nearly all South Sea islanders, have conservatively clung to the old order of precedence, and today in the whole Marshall group, as well as in the Ratak and Ralik Chains, there are four social levels, to which membership is inherited through the mother. There are first, the *Armidsh-kajur* [*armeʃ kajooɾ*], or the lowest class, which possesses no property and performs feudal services; the *Leotakatak*, with hereditary property; the *Burak*, free owners of larger holdings, and the *Iroidsh*, or chiefs. The *Iroidsh-lablab*, the great chief or so-called king, is chosen from this last class. One must not exaggerate his power. The present leader at least, Kabua, or "The High Chief Lebon, Ruler of the Ralik Chain," as he was pompously titled in his treaty negotiations with the German Government, is a wretched ruler. It is only with difficulty that he can write his own name; he can just barely speak a few words of English and is a lazy, narrow-minded person, full of lies and hypocrisy. Although he is not a member of the church, he maintains friendly relations with the Mission and even goes to church occasionally when it seems advantageous for him to do so.

Kabua owns only a small amount of property; he is therefore poor and for that reason avaricious. From everything that his subjects acquire, he takes a major portion for himself, and this has made him very unpopular. His influence is extremely limited. Following Kabua, Loiak is the most important chief. He is a rival of Kabua and clearly excels the latter in mental ability even though he too does not have a good reputation. There was jealousy between the two chiefs for a long time, which unexpectedly led to war.

The Marshall Islanders were already engaged in warfare at the time of Chamisso's stay. Although these wars were not especially violent, they undoubtedly did claim victims. With the type of weapons used at that time, the fighting must have been hand-to-hand combat for the most part. These weapons consisted of simple lances about seven feet long, pointed sticks made of palm wood, which in exceptional cases had shark teeth set in them, as is common today in the Gilberts, and slings consisting of a wide strip of coconut fibers from which a piece of coral was launched. Like almost all South Sea natives, the Marshallese did not have bows and arrows. With these crude weapons, to

which were added knives and other iron objects acquired by barter, the natives were not afraid to attack even the Whites in a few instances. These attacks are now things of the past. If the natives no longer regard the Whites as higher beings or gods, as they did at first, they have learned to respect their superiority and now content themselves with stealing.

The atoll of Jaluit, or Bonham, consists of 38 islands, of which 27 are inhabited by a total population of about 1,500 souls. Dshabwor (Jabwor) is not the largest of these islands, but it is the most important, for the foreign trading establishments are there. The village consists of about twenty huts, most of them wretched. Only Kabua and Loiak live in fairly decent wooden houses.

On May 14, 1880, the news spread that Loiak with his people had retired to another island of the atoll, were calling for aid, and would soon attack Dshabwor. We could expect the worst, and there was considerable excitement among the natives. The external appearance of the villagers immediately changed completely. All the European clothing, which was quite prevalent on Dshabwor, was discarded to be replaced by the somewhat fantastic national costume; the naked parts of the body and the hair (decorated with flowers and feathers) were smeared with oil. The national attire, however, was usually supplemented by some European item; for example, red cloth for head or breast bands could by no means be omitted in completing a warrior's proper outfit. The female sex wore its finest mats—a kind of shawl. Some had taken off the jackets, which they did not like, and appeared in national garb, and, by the way, not to their disadvantage. Kabua busied himself trying to buy *bu*, or guns, partly on credit. He also assembled his auxiliary troops from neighboring islands, he had as little information concerning their number as he had concerning his adversary's troops.

The next morning he held a review and provided us with a comedy about defending the beach. The defence consisted mainly of two rows of troops advancing with furious howling gestures, and rolling of eyes, aimlessly firing their guns and then returning to their homes. Kabua, armed with saber and lance and accompanied by his twelve-year-old son, was in command, aided by his wife. After this armed drill, the chiefs presented a so-called dance, that is, one of those mimic presentations, in which the participants, accompanied by singing and drumming, express their greatest act by shaking their arms and twisting their pagoda-like heads while rolling their eyes, all done in a sitting position.

Although Kabua was much better armed than his enemy, since his troops were mostly equipped with breech-loaders, he nevertheless neglected to attack first. According to custom, attack was the prerogative of the one who declared war.

Loiak did not delay long. He appeared on the third day, Whitsunday, with his fleet, naturally causing great excitement. It was certainly a picturesque sight to see the twenty large canoes, jammed with people, sailing up or rather past in a long column. Loiak did not venture to attack, but landed on the north end of Dshabwor Island. Obviously we could now expect the enemy at any moment. Sure enough, a pair of suspicious figures

soon could be discerned in the bush below the village; without doubt they were skirmishers or spies. Now Kabua gave the signal to attack. Remembering his position as chief, he placed himself at the head of his men with praise-worthy courage. His loyal people followed him, not only the warriors, but everybody without exception, for, according to military law in the Marshalls, only infants and the seriously ill are exempt from service in case of war. Everybody else, from boys to old men with canes, from the smallest girls to the oldest matrons, are subject to conscription. The attack of this colorfully decorated army was truly picturesque and the only moment worth noting in the whole war. Naturally the brave troops did not march in columns or sections, but in the majority, forming the principal part of the army, whose masculine element, including youths and cripples, numbered about 100.

Kabua himself was not surrounded by a bodyguard of his best warriors, but was followed by four of his wives as escorts; the warriors came quite some distance to the rear. Just as in the wars of earlier times, the women still accompany their men into battle today. They no longer carry sling stones in their baskets, but instead cartridges, powder, and lead, as well as foodstuffs, such as coconuts, rice, coconut shells filled with water, gin and other bottles, and finally hair oil and an American medicine called "pain-killer" which is generally known and popular in the South Seas. They were thus prepared for casualties. Most of the men were armed with guns; individuals carried not only revolvers and pistols, but also old long-forgotten spears and other weapons, for example, whalers' spades.

The warriors followed their leader in the greatest comfort possible. Whenever there was an opportunity, a coconut would be emptied, a bite eaten, a pipe lighted, or a conversation carried on; everything was just as usual. When Kabua reached the battleground, he made ready for the fighting, although he still stood alone. Like an enraged lion that shakes his mane wildly and swishes its tail before it leaps to attack, Kabua whisked the long fibers of his crinoline-like grass skirt and, with a terrible war-cry, brandished his Spencer rifle above his head. Then he began to move backward triumphantly, followed by his brave troops in accelerated tempo.

In the meantime enemy scouts penetrated into the village, not to spy, but to buy some tobacco and powder. Without any annoyance from the warriors of Dshabwor who were present, they went back to their camp.

The following day Kabua ordered the construction of a redoubt of coral stones below the village, where the island is narrowest. This was completed with remarkable speed and was the last act of the war. Sentries occupied a small camp there and impatiently and bravely awaited the enemy. The only work of the warriors was to eat, to adorn themselves, and to shoot into the air, from which no accidents resulted. This is remarkable enough, for most of the natives have no idea of how to handle a gun.

Naturally Loiak did not attack after this heroic show, and in a few days when the coconuts were exhausted where he was camping, he and his men departed to another island, even though his army was the larger. Here he not only consumed the crops that



The Marshall Islanders at war. Drawn from life by O. Finsch.

did not belong to him, but he also began to cut and sell copra, practical man that he was. This is the way the situation stands today.

It is highly doubtful that matters will ever develop to the point of serious fighting. The reckless shooting has temporarily quieted down, since spent cartridges mean money. Both chiefs want peace, and neither of them believes himself responsible for the war. Asked about the cause of the war, they reply with the stereotyped "*Idshadshe*" [*jaje*] (I don't know), which describes Kabua's position quite correctly, since he certainly is a perfect example of the "know-nothing" type. Looking at the matter from the humanistic view-point, the latest war on Jaluit proves the paradoxical fact (experienced elsewhere in Micronesia) that, even since the introduction of firearms into these regions, bloodless wars are still being fought.

The accompanying sketch shows the "coral redoubt" as I saw it. It shows the Marshall warriors in full dress and requires a short explanation to be fully understood.

The small corpulent man with the lance in his hand is Lebon Kabua himself. He and his subjects have stopped wearing the irksome European clothing since the beginning of the war and have substituted the native *ihn* [*in*]. This is a thick distended bast-fiber skirt, which falls almost to the knees and is made of narrow strips of a vine fastened around the middle with a belt of pandanus leaves, the *kangr* [*kañur*]. It gives the wearer disproportionate girth, as may be seen in the case of the warrior on the right, who is also wearing a smock. On top of the *ihn* Kabua is also wearing a special decoration of colored cloth, made of pieces of clothing sewed together. His curly hair is held in place

by a narrow band set with white shells and decorated with a few feathers. Kabua's rich tattooing, whose dull-blue tones show up very well on his brown skin, is very impressive. Standing to the left of Kabua is his captain, a worthy old Kanaka, whose earlobes, distended greatly by a ring of pandanus leaves, and headdress of frigate bird feathers give him a fantastic appearance. The two seated warriors clad only in the *ihm* illustrate the old manner of tying the hair in a knot at the back of the head. To be sure, the young volunteer seated on the stump of a palm is wearing a pigtail, but he is from a northern island of the group, whose inhabitants have kept more of their original customs. The plaited mat of pandanus fibers which he has wound around his thighs provides a very attractive dress for these naked brown figures. To the far left there are two girls in the costume most common on Jaluit, with the mats for the lower half of the body supplemented by a calico jacket of European cut. They are holding the *adsha* [aje], the hour-glass-shaped drums covered with shark skin, the only musical instrument of the Marshallese, not, as in our wars, to encourage the warriors, but merely so that the accompaniment for the dance performances will not be lacking. The two graceful women in the background illustrate the true national dress of these islanders. The tattooing for women is confined to the arms and shoulders, but this, like the enormous distention of the earlobes, is gradually disappearing.

