

HISTORY OF MICRONESIA
A COLLECTION OF SOURCE
DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 19—THE FREYCINET EXPEDITION,
1818-1819

PLUS
REFERENCE TABLES

Compiled and edited
by

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- v. 1. European discovery, 1521-1560.
- v. 2. Prelude to conquest, 1561-1595.
- v. 3. First real contact, 1596-1637.
- v. 4. Religious conquest, 1638-1670.
- v. 5. Focus on Mariana Mission, 1670-1673.
- v. 6. Revolts in the Marianas, 1673-1678.
- v. 7. More turmoil in Marianas, 1679-1683.
- v. 8. Last Chamorro revolt, 1683-1687.
- v. 9. Conquest of the Gani Is., 1687-1696.
- v. 10. Exploration of Caroline Is., 1696-1709.
- v. 11. French ships in the Pacific, 1708-1717.
- v. 12. Carolinians drift to Guam, 1715-1728.
- v. 13. Failure at Ulithi Atoll, 1727-1746.
- v. 14. Full census of the Marianas, 1746-1773.
- v. 15. Mostly Palau, 1783-1793.
- v. 16. The Malaspina Expedition, 1773-1795.
- v. 17. Last discoveries, 1795-1807.
- v. 18. Russian expeditions, 1808-1827.
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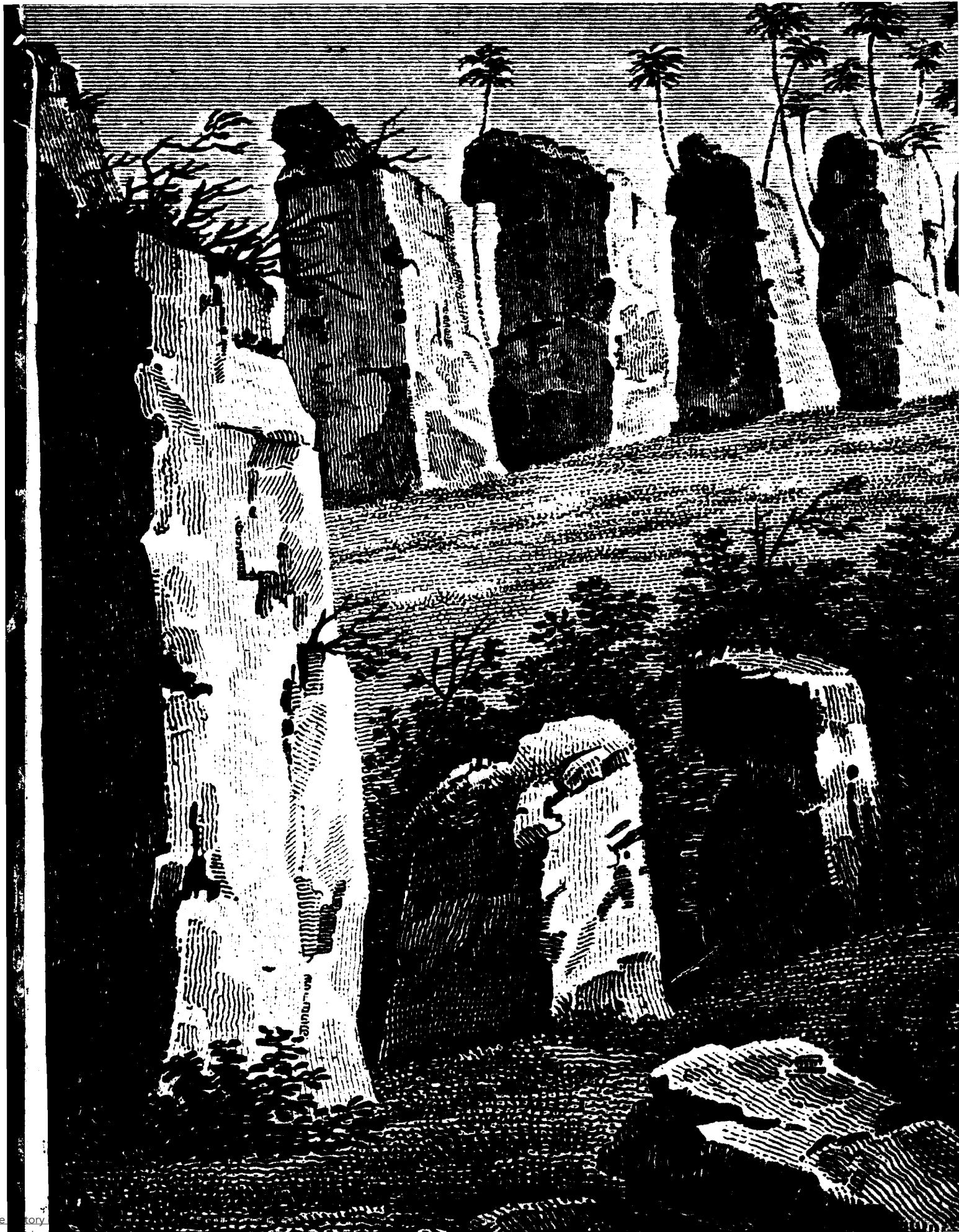
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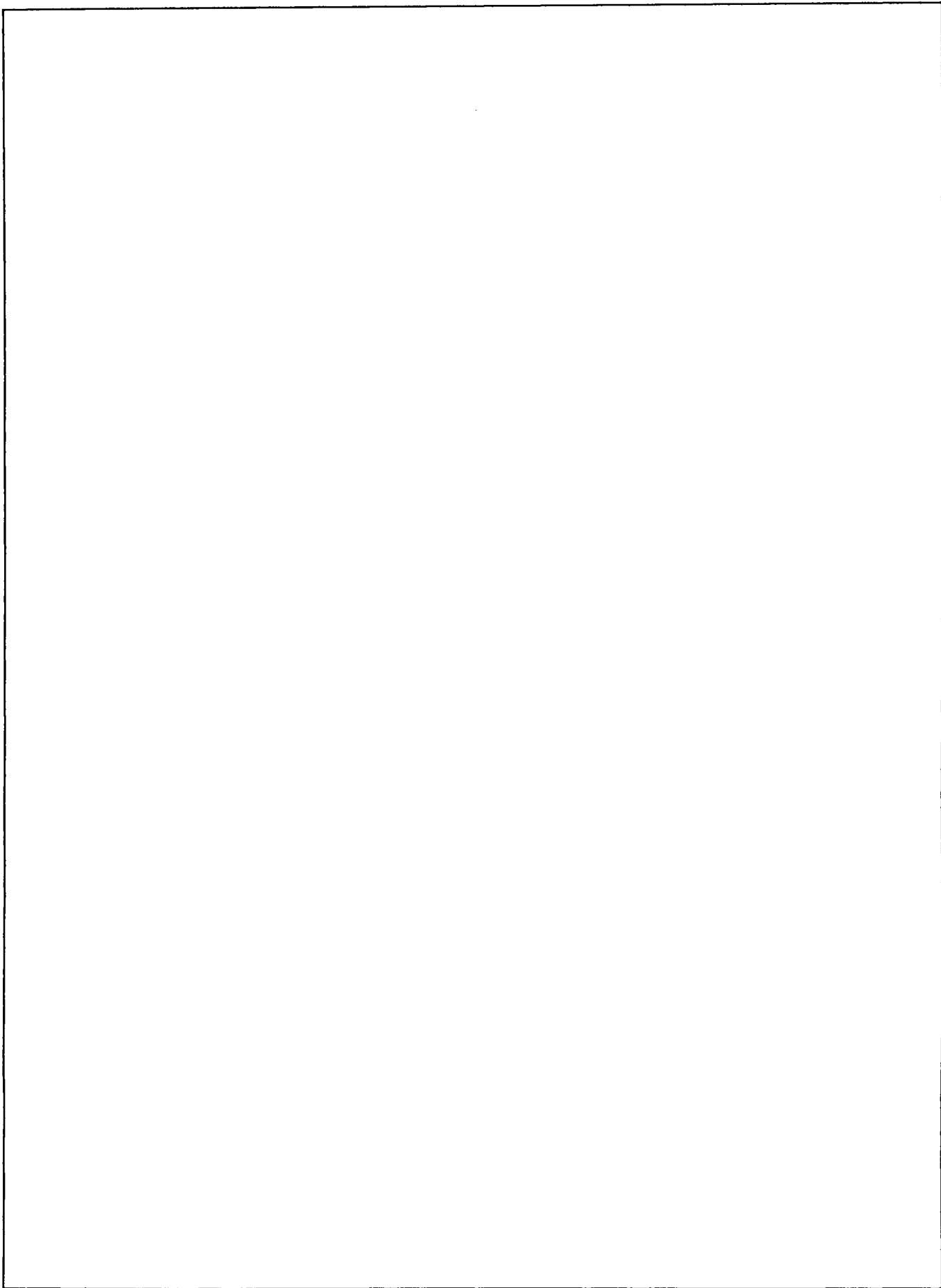
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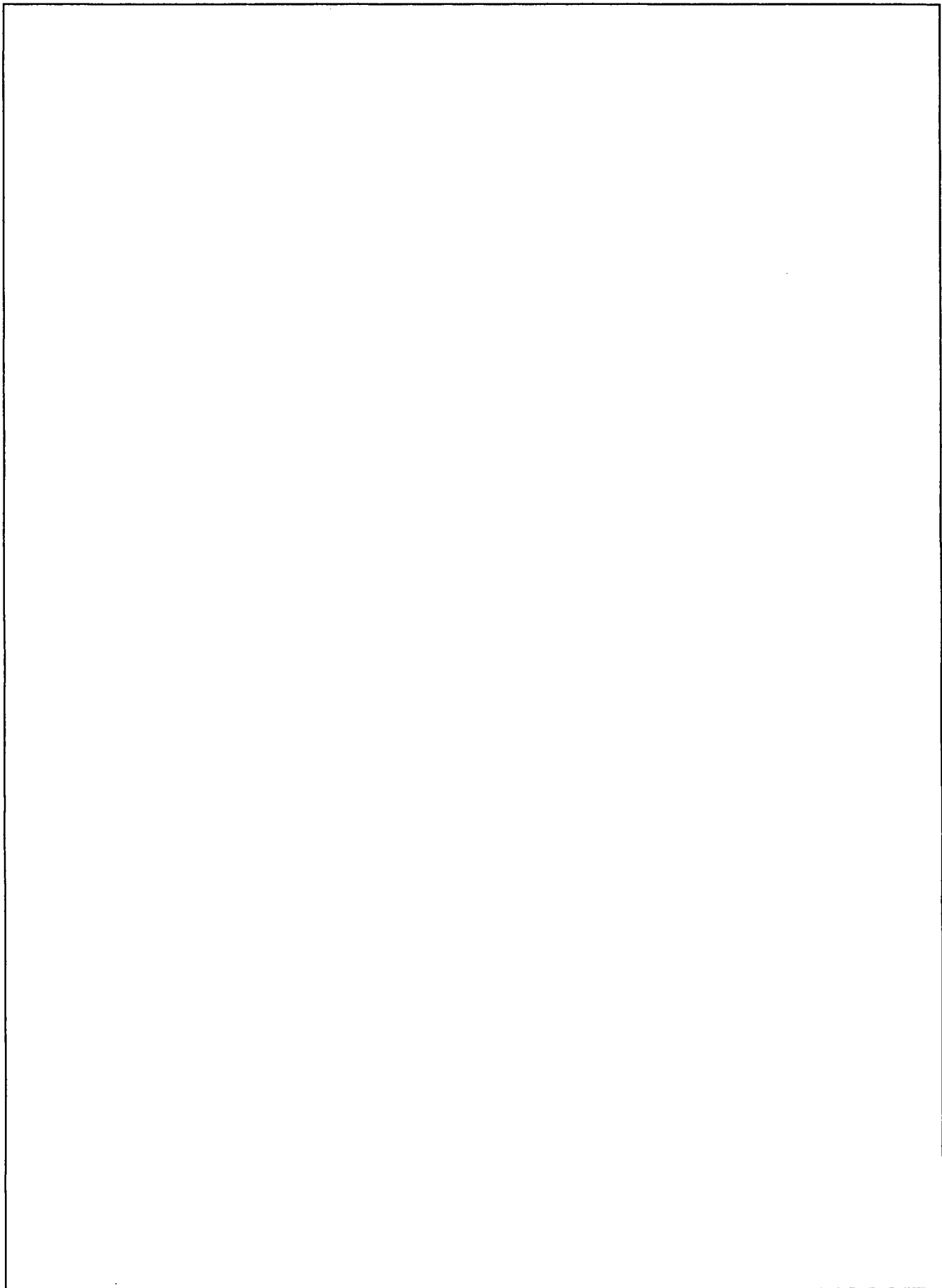
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Contents