Jaluit (Bonham), Marshall Islands, October 1880.

E2. Finsch's ethnological studies in the South Seas—Part about the Marshall Islands

Source; Otto Finsch. Ethnologische Erfahrungen und Belegstücke aus der Südsee (see Biblio, 1880).

Notes; The following is but an excerpt, from a 438-page book containing much more ethnological material about Micronesia. This part about the Marshall Islands is from Translation No. 1031 in UH Pac. Collection.

Excerpt about the Marshall Islands.

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Area and population. The area of all the islands of the Archipelago is given at about 400 square kilometers—7.28 German geographic square miles (against the 35.5 German square miles of earlier computations). But this entire territory is made up of numberless small islands over an enormous extent of sea about 660 nautical miles (180 German miles) long and about 780 nautical miles (190 German miles) wide. The peculiar structure of the atolls, girdles of reef and island specks, which more or less surround an extent of quiet water, the lagoon, only a sea chart could make clear. A part of the reefs and islands are covered with water at high tide, only a very few are generally habitable, and the communications of their inhabitants are made more difficult by the considerable extent of the lagoon. The lagoon of Jaluit (Bonham) atoll is 27 nautical miles long and contains 58 (only 45 according to Witt) small islands with an area of 90 square kilometers altogether, of which only 6 are inhabited. The largest of these, Jabwor, forms an elongated island 8 nautical miles (2 German miles) long, but hardly 100

paces wide, and in large part barren. The largest lagoon of the archipelago, Kwajalein, has a length of 57 nautical miles (about 16 German miles); its girdle of reefs numbers 81 small islands, of which the largest is only 4 nautical miles long and hardly 1 nautical mile wide.

The foregoing short account will suffice to show that an island region so broken up and so poor, to boot, cannot be thickly populated, and such was already the case in the days of Chamisso, who, for example, estimates the population of Meschid [sic] and Wotje (Otdia) at hardly 100 natives.

The later estimates of the total population at 10,000 inhabitants are too high and rest, in part, on completely erroneous statements. Thus Gulick the missionary gives 200 natives for Jemo, 1,000 for Ujelang. But Witt found the first island completely uninhabited and on the second only six natives. The largest atoll of Kwajalein has a population of only 200 souls, and according to Witt, Majuro, with 1,500, would be the most thickly populated atoll. Kuhn (1882) gives as many as 3,000 inhabitants for Arno, but these accounts are greatly over-estimated. Sometimes there are found together on an island, through the accidental presence of a fleet of canoes, a far greater number of natives than is usual. A genuine census has only been held on Jaluit, by Hemsheim in 1878, and gave 1,006 inhabitants (of which 335 were men). The natives, even the "kings", of course, know so little about the number of inhabitants on their islands as they know about their age; "King Kaibuke" of Mili had not the slightest notion of how many islands his atoll-kingdom consisted, and advised me to make a count myself.

The collective population of the Marshall Archipelago, with six generally inhabited atolls (Erikub, Jemo, Taka, Bikar, Ailinginae, Elmore) numbers between 7 and 8,000 (4,000 on Ratak, about 3,600 on Ralik), which gives about 20 souls per square kilometer. In this connection it is to be remembered that here, as everywhere, the native population is diminishing, but here no blame can be attached to the labor-recruiting trade, which generally keeps away from thinly populated regions. The natives began to die out as soon as they came into close contact with the whites, a phenomenon which repeats itself everywhere in the South Seas, but which is difficult to explain. No increases result from the many unlawful unions between whites and native women, for these unions are rarely fruitful. Other causes also contributed to the population decrease. Thus the atolls of Rongelap and Rongerik were formerly inhabited by 80 and 120 natives respectively; but at the end of the 1880s, Witt found only 10 and 18 inhabitants, respectively, although he found abandoned huts for 100. The majority of the natives had been driven south while on a general canoe voyage and had perished.

Like all Kanakas, the Marshall Islanders are not at all a long-lived race. The women fade quickly, and the men rapidly come to the stage of senility. Since the natives obviously do not know their ages, no exact figures can be given. When, for example, Chamisso speaks of a lively old "graybeard" of "80 years," and Kotzebue even one of a "hundred years," these estimates are doubtless erroneous, for actually natives age much more quickly than Europeans.

Trade. The Marshall sea is not convenient for whaling, and for this reason whalers rarely cruise here. But the commander of one such ship, Captain Handy, in the 1850s opened trade with the natives of Ebon for the first time, and in 1857 the Hawaiian evangelical mission established itself here. The first permanent trading station was erected in 1860 by the German firm Stapenhorst and Hoffschlager of Honolulu. This firm established Adolf Capelle (1864) on Ebon to purchase cocoanut oil. Capelle later founded his own firm on Jaluit, and first taught the natives how to make copra. Toward the end of the seventies (1877) HERNSEIM and Co. (Hamburg) erected a factory on the same island, from which in 1889 arose the Jaluit Company (with its headquarters in Hamburg). The trade of the Marshall Islands is predominantly in German hands; the only export product is copra, which, moreover, is produced by only a small number of islands, on which, for the purpose of this barter trade, there stand small stations (Jaluit, Ebon, Namorik, Majuro, Mili, Arno, Ailinglaplap). In order to avert the exhaustion of the palm trees, a beginning has been made in the planting of cocoanuts, for the natives hardly take any precautions themselves. A. Capelle was again the first in this matter: in 1877 he purchased the island of Likiep and soon after that he rented Ujelang; a plantation seems to have also been started on Arno. Storms, however, have repeatedly caused great devastation to the cocoanut trees in the Marshall Islands also. Thus, a hurricane in the autumn of 1874 devastated Ailinglaplap, from whose harmful consequences this island has not yet recovered seven years later. For the same reason Kili was abandoned by its few inhabitants.

Imports into the Marshall Islands earlier consisted chiefly of tobacco (American twist), weapons, spirits, cotton stuffs, later some provisions (rice and ship biscuits). In view of the small population and their lack of needs, however, imports will always remain limited.

Missionary activity. Introduced by Captain Handy in the days of the mighty chief Kaibuke under the most favorable conditions, the mission began its activity in 1857, and on Ebon with such good success, indeed, that by 1865 already 125, by 1878 as many as 400 natives, had been converted. In all the Mission possessed stations, seven churches, 13 teachers and nearly 800 converts on seven islands (Ebon, Namorik, Jaluit, Majuro, Mili, Arno and Maloelab). But here also a regression soon made itself apparent, of which I was able to convince myself. On Jaluit, in 1879, on the occasion of the presence of the missionary ship, there came only 20 men and 14 girls, but hardly half this number to church; on Arno there were only 10 Christians, and on all the Marshall Islands together there were 300 church-goers. Since then missionary activity has not made much progress, and the result, after 35 years, as on the Gilbert Islands, are not very significant. By reason of the sparse population no wars, fortunately, took place. On the other hand, the Mission gained considerable authority, especially on Ebon, which led to repeated broils with the white traders. Thus in 1885 the German gun-boat **Nautilus** had to interpose at Ebon and impose a fine of 500 dollars (2,000 Marks) on the Mission. Ebon made the greatest progress in civilization, for here almost everyone could read, write and calculate, but despite this culture the intelligence of the natives

did not attain a high level, of which I will adduce an example. A Christian Ebonite had a store on Jabwor change his dollar into two halves, one half into two quarters, one quarter into two reals, and then with one real purchased a ~~toilet~~^{toilet} ~~utilized~~^{utilized} by the women is the: *dimuggemuk* (N^o 588, 1 specimen, Table V, Fig. 11), time-beater, 19 cm. long, a cone-shaped, round (as worked up) piece of hornbean (Mangrove, *kinet*). Jaluit.

That in the places of missionary activity almost all ethnological originality has been lost, I am not the first to point out. Already the "lovers of Jesus" or *Dri-anitsch* (Spiritmen) are recognized by their close-cropped hair.

According to report, a German [Catholic] Rheinisch Missionary Society wished to undertake conversion activity in the Marshall Islands, or has already begun it.

Protectorate. The German Empire already concluded, in 1878, with Chief Kabua (Lebon) of Jaluit for Ralik, and on 6 April 1886, assumed a protectorate over the entire Marshall Archipelago, including the somewhat isolated northwestern islands of Eniwetok (Brown Range) and Ujelang (Providence). Thereby, it is to be hoped, restrictions are placed upon the introduction of spirits and weapons.

I. The Natives.

Appearance. The Marshall Islanders decidedly resemble the Gilbert Islanders in their body structure; they are in general smaller, especially the female sex, and weaker in appearance. For the rest they are not to be differentiated from the oceanic race.¹ On Plate II of this treatise typical women of the Marshall Islands, after my photographs, are depicted for purposes of comparison. In addition I brought away 11 face masks (among them that of the former King Kabua) of Marshall Islanders, made on living persons, so that in this direction also there is rich material. Among the native types of Choris, in general of little value, the man of Ratak pictured on Plate I is the best and deserves to be cited; the rest are worth nothing. How Chamisso came to call attention on the "great purity" of the skin of these natives is not at all clear, for definitely here are widespread scaly eruptions (*Ichtiosis*) and ringworm (*Psoriasis, Gogo*). It is equally inexplicable when Kotzebue speaks of the color of their skin as black.

Language. Over all the islands of the Marshall Group, including Eniwetok and Ujelang, one and the same language is spoken, which is peculiar to this archipelago and is completely different from that of the Gilbert Islands, as well as that of the Carolines. Of the language of Ratak, Chamisso was the first to compile a vocabulary, of about 300 words which, to be sure, in part differ ~~radically~~^{radically} from those which Kubary ~~and~~^{and} Hershheim ~~and~~^{and} Ralik.

According to Hershheim, doubtless the best authority on the Marshall Islands language, the dialects of Ralik and Ratak are so different "that the natives themselves at first have difficulty in understanding each other, but this dissimilarity does not all ex-

1 See Finsch, *Anthropol. Ergebnisse*, etc., 1884, pp. 13-16.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 39-47, about 400 words.

3

ceed the customary compass of dialects." The great number of deviating words in Chamisso (only some 40 correspond with Hensheim) spring not only from faulty perceptions, which are inevitable for him who first writes down such a language by ear; rather, according to Hensheim's shrewd judgment, it is Kadu who bears the chief guilt, as in so many errors which on his authority were carried over by Chamisso into literature. Quite aside from the fact that Chamisso did not always correctly understand his native friend and language instructor, Kadu, for the rest, where the right Ralik word did not come to mind, offered some word from the vocabulary of his Caroline homeland; thus, Chamisso's vocabulary must be regarded with great caution. Regarding the natives' pronunciation of our letters, the situation is the same on the Marshall Islands as on the Gilbert Islands.

Origin. Concerning this subject, as far as my information goes, absolutely nothing.

Character and morals. Chamisso painted such an extravagant picture of the Marshall Islanders that later descriptions seem like downright calumnies. He calls them "lively, curious for knowledge, ingenious, valiant, faithful, hospitable, modest, without deception or falsehood," he extolls "the innocence and grace of their manners, the delicate modesty, the well-bred behavior, their extraordinary cleanliness" and finds everywhere "a picture of peace and advancing culture..." But Chamisso's poetic exaltation and joy of having finally found genuine and unspoiled men of nature, influenced his objective judgment of his new friends, who already possessed all the failings and the few virtues of the Kanakas. They already stole, they did not always keep their word, and engaged in wars, as Chamisso himself must admit. But from his travel companion Choris we obtain the additional information that they also displayed a talent for theft, and that the far-famed virtue of their fair sex was already not at all what it might be. "Modesty and chastity are foreign to these islanders. Without thinking it at all dishonorable, a man will offer his wife to another, a father his daughter to a stranger" and "the women were very demure, but a piece of iron was sufficient to bring about the downfall of the virtue of these savage beauties," says Choris on the basis of experience. Kotzebue also relates concerning his first voyage an incident where a sailor could not withstand the seductions of a brown beauty; despite this he calls attention to the "modesty of the women." Chamisso even declares, most strangely, that the ceding of the wife by master of a house to a guest is a "pure, unspoiled custom." The language gives weighty evidence for judgment on this question of modesty. It possesses for obscene actions, their stages and details, very definite expressions, which, known by all, doubtless already existed in Chamisso's time, as did the more than lascivious "Rrum" dance. The word *Dschirung* (maiden) in any case already had the same meaning, but not in our sense of "virgin," for intercourse between both sexes frequently takes place before sexual maturity. It is time that we broke with Chamisso's statements in this quarter, taken over by all the textbooks. They were not always pertinent during his time, and the later contacts with the whites unfortunately did not improve the already existing vices, but rather augmented them, as, for example, in the case of prostitution.

My observation of the year 1880: "lazy, ignorant, sensual, given to falsehood and theft, without any feeling for gratitude, hospitality and honor in our sense, without energy, indifferent, displaying little liveliness, but at the same time friendly, good-natured, not coarse or unfeeling, in general peaceful, in war without fortitude or valor" is probably still appropriate today, naturally only in a certain degree for certain individuals. For I came to know some very nice natives in the Marshall Islands, and in general my relations with them were better than with the lively and easily stirred up Gilbert Islanders. In contrast with the latter, the quiet, subdued manner of the Marshall Islanders is striking, but explicable in view of their submissiveness to their native nobility. Thus I often observed the quiet which prevailed on the occasion of the arrival of strange canoes: silently squatted the population on the beach. silently did they greet the arriving friends. Even the unexpected return of castaways, cast away for six months and long believed lost, on the schooner **Lotus**, did not evoke any special excitement; a shrill cry of the women was all, then followed mute embraces, and only in the evening, with the so-called dances, did things become lively. Drunkenness was relatively little widespread, for only the chiefs, as the only propertied class, could afford this vice, which the Mission was not able to eradicate, and for which they displayed a great fondness. In general little disposed to labor, the Marshall Islanders perform creditably as sailors on small ships within their home waters and prove themselves useful men, a fact that deserves mention.

In view of the well authenticated testimony that in most cases castaways from other island groups (Gilbert, Caroline) were put to death, the peacefulness of the Marshall Islanders should not be too greatly extolled. Later the practice came to be to let these castaways live and work as a kind of slaves, as I myself saw them (from the Gilbert Islands) on Mili.

In the 1840s and 1850s the Marshall Islanders acquired a notorious reputation through a series of well authenticated attacks on ships, especially the Ebonites under the feared Kaibuke. As late as 1869, the crew of the German schooner **Franz** was slain, the ship was plundered and burned, a drama in which the later king of Jaluit, Kabua, played a very active part. While it is likely that the encroachments and brutalities on the part of strangers at first provoke the vengeance of the natives, later, at any rate the covetousness of the chiefs played a not unimportant role. Even the fate of Kadu remains obscure, and justifies the suspicion that he was slain by his friends on account of his "iron kingdom."

Cleanliness, especially extolled by Chamisso, is actually almost completely absent. There can hardly be any talk of washing, for the sitting in the water, of the lagoon or in the pools, the same which provide drinking water, serves rather the purpose of cooling. Bath-sponges, which are found in the lagoon at Ailinglaplap of quite good quality, remain unutilized, but the head parasites have not been extirpated. The reciprocal searching for lice (*kid*) on each other, and the eating of the same, was then in full vogue.

II. Manners and customs. (Social and spiritual life)

1. Social conditions.

Very reminiscent of these is the feudal system of the middle ages, with definite, sharply-delimited classes:

1. *Kajur* or *Armidsch* (= man), without property and holding land (i.e. coconut trees) only by feudal tenure.

2. *Leotakatak*, possessing their own property.

3. *Burak*, mostly the sons and brothers of the chief, sometimes very rich and influential.

4. The *Irodsch*, or chief, must at least on his mother side spring from Irodsch blood, if his father was not a Burak. For rank is inherited through the mother, in accordance with the view of the Marshall Islanders that man from childhood always knows his mother, but does not always know who his father was. If an Irodsch, for example, marries a woman from the Burak class, the children are only Buraks, while on the other hand in the event of a marriage of a Burak with an Irodsch woman the children belong to the latter class. Kabua, alias Lebon (Laban), the one-time *Irodsch-laplap* or "great chief" of Jaluit and Ebon, was only a Leotakatak of the northern atoll Rongelap, but became an Irodsch when he married Limokoa, the widow of the great Kaibuke of Ebon. Since this union remained childless, while the other children of Kabua by other women only belonged to the Burak class, Kabua's step-son, Lemoro, alias Letablin, ultimately Nelu, was the future Irodsch-laplap, for whom Kabua ruled as guardian. Other, much older children of Kaibuke, as for example Lageri on Jaluit, were only Leotakatak, in correspondence with the class of their mothers, whereas Lidauria, the daughter of Kaibuke by Limokoa, an Irodsch daughter, was a person of the highest rank. In the event of her marriage with an Irodsch, the latter would have a claim to the office of Irodsch-laplap, which customarily passes not to the son, but to the younger brother. It is evident from this that the rules of inheritance are quite complicated, but they are often regulated by force, with one man putting his opponent out of the way. The pretext is sought and found in the charge of high treason, and also the help of the other Irodsch is naturally necessary, for it is they who select the Irodsch-laplap from among their number. Formerly the power of such an Irodsch-laplap was very significant; he commanded in sea voyages and in war, and wielded power over life and death. The death sentence, according to HERNSEIM, was performed with spears or by stoning; according to KUBARY women were drowned. What offenses incurred the death penalty is not very clear, since murder, for example, did not furnish grounds for it. There were no

definite laws, and justice and its execution depended completely on the arbitrary will of the Irodsch and their momentary authority. Thus shortly before my arrival on Namorik, an adulterer was slain, although this sin had occurred very frequently and gone unpunished. But the Christian party wanted to execute a biblical sentence, and the man had to be actually stoned to death. When the "king" of Arno, as a result of a sickness, lost his hair, all the men had to follow his example and crop their hair. A chief of Ebon, who had stolen a golden ring from a ship's captain, was sentenced to make payment in wood. If this had happened to a Kajur, he would have probably lost his ears, for the clipping of ears, or rather of the ingeniously elongated lobes appears to have become a favorite penalty. In 1878, on Jaluit, it was imposed on a native who had slain a white man and who should have been hanged. But when a beachcomber (a disreputable white trader) without any reason closed one of "King" Kabua's eyes, the whites only sentenced him to banishment.

On Arno, however, I came to know a white trader who suspiciously lacked the right ear-lobe, but I did not learn the reason. While Kabua in his time only clipped ears, the fearful Kaibuke (who died at the end of the 1870s) dealt out death with his own hand; indeed, his nephew, likewise an Irodsch, speared two of his wives. The external submission, which, for example, prevailed with Kaibuke, whom his subordinates dared not approach without a posture of humility, disappeared under Kabua. The "principal chief and lord of Ralik", as he was euphemistically designated in the German treaty, possessed little authority and that principally on Ebon; on the other islands he had hardly any influence. On Jaluit, indeed, the old feudal economy still persisted, but even here Kabua was not always successful in providing the needed number of workers for the whites. It was much when he gathered together for the construction of a pier from coral 30 men, 40 women and 20 children for about a week, for whom he daily received a "bum" (a gun, then worth about 40 Marks). Soon, however, it became necessary to add a ship's biscuit per head, for otherwise Kabua could not support the people. On the other hand, most of the copra belonged to Kabua, insofar as it was not secretly sold; he received the lion's share of large catches of fish; he hired his Kajur out to ships and appropriated their wages; in short, he carried on just as did his colleague of Aur in Chamisso's time, who on the departure of the **Rurik** demanded all the iron that had been distributed. To be sure, Kabua gave himself little trouble about a couple pieces of iron, but he was all the more zealous to take in the recompense of the girls in shining dollars, for these "modest, chaste, converted" girls were often very much in demand, and sometimes he made more on them than on his sailors. The "king" did not deem it below his dignity to visit the huts nightly to see if one or another was absent, and in every such case he claimed his customary due, ranging from 1 to 3 dollars according to rank in the ship's crew.