	Page
List of illustrations	7
Abbreviations	9
Foreword	11
Doc. N°	
1818G Forts of Guam—Condition in 1818	15
1818I The San José , alias Rey Fernando, from Lima to Calcutta	22
1818J Regarding the arrival of the Santa Rita in New Spain	24
1818K The capture of the Mariana brigantine Dolores by the insurgent ship Argentina	27
1818L The Arlegui brothers, sons of a former Governor of the Marianas	38
1818M The King re-affirms one of the rules about galleons	40
1818N Governor Medinilla asks to be replaced	45
1819A The Russian frigate Kutusov , Captain Hagemeister, visited Guam	49
1819B The French ship Bordelais , Captain Roquefeuil	57
1819C The Freycinet Expedition—Report of Governor Medinilla	60
1819D The Freycinet Expedition—Accounts by Captain Freycinet himself	79
Chapter 22—From Timor to the Mariana Islands	127
Chapter 23—Information on the Caroline Islands	132
Chapter 24—Stay at the Mariana Is. Excursion to Rota and Tinian	177
Chapter 25—A brief history of the Marianas, before 1820	196
Chapter 26—Description of the Marianas, and specially Guam	242
Chapter 27—Passage from Guam to the Sandwich Islands	468
1818E The Freycinet Expedition—Narrative of Mrs. Freycinet	469
1819F The Freycinet Expedition—Narratives of Jacques Arago	
His letters n° 76-103	495
Vocabularies of Chamorro and Carolinian languages	559
His poetic book—Chapter 11—From Timor to the Marianas	577
Chapters 12 to 18—The Mariana Islands	586
Chapter 2—The Caroline Islands	665
 REFERENCE TABLES	 679
—Chronological tables—Popes, Kings, Viceroys, Governors	681
—Jesuit missionaries, 1668-1769	692
—Augustinian Recollects, 1769-1908	698
—Spanish Capuchin Fathers in Palau and the Carolines, 1886-1907	702