Outwardly the rank of chiefs is recognized by a longitudinal stripe tattooed on the cheeks; according to Chamisso, in his time, by a Pandanus leaf band around the neck.

Name changes still take place, but only among the natives; the whites no longer engage in it.

The **greeting** is almost universally the handshake, introduced by the missionaries. The greeting formula "*jokwejuk*" corresponds approximately to our "I love thee." Friends are wont to embrace each other on meeting and touch noses, which is called *medschenma*", and it is not, as Chamisso says, customary merely between spouses. According to Hemsheim, there is still another caress or expression of tenderness, touching with tongues (not our kiss), called "*lagomedschi*."

Medium of exchange (money). Formerly little slices of *Spondylus* (*Aaht*) were probably the money proper of the natives. For the rest, the principal objects of exchange were articles of food, mats and other products, as is still in part the case. By the 1870s the Christian Ebonites were getting all their mats, woven skirts, fish-hooks lines, etc., from the more industrious inhabitants of the northern islands. On Jaluit, in my time, the situation was still similar, but here already, as on other islands with trading stations, silver coins, and indeed the Chilean dollar (about 3.60 Marks) had been introduced. The daily wages were 25 cents (about one Mark) per day, but the Ebonites, more educated as a result of the missionaries' activity, were on urgent occasions, for example, the discharging and loading of a ship, hardly to be satisfied with a dollar a day.

Prohibitions (*emo* = tabu) exist for certain occasions and are decreed by the chiefs. At the time of my visit to Arno, for example, there were no cocoanuts to be had. As a tabu-sign a cocoanut leaf, with the ends of the leaf plume tied together, is braided about the trunk, lengthwise, just as it is done everywhere, in Melanesia as well, which by itself makes climbing very difficult.

2. Position of women.

In the discussion on classes mention has been made of the prominent position, based on birth, of the wives of chiefs, whose word is under certain conditions not without influence on the decisions of the men as well. Chamisso mentions a chief's wife of Maloelab who was held in specially high regard, and Kotzebue also refers to this queen. Commoners may not properly speak with an Irodsch woman, and formerly all the men of the two upper classes had to leave the island, when the Irodsch-laplap left it. Since the voyages are made in canoes, and mostly in flotilla fashion, the majority of the men, aside from this, followed the chief. But the women also took part in sea voyages, as in war. The treatment of the women is generally good, although they are subject to the arbitrary will of the men. Girls are wont to have completely free intercourse with men, and frequently begin it before puberty, as has been mentioned in the foregoing pages. For this reason no special festivity take place at the time of the first menstruation, but during this period, the women and girls have to dwell in a somewhat isolated hut (*dschukwen*), specially constructed for this purpose, as is the case, according to Kubary, on the island of Yap.

There are no special marriage ceremonies, except for the giving of presents to the parents of the bride; formerly it was also necessary for the commoners to obtain the consent of the Irodsch. The unions, which for the Kajur are monogamic by law, are quite lax, and very close blood relationship does not constitute an impediment, for at

the death of an Irodsch his brother must take the bereaved widow. Adultery is not rare on both sides; it was, however, when practiced with a chief's wife (an event that very rarely happened), punishable with death. The Irodsch had to give his wife to a guest of the same rank during the latter's stay, and could take a Kajur's wife from him; the latter might not, however, marry a divorced woman of the upper classes or have any relations with her in general. Divorce is frequent; if his wife does not please the man, he simply sends her back to her relatives. White traders married to native women are wont to act in this manner, even when the union has been consecrated by a colored missionary and confirmed in writing. Wives who had given their husband several children might not be divorced and could eat with their husbands; Kotzebue mentions the joint meals of both sexes. But for the most part the wives hold themselves apart and, for example, on the arrival of canoes, squat together in groups on the shore.

The former birth ceremonies had already fallen into great decay at that time. Formerly the delivery took place in a special hut with the assistance of old women; to sever the cord a sharp mussel shell was used. Immediately after birth the child was washed in naturally lukewarm water, then rubbed with cocoanut oil and placed in a fine mat; the relatives and friends came to see the newborn. At the same time a fire was lit in the hut which was maintained for the space of three weeks, the time that the mother had to remain there. This fire was to keep the evil spirits away, and was slowly put out with water by a *drikanan*, an augur or prophet, with the recitation of a benediction. During the three weeks the mother could eat everything, with the exception of certain fish, but might not have any relations with her husband for the space of a month. When at the expiration of the three weeks the mother returned home with her child, a great dance was held, sometimes for several days on successive evenings. No festivity was associated with the name-giving, nor any godfathership. The parents gave the name that occurred to them, with preference for that of some prominent person. Thus Launa, an Irodsch of Kwajalein, gave his son the name of Ledschebuggi, after an old prominent man, without the latter knowing anything about it.

Children were suckled for a long time, often into the third or fourth year; in addition they were fed cocoanut milk, palm sap [toddy], and later with arrowroot meal. Illegitimate children and their mothers obviously do not incur the slightest censure, for such cases are not at all rare. Aside from the fact that they are not at all a fruitful race, a multitude of children die during the teething period, as generally during the first years of life, so that the law which forbade a woman to have more than three children in order to avert overpopulation, if it ever existed, must have been quite unnecessary. The slaying of children, which Chamisso, only on Kadu's evidence, introduced into all the textbooks, may be with all certainty impugned, and the honor of the Marshall Islanders in this quarter vindicated. Kabua, on the death of his little son, was utterly cast down and wept all day long; the same feeling of love for children are evinced by the meanest Kajur.

3. Diversions.

Subdued and silent as the Marshall Islanders customarily are, equally lively and active are they as soon as it is a matter of merry-making, festivals (*gojegoj*). Less noisy than on the Gilbert Islands, these festivals also have the advantage that they pass quite peacefully, without drunkenness, quarrels or fighting. But naturally there is music, or at least they make noise, and for this they use:

The *adscha* (N° 599, 1 specimen, Fig. 17), drum; 66 cm. long, worked up from a piece of the light wood of the *gning* tree, in the shape of an hour-glass like a hollow funnel; over the upper smaller end (19-cm diameter) is stretched the throat lining (according to others, the stomach lining) of a kind of shark, the *berro*. Jaluit. (See also illustration, Choris: Plate II, Fig. 6; Hemsheim: *Beitrag*, etc., p. 95, and *Sudsee Erinnerungen*, p. 85; Finsch: *Westernman's Monatshefte*, 1887, p. 498, Fig. 3).

The drum of the Marshall Islands (and Ponape) forms a distinct type and differs very markedly from the Melanesian drum (see Table 13, Fig. 1) in the dissimilarity of the two ends, of which one is wider, and especially in that it has no handle. Although it is always quite smooth and without any ornamentation in wood-carving, in which the Melanesian drum often is distinguished by its high artistic quality, the drums of the Marshall Islands are nevertheless among the outstanding proof of the industry of the natives. The isolated appearance of this percussion instrument, precisely in this most central part of Micronesia, (as well as on Ponape) is ethnologically a most interesting phenomenon, and indicates the spontaneous rise of certain customs and utensils in the most distant localities. The Marshall Island drum resembles most closely that of Melanesia (New Guinea, etc.) but similar sound instruments are spread widely all over Polynesia... In addition to beating time, these instruments serve other ends. Thus Kotzebue mentions that the inhabitants of Odia, upon the arrival of the corvette, beat drums, "in this way they called upon the gods for aid" and that "this religious(?) ceremony lasted the whole night." Obviously the intention was one of giving the alarm and encouraging each other.

Exclusively utilized by the women is the: *dimuggemuk* (N° 588, 1 specimen, Table V, Fig. 11), time-beater, 19 cm. long, a cone-shaped, round (as worked up) piece of hornbean (Mangrove, *kinet*). Jaluit.

I obtained only a few more of these old specimens, among them one in which several cavities had been faced with lead, in order to increase the weight. These time-beaters are used at certain song performances by the women and girls in order to produce ringing tones through the reciprocal striking of the pieces of wood... In the same way the men formerly used round, about 1 m. long dance-sticks of ironwood (Mangrove). At the time of which I speak, however, these, like the time-beaters of the women, had already been replaced by ordinary sticks and pieces of wood...

In my time (1879) drums were still in considerable use on Jaluit, and their rumbling sounds, reminding one of distant threshing, could often be heard. The drum served at that time only to beat time as accompaniment in the singing at the pantomime and gymnastic performances, the so-called dances, and was only used by women. The drummer, sitting on the ground, lays the forward end of the instrument on her lap and beats the

hides with the fingers of both hands (see Choris: Plates XVI and XIX). Drums are likewise taken along on sea voyages and thumped by the women both at the time of departure and arrival.

Dschillil, the familiar shell trumpet from the *Tritonium tritoni*, was still used at that time, but only to give signals. In this connection it is indispensable on sea voyages to keep the canoes together during the night. Jeremiah, the colored missionary on Jaluit, blew to summon his converts, often without success, to be sure, although the sound was audible at a great distance. See illustration of the conch-shell trumpet: Choris, Plate II, Fig. 5 (inaccurate); Finsch, Westerman's *Monatshefte*, p. 449, Fig. 4.