—Catholic missionaries in Guam, 1899-1950s	705
—German Franciscan missionaries in Micronesia, 1903-1919	707
—German Sacred Heart missionaries, Marshalls and Nauru, 1900-19	711
—Spanish Jesuits in Japanese Micronesia, 1921-1944 and aftermath	714
—Protestant missionaries in Micronesia, 1852-1980s	717
—Catholic missionaries in the Gilberts, 1888-1938	729

List of illustrations

	Page
The World of Oceania	13
Map of Micronesia	14
Capture of the Mariana brig Dolores on 1 April 1818	32
Captain Leon A. Hagemeister, commander of the Kutusov , 1819	48
The frigate Uranie	78
Plates from the Historical Atlas of Freycinet	
Description: captions and explanations	82-86
Plates 50-81	87-125
Carolinian compass directions	153
Chamorro songs, musical notes and words	392
Fish trap designs	415
Title page of Mrs. Freycinet's book	489
Carolinian canoe under sail	474
Umatac Harbor	475
Guam: hammock used to transport gentlemen	478
Carolinian men dancing at Agaña	487
Chamorro men and women dancing at Agaña	492
Ferdinand VII	493
Letter from a Carolinian pilot of Satawal to Captain Martinez	539
The French sailor named Petit	583
Dolorida, woman of Guam	591
Mariquita, a young girl of Guam	606
Angela, a woman of Guam	615
Ancient columns in ruin	633
Queen from the Carolines, seen at Tinian	638
Carolinian tamor, seen at Tinian	640
Native dance—Caroline Islands	642
Two Carolinian men dancing	675
Front endpaper:	Ruins of ancient columns, seen on Tinian Island, drawn by Jacques Arago (Plate 75b).
Rear endpaper:	Ruins of ancient pillars, seen on Rota Island, drawn by J. Arago (Plate 73).

Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston.
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville.
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.
ANP	Archives Nationales, Paris.
ANU	Australian National University, Canberra.
BM	British Museum/Library, London.
BNM	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
BNP	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B&R	Blair & Robertson's series: The Philippine Islands.
CCSF	Cross-Cultural Survey Files, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
EIC	East India Company.
FBG	Filipiniana Book Guild, Manila.
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia.
G&E	Gilbert & Ellice Islands Colony [= Kiribati & Tuvalu].
GPO	Government Printing Office, Washington.
HM	History of Micronesia series, by Lévesque Publications.
HMS	His [British] Majesty's Ship.
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.
HRAF	Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy.
JPH	Journal of Pacific History, Canberra.
JPS1	Journal of the Polynesian Society, Wellington, N.Z.
JPS2	Journal of the Pacific Society, Tokyo, Japan.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington.
LMS	London Missionary Society.
MARC	Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.
MBU	Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar (All documents moved to MN).
MCF	Microfilm.
MHA	Marine Historical Association, Mystic Seaport, Connecticut.
ML	Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
MMB	Mercedarias Misioneras de Berriz, Vizcaya, Spain.
MN	Museo Naval, Madrid.
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (of Issoudun, France).
NDL	National Diet Library, Tokyo.
NLA	Newberry Library, Ayer Collection, Chicago.