Song and dance, despite the zealous opposition of the missionaries, still flourished at that time, and were engaged in at every appropriate occasion, especially on the arrival of canoes. Obviously this is not dancing in our sense, but rather performances which Chamisso very appropriately calls "sedentary song-dances". It consists principally of movements of the arms, rolling of the eyes, more rarely leg movements, with the time being respectively sung, shrieked and beaten with drums, sticks and hands. Both sexes have their own performances, which are communal insofar as the women always have charge of singing and noise-making and also constitute the chorus. *E-ub* is performed only by the women. They sit in two rows, facing each other, a sleeping mat extended between them, and hold in each hand one of the above-mentioned time-beaters (*dimuggemuk*). Their singing, slow at first, becomes louder and faster and is accompanied by a corresponding striking of the pieces of wood against each other and on the mat, and ends with a shrill cry. The movements and the clapping with the pieces of wood are very variegated, and equally so the rolling of the head and especially of the eyes, which many of the performers at the conclusion of each performance are able to roll in the most unnatural way. In this *E-ub*, moreover, I saw little girls hardly six years old take part, who performed as well as the grown-ups...

More beloved are the singing performances (*Elulu* = singing) which most chiefs provide and in which Kabua himself often participated. The performers, rarely more than three, are rubbed with coconut oil until they shine and are especially decorated with head-bands of shell (Table 22, Fig. 1 and 2), chaplets of flowers, neck-bands and plume finery on the arms and thumbs, sometimes in the hair (see the objects described under ornaments). Sitting on spread-out mats, and so covered with a mat that the whole body remains free, the whole art consists in peculiar contortions of the upper part of the body, produced as if by a cramp, and especially of the eyes and arms, to which a monotonous verse is slowly sung. These contortions, twistings and convulsions must be very exhausting, for the performers fall into a mighty sweat, which the provident hands of the women wipe at each round. The women-folk, sitting around the performers in a semi-circle, accompany the presentation with singing, to which some women beat time with drums, the others with their hands. The singing, as always, begins softly and slowly and ends in an ever faster tempo with a shrilly cry. The picture of such a performance in the *Gartenlaube* (1886, p. 37), based on my sketches, is very deficient in many details due to artistic liberties, but does give a good idea. I once gave a very exact account to the Royal

Museum of Natural History, which was to be used for a wall painting depicting the Marshall Islanders.

Gjorrang is the name of a performance of the men which is by far the most impressive, and in general the most interesting and attractive to European eyes, but at that time it was hardly done at all anymore. The participants arrange themselves in two rows or groups, facing each other and beat time with long sticks to the singing, which the chorus of women also accompanies with the beating of the drums and hand-clapping. The *gjorrang* is rich in varied turns; now the men twist as in our polonaise, now they act as if in fierce battle with each other, while some perform solos, in which each, through convulsive movements of the upper part of the body and the arms, which seem to vibrate up to the finger tips, and no less through convulsive rollings of the eyes and movements of the legs, seems to excel. Meantime the participants sing, now softly and again shrilly and discordantly, and the chorus of men sometimes alternates with that of the women. For the rest, the performers of the *gjorrang* are dressed, as far as possible, in the finest war vestments, for the whole representation is, in fact, an imitation of a battle. It is not a war dance properly speaking, for on the occasion of the war troubles on Jaluit the *gjorrang* was not performed, and also it is not only men who perform it, but also small twelve-year-old boys. This performance, for the rest, is very exhausting, and the participants at its close are bathed in sweat.

Kotzebue (*Neue Reise*, p. 178) describes such dance performances, which essentially correspond with those of the present day, except that the conch trumpet was blown in them, for the performance was supposed to be an exact rerepresentation of a battle. When Kotzebue supposes another performance, performed by girls, to be a wedding ceremony, he is indulging in fanciful ideas which do not at all correspond with reality. The natives have nothing to do with such sentimental scenes; to their sensual imagination corresponds a lascivious dance of the girls (called *Rrumm*), which out of regard for the missionaries was at that time to be seen only under specially favorable conditions and heretofore has remained undescribed. The participating girls wore as their only article of dress a mat, one end of which was pulled between the legs and tied by a string about the hips, but in the course of the performance they let these covers fall also, and then appeared fully naked. This performance, performed sitting as well as standing, by one or several persons, consisted, beside the familiar eye-rolling with the accompaniment of singing and hand-clapping by a female chorus, principally in a vibrating motions of the lower belly parts, wiggling of the rear, consequently an imitation of the coitus, in which the motions of the men also were represented. Doubtless these performances were enacted by Chamisso's "modest, chaste, proper girls," and at that time the business certainly did not stop at pantomime...

Just as the songs are not musical, so are the words to the former not poetical, but rather treat in monotonous repetition of certain verses the most common-place events.

Kotzebue and Chamisso have already given proofs of it,¹ and I shall adduce one or two more. One song which I heard dealt only with coconuts. Another dealt only with tobacco. The lack of content of such songs is also noted by Hensheim (*Marshall-sprache*, p. 32 and *Sudsee-Erinnerungen*, p. 86).

There are no special houses for the holding of dance performances on the Marshall Islands, but on Arno I saw in front of the King's house a dancing space, carefully levelled and strewn with white coral sand. The performances sometimes begin quite early and last almost the whole day, but on account of the heat they prefer to begin toward evening or still more when the moon comes out. The performances do not last all night long, however, but end, as I often noticed, mostly about midnight. In view of the extraordinary physical exertions involved, this is quite enough.

Dance finery is mentioned in the foregoing and will be fully described in the section on Ornaments below.

Concerning games, I learned nothing.

4. Feuds and wars.

Although not very warlike, the Marshall Islanders have from the first had quarrels and consequently wars among themselves, which frequently resulted in territorial acquisitions. Chamisso had to admit this fact with heartfelt regret. For Lamari, the Irodsch-laplap over Aur, Maloelab and Wotsche, desired to attack his enemies on Majuro, Arno, and Mili under Latete, and was cunning enough to obtain the assistance of his mighty friends of the warship. For Captain Kotzebue gave him some lances and grappling hooks, for which he received in return six bundles of prepared pandanus. The new weapons put an end to the war in six days, but of the several hundred persons engaged only five had fallen. When Kotzebue visited the Marshall Islands the second time in 1824, he found that Wotsche was again at war, occasioned by disputes among the chiefs, whose armed forces the common people had to join. Chamisso, however, did not have the opportunity to be present at the battles, and his only source, as so often, is Kadu. According to him it appears that at that time the women went along to war, beat the drums, threw stones, sought to separate the combatants, but that the battles were in general not at all bloody. To be sure, in an earlier war 20 warriors appeared to have fallen, but the recent battle on Tabual (Aur atoll) had cost only four lives. Wars also appear to have occurred between Ratak and Ralik at that time, for an old man of the Ailuk atoll showed a wound scar which he claimed to have received on Ralik. I myself hardly recall to have seen any Marshall Islanders with wound scars, but I was present at the great war on Jaluit, which I have described in detail elsewhere, so that I can speak from personal experience. There were indeed no bloody scenes, but ever so many laughable ones, and of valor and heroic exploits there were none at all. The cause of

¹ The "Songs of Radak" appended in V., II, p. 112 are poetic translations which do not correspond to reality.

the war was an insignificant piece of land on Jabwor, which the Irodsch-laplap had sold, not to a white man, but to a black worthy, Black Tom, and to which his brother, Loiak, laid claim. Whereupon the latter withdrew with his people to another island of the Jaluit atoll, and Kabua prepared for a courageous stand against the attack. When he appeared, like all his retainers all gathered together, in the national costume, there was much drumming and acting, eye-rolling, and all the old weapons, spears, whale spades, etc. were hunted up. Finally the enemy fleet, 20 canoes strong, drew near. Kabua mustered his army, 85 warriors all in all, graybeards, crippled and boys included, and valorously advanced against the foe, armed with Spencer-rifle and lance; the dauntless women came along. They brought provisions, cocoanuts, in little baskets, but also stones, and "pain-killer," an American panacea which had been already introduced among the natives. Loiak landed with his troops, some 150 strong, women included, but Kabua, according to the custom of war, might not yet attack him, since his own district proper had not yet been violated. With remarkable dispatch, however, there was erected a redoubt of coral stones, four to five feet high and of the same width, over the whole width of the island, which at this spot was only a few hundred feet, for these earthworks appear to play a special role in the conduct of war by Marshall Islanders. Despite the presence of sentries, the soldiers of the enemy could pass through unmolested to visit their wives and to purchase powder and lead from the white trader. In the evening, by the light of the fire, when the women made a fearful noise with drumming and singing, there was, however, much blind shooting into the darkness of the night, in order to scare the foe and inspire courage in their own men. But despite all the shooting there were no wounded, and since both sides were exhausted, did not receive any more cartridges (at 20 pfennigs a piece), were out of provisions, peace was made, only after months, to be sure. Kabua took possession of his domains again, found the cocoanut trees on the islands where Loiak had resided to be still there, but no nuts, for his enemy had already sold these to the white traders in the form of copra. According to Chamisso, in his time, the cocoanut trees were despoiled of all their fruits (according to Kotzebue even the trees were destroyed), and further all the possible male prisoners were slain, but "the victor took the name of his slain enemy"—if he knew it.

At any rate, before the introduction of firearms the wars were bloodier. This is demonstrated by the sequel which the war described above had on the two northern islands of the Ralik chain, Rongerik and Rongelap, belonging respectively to Kabua and Loiak. Hardly had the natives of these islands received news of the war on Jaluit when they fell upon each other and made war without firearms, in which several appear to have fallen.

On Arno I saw strong entrenchments in the vicinity of the King's house, for a two-year-long war had just ended, in which, although much powder was expended, only three people were wounded, although both parties often placed 900 warriors, including women and children, in the field.

Sea battles, i.e. between canoe fleets, were not carried on.

Quarrels of the ordinary type in general occur rarely among the natives, and then mostly in drunkenness and for the most part pass without bloodshed. The brawlers are generally held by their wives and relatives until they have had their fill of reciprocal vituperation. Thus things are by far more peaceful than on the Gilbert Islands.

5. Weapons.

As we have just seen, the natives were already abundantly provided with firearms, and at that time (1879) the men of Jaluit were in the transition stage from the old-type percussion rifle (called *bu*) to the breech-loaders, of which the Tabatiere rifles, taken away from the Mobile Guards in 1871, were the first to be introduced at that time. The old native weapons first made their appearance during the war disturbances. These weapons had been universally retained in the northern islands, and, as far as I could learn, consisted only of throwing spears and slings. Chamisso also mentions, in reference to Ratak, a "staff pointed at both ends (*gilibilip*), which, hurled in arch, like the diameter of a rolling wheel, ascended into the air and imbedded itself with the end which came down first." I have never seen these war throwing sticks, but I surmised that they are identical with the dance sticks, like those of the Carolines (*Chuuk*) which are used both as weapons and dance implements.

Characteristic of the weapons of the Marshall Archipelago is the extremely rare use of the shark's teeth as material for armament. Chamisso obtained on Mejit, "a short, two-edged sword set with shark's teeth" (Choris, Plate II, Fig. 1), but explicitly notes that he saw only one. Probably it came from a castaway (*repith-urur*) (Gilbertese) who were indeed generally slain on the Marshall Islands. Swords with shark's teeth are therefore not to be considered among the weapons used by Marshall Islanders; such are, on the other hand, spears set with shark's teeth, which according to the illustrations of Choris differ very considerably from the similar weapons of the Gilbert Islanders. The point of the one spear (Plate II, Fig. 3) is specifically armed with very few shark's teeth (6 in all), in addition displays barbs set into the wood; the other spear (Fig. 4) has a duplex point, which is set with 10 to 12 shark's teeth on each side. I am inclined to doubt that the spear which I got on Jaluit under the name of *rairat* or *raddirat*, more than three meters long and armed with shark's teeth quite in the Gilbertese manner, was genuinely made in the Marshall Islands. The same doubts exist with respect to the genuineness of the spear set with shark's teeth which Hensheim depicts in the hand of Kubu (*Sudsee Erinnerungen*, Table 9). This spear, to be sure, is wound very attractively in the Marshallese manner with pandanus-braided work, but this ornamentation was probably made later on Jaluit. Since I saw whale spades from the time of the whale fisheries among the weapons of the natives, so there might as well have been preserved weapons from the Gilbert Islanders, who were not infrequently cast ashore on the Marshall Islands. Probably there still exist on Ratak specimens of that weapon which was first introduced by Kotzebue, namely iron hatchets, whose heads the natives set on long

sticks and used as battle-axes. This brings to mind the similarly derived modern weapons in New Britain...

Spears, however, were more frequently set with ray-fish stings (Choris, Plate VIII, with three thorns)...

In the Marshall Islands I did not obtain any spears with ray-fish stings, but only the customary slender sticks, 2 to 3 meters long, pointed at both ends, made from the wood of the cocoanut tree, like the following specimens:

Mari (N° 705, 1 specimen) throwing spear of coconut wood. Jaluit.

A finer kind is:

Mari (N° 704, 1 specimen, but the spear, with the exception of the point, about 50 cm. long on each end, is thickly wrapped around with vivid pandanus leaf and hibiscus-bast colored black in checker-board fashion, the only adornment which I observed on Marshall Island spears.

Another kind:

Bobug (Plate II, Fig. 1, the point part) throwing spear, 2.25 meters long, round, from ironwood (Mangrove), with a point notched in seven places. Belongs to antiquity, and I obtained only 1 specimen. The barbs differ greatly from those of the Marshall Island spears depicted by Choris (Plate II, Fig. 2).

The **sling** (*buat*), as it was probably still used at that time on the northern islands, although no longer used on Jaluit, is properly and essentially different from that of the Carolines. The strap on which the stone is placed consists of a square piece of matting of pandanus thread, to which two strings are fastened. The tests of stone throwing which were made for me did not demonstrate any great skill, as Chamisso already noted. On the other hand, they were very skilful in throwing stones (coral fragments) by hand, and formerly this was the practice in warfare.

6. Burials.

The offensive customs of the Gilbert Islanders in their treatment of the dead are not practiced in the Marshall Islands, not even the storage of the skulls of the dead as a mark of veneration, so that in this direction again the dwellers of these two archipelagos are essentially differentiated. The former mode of burial had already in part suffered change due to the Christian influence in the places of missionary activity, but I was able to obtain exhaustive information through Kabua and a chief of the Kwajalein atoll.

Upon the death of a chief or a distinguished person, there is much wailing, principally on the part of the women, then, for a day and night, and often for two days, there take place song and dance performances. These were not of a special kind, but the same ones which have been described above, specially under *Elulu*. In the songs the sages (*drikanan*) extolled the lives and deeds of the deceased, of whom no other show was made.

Meantime six men had dug a grave (*uliej*, says Kubary, *lup*, says HERNSHEIM) three feet deep, which in view of the hard ground and soil was an arduous piece of work. The corpse was wrapped up in coarse sleeping mats (N^o 196) and laid in the grave (but not in a sitting position, as Chamisso says) in such a manner that the head, specially covered with two mats, faces the setting sun, with the countenance turned to the east. As gifts for the deceased there is placed in the grave a bast robe (*ihn*), two mats and special ornaments, nowadays frequently also a thick covering. The next-of-kin, specially the brothers of the deceased, receive presents from all on the occasion. The grave is filled with sand by the (six) men, a level mound of coral fragments is erected, with an enclosure of coral slabs around the high border. Sometimes short sticks are also used as an enclosure and at the head of the grave an old oar is stuck in the ground, sometimes a second one at the foot, as I saw at the grave of the king of Arno. The (six) grave-diggers must keep watch and a fire kept at the grave for three weeks, presumably to keep away the evil spirits, and are supported during this time. Prominent women are buried in the same manner as the men, but for the men of small means of the lower classes, there were but few ceremonies, and they were buried either in a shallow grave or (according to HERNSHEIM) were thrown into the sea wrapped in a mat. According to Chamisso, "a staff, with circular notches, indicated the graves of children"... but I did not happen to see any of these. Kabua, only nominally converted, purchased for his dead five-year-old son a lacquered Chinese box with a lock as a coffin, in which the little corpse, together with rich presents of cotton material, etc., remained for a long time thereafter above ground.

The graves, it should be pointed out, are not laid in and around the houses, as is the case in the Gilbert Islands, but away from them, mostly in out-of-the-way places under cocoanut trees, which is connected with the fear of spirits. likewise no cocoanut trees are planted near graves, which is contrary to the practice in Melanesia.

7. Belief in spirits and superstitions.

The missionaries have indeed produced many changes in the spiritual life of the natives, but even the so-called Christians, *dri-anitsch* (*dri*, bone, man; *anitsch*, spirit, soul) still held firmly to the old belief in spirits, and so it will remain for a long time to come...

The Marshall Islanders have no religions, no priesthood, but there does exist a quite crude fetishism, and there are *drikanan* (*dri*, bone, man; and *kanan*, to predict), consequently prophets, who do not constitute a special body, but who formerly appear to have been very influential among the people. The word *Jageach*, which Chamisso translates as "God," at Ratak; on Ralik, at least, is unknown. Likewise there can be no talk of "veneration of an invisible God in heaven," but rather of spirits (*anitsch*), of which there was, and is, a multitude, higher and lower; indeed, anyone becomes a spirit after death. This not at all means a belief in life after death, in the Christian sense, but a certain spirit-life in union with the existing world, in the narrowly limited spiritual horizon of the Marshall Islander. There are men who hear the spirits, especially by night;

indeed, these men see them and, quite like our spiritualists, speak with them; but they are not always *drikanan* on this account. On the occasion of war, Kabua consulted his *anitsch*, who foretold his victory. There are also evil spirits, ghosts (*dschiteb*), wherefore the graves of certain dead persons are avoided, and fear of the spirits prevails. A part of the trifling offerings, mostly pieces of cocoanuts, is brought thither from fear, and the fire mentioned earlier is for the same reason. There are no idols of any kind, but certain places, stones, trees, and even fish are regarded as the site of the *anitsch*, without specially honoring them or indeed regarding them as "holy" in our sense. No tabu is connected with such places, for Chamisso notes that the space, inclosed by four beams, about such a "holy coconut tree," probably a burial ground, could be freely trod on. Kabua showed me the place where formerly stood a large tree stump, reputed to be a great spirit. HERNSHEIM unknowingly had it cut down, but the natives were not in the least grieved thereby. On Ebon there is another stump of an old *bingebing* tree, which is still somewhat green, called "*Dscholobang*," which is likewise the seat of an *anitsch*; the people are wont to place little stones by it. On the atoll Namo is the large stone "*Luadonmul*," according to Kabua a true stone, and not a coral rock, only for Irodsch; but it remained unclear whether it was the site of the *anitsch* of the chiefs, or merely accessible only to the latter, for it is difficult to obtain clear information from the natives in matters of this kind. They are duller of comprehension than the Ostiaks or Samoyeds. Also on Jabwor of the Jaluit atoll, there are "*Ladschbundao*" stones, which are reputed to be the seat of spirits; it was not made clear, however, whether these *anitsch* were not merely the abode of the dead, consequently of souls. *Anitsch* are also known in the form of fish, but they show themselves very rarely, often only once in years. He who first sights the first Fish-anitsch calls out: "Ladschibunda-o", and all hasten in canoes as quickly as possible to the place. In connection with this fish and the number of the small ones that swim along with it (therefore probably a kind of shark) predictions are made, but of how this takes place and with what purpose, Kabua knew nothing.