NMM	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.
NSW	New South Wales, Australia.
NYK	Nihon Yusen Kaisha [Japan Shipping Line Co.]
NYPL	New York Public Library.
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Franciscans).
OMCap	Ordo Minorum Capuchinorum (Capuchins).
OP	Ordo Prædicatorum (Dominicans).
ORSA	Ordo Recollectorum Sancti Augustini (Recollects).
OSA	Ordo Sancti Augustini (Augustinians).
OSF	Order of St. Francis.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
PCCA	Palau Community Action Agency.
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, ANU.
PNA	Philippine National Archives, Manila.
PRO	Public Records Office, London.
PSIC	Pacific Scientific Information Center, Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
RAN	Royal Australian Navy.
RN	Royal [British] Navy.
RPC	Royal Philippine Company.
SHM	Service Historique de la Marine, Palais de Vincennes, Paris.
SJ	Societas Jesu (Jesuits).
SMS	His [German] Majesty's Ship.
SS.CC.	Missionaries of the Sacred Hearts (Picpus).
STM	"Ships Through Micronesia" [see Volume 20, Book 2]
TNL	The National Library, Manila.
TTPI	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (formerly a part of Micronesia).
UH	University of Hawaii (Hamilton Library), Honolulu.
USCC	United States Commercial Company (1946 Economic Survey of Micronesia).
UNDP	United Nations Development Program, New York.
USMC	U.S. Marine Corps [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USN	U.S. Navy [Additional R indicates Reserves].
USS	U.S. Ship.
UTK	University of Tokyo Library.
YC	Yen-ching Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
?	Information missing, wanted, or not available.
(?)	Information given is doubtful; confirmation needed.

Foreword

“The Carolinian is at once a man, a fish and a bird.”

“The Mariana Islands are neither wild nor civilized... Contrasts are so close together that the historian appears as if contradicting himself when he is so truthful as to be too candid.”

“Let us have no fiction in the history of the world. I prefer the most abstract truth, to the most brilliant and ingenious invention.”

All three quotes are from Jacques Arago, as reproduced in this volume.

So wrote the first French artist, Arago, upon visiting Micronesia, in the spring of 1819. His poetic book, which is here translated for the first time, does read like a historical novel—the first to be reproduced in this documentary encyclopedia, and the last document in this first series on the history of Micronesia. Arago’s letters, and those written by the first educated woman to visit Micronesia, Mrs. Freycinet, are also published in this volume.

As for Captain Freycinet, his was the only French scientific expedition around the world in the age of sail; it was also the best one to visit Micronesia. The Frenchmen spent nearly three months in the Marianas and lost no time, investigating everything in sight. Captain Freycinet and his secretary were the only non-Spanish men who, before Lieutenant Safford of the U.S. Navy in 1900, did intensive research in the government archives at Agaña. These archives were obviously still intact in 1819.

After his return to Paris, Captain Freycinet single-handedly wrote, or edited, the 12 volumes that comprise his Voyage around the world. Before writing his Narrative, Captain Freycinet continued his historical research in libraries, and came up with a reasonably correct history of Micronesia. However, his best work has to do with his local observations about the social life of the islands, their economy, industry, and commercial potential. For instance, the information that his team collected about canoes, navigation, plants, birds, fish, etc. is interesting indeed, even for modern scientists.¹

Arago, the poet, may not have written fiction, but his style was definitely romantic, specially when he described the Carolinians whom he met in the Marianas. The Caroli-

¹ Other documents about the Freycinet expedition, such as logbooks by other officers, and the hydrographic work, have been left for Vol. 21.

nian chief who saved him from drowning at Rota came in for special praise. His own romantic affair with a local girl adds pathos to his story.

Captain Freycinet was the first modern writer to have realized the true nature of the *latte* stones that are still to be seen on some of the Marianas: they were the columns of ancient houses that had belonged to chiefs.¹

Freycinet copied and published the official census of the population of the Marianas, from 1710 to 1818, a total of 45 tables which can be found in this volume. Many of those had already been published in this series, but some are new and they provide a rapid appreciation of what happened in those islands during the 18th century.