Such *anitsch*-trees, stones, etc., were not places of sacrifice-offering, but modest offerings were made in another way on certain occasions. Thus a certain place in the house, generally behind the head of the couch, was an "*anitsch*-place," upon which one might not properly look, and whither, at the beginning of a repast, one threw a morsel backwards. The accompanying phrase "*Giedin Anis mne jeo*," was probably written down by Chamisso only by ear; according to HERNSHEIM he must have heard "*Kidschin* (the morsel) *Anitsch* (for the spirit) *idschu*." The word *idschu* (here) was meant to indicate with the morsel the place where the *Anitsch* was to help. If, for example, one had a headache, he first touched the painful spot with the morsel held in his left hand, then threw it behind him; in the event of drought the morsel was pointed at the clouds. The prophets (*drikanan*) obviously play an important role on such important occasions... The *drikanan* is not a wind- or rain-maker; he only predicts the issue of important events and projects, such as war and peace, canoe voyages, drought or rain, sicknesses, etc. Sometimes he withdrew for several days' fast to his hut (for there are no temples), and

was finally well rewarded with cocoanuts and articles of food, while the Anitsch went empty-handed. For the "sacred sacrifice-offerings at which one offered fruit to the god," as Chamisso states, basing himself on Kadu, did not take place. The tale of the blind god on Bikar likewise has no other authority than that of Kadu, and is to be regarded with caution.

Kabua also told of a great feast, or rather gluttony, which was formerly held every year in July on Jabwor, apparently in conjunction with the belief in spirits, but the why and how was not made clear. Since then this feast has been transferred to Christian Ebon, and hither the men of Jaluit atoll also betake themselves.

Medicine as such naturally does not exist, but there are physicians (*driuno*, from *dri* bone, man, and *uno*, paint, medicine), who, however, understand nothing more than bleeding, by means of skin incisions, and also the prescription of taking warm water (*dren-buil*) taken internally, and of poultices of fresh leaves on wounds. Massage was practiced in the same way as on the Gilbert Islands, often by old women... I saw a tooth operation which was performed in a quite primitive manner. A decayed tooth had to be removed. The patient laid himself flat on the ground, placed a cocoanut between his teeth to keep his mouth open, and, without any signs of pain, the sick tooth was chiseled out with about twenty strokes with a wooden pick and knocker. There is no treatment proper of illness; the *drikanan* only predict the probable outcome and sometimes use an oracle for this purpose. Strips of pandanus are rolled together and the course of the sickness is indicated by the length of the last piece. If, for example, the last piece of leaf is of the same length as the foregoing twists, this is a favorable omen.

Like all the Kanakas, whenever they have anything wrong with them, whatever it may be, at the slightest onset of ill-health, the Marshall Islanders make use of a walking stick.

Illnesses are in general rare, but according to HERNSHEIM a kind of influenza is sometimes very fatal. Syphilis was introduced long ago through ship visits, to date without any devastating influence.

Possessing the same poor soil as the Gilbert Archipelago, the conditions of food and nutrition are almost exactly the same on the Marshall Islands and almost just as scanty. Food shortages, if not famine, sometimes prevail, as for example at the time of my visit to Arno. A storm has largely destroyed the breadfruit trees, and therefore a source of relief that could not be easily replaced. The cocoanuts were not yet ripe, the population had to fall back on the pandanus, and there was but little of that. Such periods of affliction have always appeared, and with them the cause of the canoe traffic between the islands, whose inhabitants were compelled to engage in barter with each other.

With the new era of copra exportation, by which the natives were deprived of an essential part of their former food supply, a substitute had to be found through importation, as had long been the case on Jaluit and Ebon. Here the natives have already grown accustomed to foreign food-stuffs, among which rice and ship's biscuit hold the chief place.

The natural food productions are for the rest the same as on the Gilbert Islands and are limited as there to a few productions, but the breadfruit appears more frequently here. But *bob*, the fruit of the screw-pine (*pandanus odoratissimus*), constitutes the chief article of diet. The natives distinguish according to the fruit nine different kinds or varieties (20, according to Chamisso), which are not cultivated, but grow wild and are all equally good. Ordinarily the separate fruit pips are sucked, but for a special harvest celebration they prepare from them a conserve similar to *teduai* of the Gilbert Islands. The population of the whole village participates in this important work, and there prevails joyful revelry... But no solemnities or festivals in honor of the gods take place, nor any dancing. The preparation of this conserve (*dschenaguwe in bob*) is as follows: A large pit (about 10 feet long, 4-5 feet deep) is dug, laid in with coral slabs, and a lively fire is made in the pit, which heats the stones like a baker's stove. Meantime the hard *bob* fruits are gathered and separated into the separate fruit pips (see Choris, Plate 6) with which the heated pit is filled, alternating on layer of fruit pips with a bed of leaves. When the pit is nearly full, it is covered with a bed of leaves; heated sand and coral stones are placed on top, and the whole mass is left to cool for two days. The heat has drawn out the vividly yellow, viscous syrup, which is now completely obtained by rubbing and scraping. Girls and children bring the fruit pips in baskets to the men, who, kneeling before a wooden frame, scrape and rub with knives or rough coral stones, while all sing monotonously. The sap is now placed on wooden frames and dried in the sun in the form of flat cakes and then pressed into long round rolls, which are packed in pandanus leaves and carefully tied with cocoanut-fibre strings...

These *dschenaguwe* rolls customarily are a meter in length, 16 cm. in diameter, and weigh, if I am not mistaken, 20 to 30 pounds. At that time it cost about 20 pfennigs a pound, but the product, as was already the case at the time of Chamisso, who calls it *mogan*, was considered very valuable, and the natives did not have enough for themselves. The brown mass tasted very pleasantly sweet, like figs, but with a flavor of dates. It keeps, so it is said, several years. *Bob* preserve is not an article of daily diet, but is used principally as provisions on sea voyages; also chiefs make presents of it to each other.

In time of shortages, bark scraping of the pandanus tree are added to the *bob* conserve and thus a starchy preparation is made, which is called *tikaka* and, kneaded with water to a dough-like state, is baked into flat cakes. This is the "food from decayed and pulverized cocoanut wood" of which Kotzebue and Chamisso make mention.

The coconut tree is cultivated, but at that time was not abundantly so produced. According to Chamisso there may be 10(?) different kinds or varieties distinguished according to the nuts, but I came across only one kind, outside the worthy little nuts of Ujae, here called *bir*, whose kernel (*berungar*) does not get hard, but only a small number of these trees grow there. The Marshall Islanders know how to draw off *takaru* or palm syrup (not pandanus syrup, as Kotzebue thinks), but they do not do this often, and the preparation from the syrup, the notoriously intoxicating sour toddy, I have not tasted. At that time the Marshall Islanders could buy sufficient quantity of schnapps

(Hamburg gin); formerly, like the Gilbert Islanders, they did not have any intoxicating liquors.

Ma, breadfruit or jackfruit (Choris, Plate VII), according to Chamisso comes in two kinds (*Artocarpus incisa* and *integrifolia*) but in general is quite scarce and appears on just eleven islands in all. Fruit with kernels (*kwelle*) which taste like chestnuts when roasted, are rare. In general, the quality of the local breadfruit is poor; in its usual prepared form, i.e. roasted in hot ashes, it tastes something like potatoes. From the breadfruit, however, a preserved food is prepared which is a more commonly used than the one described above from pandanus. The ripe breadfruit is shelled; then they cut it in pieces, let it soak for a couple of days in salt water, then knead it and place the acidulous mass, covered with breadfruit leaves (*bulik*), in a shady spot. At the end of a week the soft mass is kneaded again for the second time and is then ready as the food product known and beloved under the name of *piru*, which is almost unbearable to our taste. It is kept in pits in which coral stones and leaves are laid or in baskets of palm leaves, from which the daily requirements are taken, or it is packed in the same way as *bob* in large, separate rolls, called *dschenaguwe* in *Ma*, which should keep for several (5-6) months. For some small islands, like Ujae, for example, *piru* is an article of export.

Mogemogis is the name given to a flour extracted from a variety of taro or arum, which has long been an article of barter sent from the northern islands to the southern islands. It is cooked, stirred together with water, in a cocoanut shell, to the consistency of a pap, sometimes together with scraped cocoanut, and forms a favorite dish. According to Chamisso, *mogemog* is made from *Tacca pinitifida*; in addition, three kinds of arrowroot (*Arum esculentum*, *sagittifolium* and *macrorhizon*) are cultivated. These probably constitute the Arrowroot called *Iradsch* by the natives. My observations reveal that only eight islands (Majuro, Bikini, Kwajalein, Ujae, Namorik, Ailinglaplap, Aur and Maloelab) produce large quantities of arrowroot. Aur exports about 1,000 pounds yearly; at that time it cost about 4 pfennings a pound, a trade in which whites also participated. Formerly taro was not cultivated on a large scale either.

Even more interesting than the origin of these bulbous plants would be to obtain accurate information on whence the natives obtained the banana (*kaberang*), for this might simultaneously throw light on their own origin. On Kaben (Maloelap atoll) Chamisso saw a banana tree which appeared freshly planted; on Aur he saw several trees with fruit. Since then bananas have been planted on Majuro, Namorik and Ebon, in general in modest numbers, and on these islands it appears to have been first introduced by the whites. The same goes for the melon tree (*Carica papaya*), the *kinapu* of the natives (Hernsheim's Mommey-apple, p. 55 tree, p. 59 fruit, 61 leaf, 63 and 65 blossoms), which by reason of its more modest needs thrives better than the banana. But this fruit has remained of no value for the food needs of the natives, like everything that Chamisso's philanthropic enthusiasm strove for with endless patience and perseverance in this connection. Wherever Chamisso landed he laid out gardens and planted seeds of useful tropical plants from the Hawaiian Islands, in whose culture his friend Kadu in-

structed the natives. All these exertions were fruitless; the immense multitudes of seeds of melons, watermelons, etc., did not result in a single fruit. When Kotzebue visited the islands seven years later, only on Wotje did he find the yams that he had introduced being cultivated, but since then this useful plant has also disappeared. The tendrils of the vines reached up to the crowns of the trees, but they had died away. The slight rainfall, the general lack of water and the absence of humus makes all cultivation of kitchen vegetables impossible. To be sure, at Hershheim's station on Jabwor, melons, cucumbers, radishes and even beans, to some extent, thrive well, but on a layer of excellent soil which had been brought from Ponape and Kusaie, and under the care of a Chinese gardener, who had to do a great deal of watering. For the rest, these tropical melons have little aroma, and the decorative flowers (pinks and roses) have no scent. Without great exertions in favorable places there thrive tomatoes, Spanish peppers, and under special care figs and a kind of orange (*Dodonæa viscorea*), the latter two in a very limited degree on Ebon.

Tobacco is the only stimulant first introduced by the whites which soon became indispensable to the natives. Despite the strict prohibition by the missionaries, child and oldster alike smoke, with clay pipes and also in the form of cigarettes made with a wrapping of banana leaf...

...

[Industry]

The only rope-making implement was a round wooden turn-plate (Fig. 22, about 32 cm. in diameter), with a round hole in the middle, and with nine notches on the borders. Through the hole of this plate ran a strong cable, four fingers thick, 20 paces long, one end of which was made fast to a cocoanut tree, while the other end, tied to another tree, was held taut by a man. Nine thin strings (like those of N° 136), fastened at one end with the principal cable to the first tree, were drawn through the notches of the disk and were held and taken care of at the other end (rolled up here in large thick balls) by as many men. While one man diligently turned the disk to the right, the other had to see to it that the nine thin strings should wind themselves uniformly and without turning about the middlemost cable. In this way there is obtained an excellent, very neatly wound ship's cable, whose making, however, requires the assistance of eleven men.

[Marshallese canoes]

The most amazing and grandiose demonstration of the industry of the Marshall Islanders is their skill in the construction of sea-faring vessels; the latter are not on this account, however, the best among the South Seas people, as is commonly supposed...

The Marshall Islanders possess quite good material in the soft and easily worked wood of the breadfruit tree, from which the vessels are built, for driftwood and ship's wreckage, by reason of their rareness, can play only a secondary role.

The Marshallese canoe, *U-a* (*O-a*, of Chamisso; *Wa*, of Hershheim) belongs to the widespread type of aboriginal ship construction in which the principal of the vessel consists of a large keel. The latter is hewn out of a suitable trunk of the breadfruit tree and

hollowed out, which dictates the size of the vessel. On the keel, pointed below, is set, fore and aft, a hawse-piece, sharp in front and running out into a long cutwater, and this hawse-piece is again joined with the keel by side-boards, planks or pieces of board, whose size varies greatly and is determined by the available wood and its suitability. They commonly work up the flat root props of the breadfruit tree into side-boards, but there are but rarely boards in our sense.

According to Chamisso the small canoes of Mejit, without mast or sail, were "patched up entirely from small boards", quite as is done in the Gilbert Islands, probably from the lack of the breadfruit tree. The illustration of Choris (Radak, Plate IV) shows such a small canoe of Mejit.

Characteristic, but not peculiar to the Marshallese canoes, is the inequality of the sides. While the side facing the outrigger bulges out gently, and is thus made convex, the opposite runs almost straight (see Fig. 24). Without this ingenious device, the vessel, by reason of the one-sided outrigger, which sticks far out, would not run straight, but in a great arc. The separate parts of the canoe are bound together by means of bored holes and of cocoanut-fibre strings. For caulking purposes, strips of pandanus leaf are laid between the separate wooden parts. I do not remember whether the seams are also smeared with resin, which the breadfruit tree yields. The canoe bears a very heavy outrigger apparatus with a heavy outrigger beam (balancer), of the length of the keel, which is united in a singular way with the six cross-bars. Over the somewhat raised middle of the vessel runs a wide platform (*bedak*) made of boards, which projects quite far over the side (*rong*) opposite the outrigger, and is sometimes so large that a small hut can be erected on each side. It is made of pandanus leaf and is large enough to provide shelter for 5-6 people closely crowded together. The canoe carries a mast and a large lateen-sail, which can be braced with two booms or yards (*rodschak*), generally made from the ribs of the cocoanut tree leaf. The sail (*wudschela*) is sewn together from strips about 18 cm. wide, of matting (*irr in wudschela*) from pandanus leaf. Such a strip is sometimes 200 feet long, and a large sail takes 700 feet of mat strips. For the rudder (*dschebwe*) they use a long oar, which is made fast with a knot of cordage. I do not remember any anchors (*kauliklik*), but they may be used. Normally the canoes are moored by the cutwater being tied to a cocoanut tree with a cable, and when not in use are kept on the shore, but are not sheltered in special sheds. The only decorations are clusters of tattered black feathers (from the frigate bird) on the mast-head, the principal cables which hold the mast, and at the end of the lower boom or beam. The point of each bow is sometimes topped by a wood-carving in the form of an Uhlang's helmet. This ornament (*bellik*), cut from wood or from wicker-work plaiting, daubed black or white, sometimes decorated with clusters of feathers, is quite peculiarly characteristic of the canoes of the Marshall Islands, but is found only on the larger canoes. Illustrations of such ornaments are given by Choris (Plate XI, side-view and front-view; Plate XII, sketch; and XIV, under sail), and by Kotzebue (p. 80) quite discernably, although not correct in all details. On the other hand, the drawings of Jaluit canoes, based on my photographs, in Westermann's *Monatshfte*, 1887, pp. 492, 493, 496 and 497 (see also

Hernsheim's *Marshall-Sprache*, pp. 97, 99 and 101, and *Sudsee-Erinnerungen*, Plate VII and p. 92) are completely accurate.

The accompanying sketches (Fig. 23, side-view, and Fig. 24, front-view, after my photographs, will contribute more than the most detailed description to a precise knowledge and will simultaneously acquaint us with the separate parts of the canoe:

	A	B
	Dimensions (meters?)	
a. <i>U-a</i> , length of keel (hull or ship's body proper)	4.24	-----
Greatest length from end to end	5.28	5.60
Greatest width in the middle	0.55	0.58
Greatest height	0.77	----
b. <i>Ere</i> , outrigger scaffolding, with six cross-bars, their length	3.32	3.68
c. <i>Kubak</i> , outrigger beam, length	4.34	----
d. <i>Bedak</i> , platform on the outrigger side, length ...	3.30	----
e. <i>Reong</i> , platform on the opposite side, length ...	1.30	0.90
f. <i>Billebil</i> , small hits, one or two	----	----
g. <i>Gidschu</i> , mast, height	4.97	6.24
<i>Rodschak</i> , lower boom (yard), length	5.56	----
" upper boom (yard), length	5.56	----
h. <i>Wudschela</i> , sail (rolled up), length	5.28	----
i. <i>Do kubak</i> , cable from mast to the outrigger	----	----
k. <i>Gag</i> , cables for hoisting sail	----	----
l. <i>Man</i> , two cables	----	----
m. <i>Bellick</i> , bow ornaments	----	----

The dimensions given in Table A (to which I adjoin in Table B those given by Chamisso in *Reise*, I, p. 242) are those of a middle-size canoe, of average dimensions. There are also smaller canoes, without mast or sail, and others of much larger size. Chamisso gives a length of 38 feet (over 12 meters) for the largest canoe, which is correct; Hernsheim gives the figure of 50 feet (16 meters), probably only an estimate and therefore clearly exaggerated. A canoe of the dimensions of Table A holds 10-12 persons; the customary number is 6-10, for small ones even less; for quite large ones, 15-20. To be sure I have seen as many as 30-40 on the latter kind, but half this number were women and children, and it was only a question of a ride on the lagoon. By reason of the smallness of the ship's body, which is properly speaking only a support for the platform, the latter serves as the residence for the passengers, who, when there is a large number, are squeezed together as tightly as herrings.

Canoe-building (*digedik*, wood-hewing), for the rest, was an art which was understood and practiced by only a few, and consequently constituted a kind of craft. In my time there were only a few old people on Jaluit who were engaged in this work; but large

vessels were no longer built. The number of these was never a large one. Chamisso noted on Airik, the largest and most populous of the islands that he visited, seven large canoes; I noted some 33 on Jaluit, 13 on Ebon, 20 on Mili. Since the number has probably diminished considerably everywhere...

An indispensable implement on all canoe voyages is the water bailer (*jimm*) from the wood of the breadfruit tree, longitudinally-oval, boat-shaped (about 50-cm. long, 20-cm. wide), with a cut-out handle on the base of the inner side (see Finsch: Westermann's *Monatshefte*, 1887, p. 495, Fig. 1). By reason of the thinness of the seams, every canoe takes in water, so that it must be continuously bailed out, which under ordinary conditions can be done by one person without exertion.

Since the sail cannot be reefed, the handling of it is quite a troublesome business. The mast does not stand in the middle of the canoe, but is stepped in the hollow of a nave, made fast with strings, on the platform extending somewhat overboard on the outrigger side. Such naves are put in one each end (cut-water) of the vessel and are used to step the two booms (yards, or *rodschak*), which hold the sail. When the sail must be turned, it is necessary to bring it over from one bow to the other and step it in; at the same time the steersman must change places. As I know from personal experience, the maneuver does not always succeed...

The sailing quality of these canoes is generally exaggerated; indisputably they run before the wind as well as any good boat... but 4-6 nautical miles an hour is probably their maximum speed, and figures in excess of this (15 to 20 English nautical miles) are clear exaggerations.

Canoes from Ebon customarily made the voyage from Jaluit (80 nautical miles) in from 18 to 36 hours, which gives an average speed of between 2-1/2 to 4-1/2 knots....

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HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

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