Rod Lévesque
Gatineau, November 2002

Acknowledgment

Thanks to Martine Montoya of Paris for sending me two missing pages from Jacques Arago's 1839 publication.

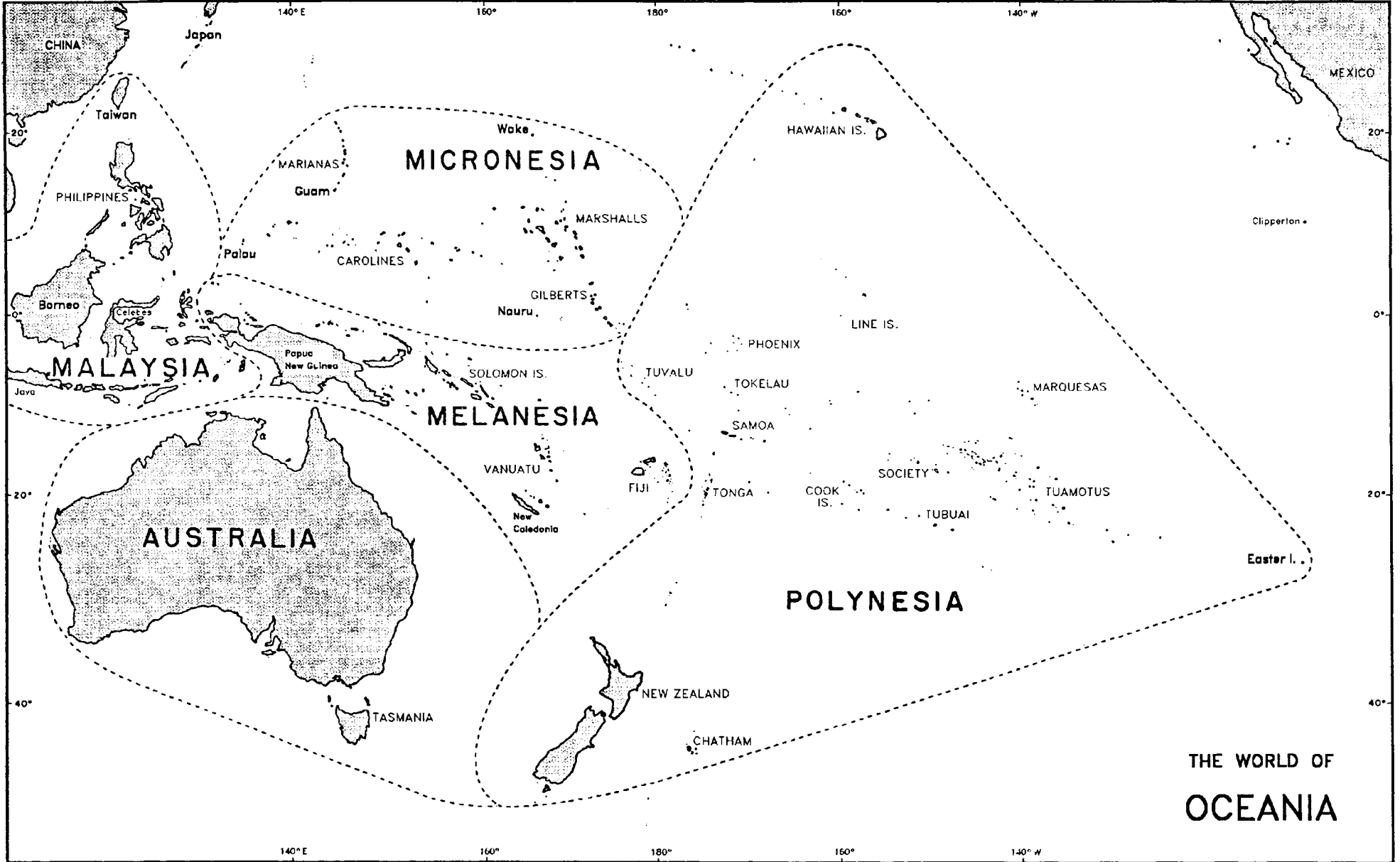
Errors and corrections

Despite every effort to check the facts, minor errors have undoubtedly remained. For these, as well as for the judgments expressed, the editor takes full responsibility. However, readers who spot factual errors are sincerely invited to submit corrections.

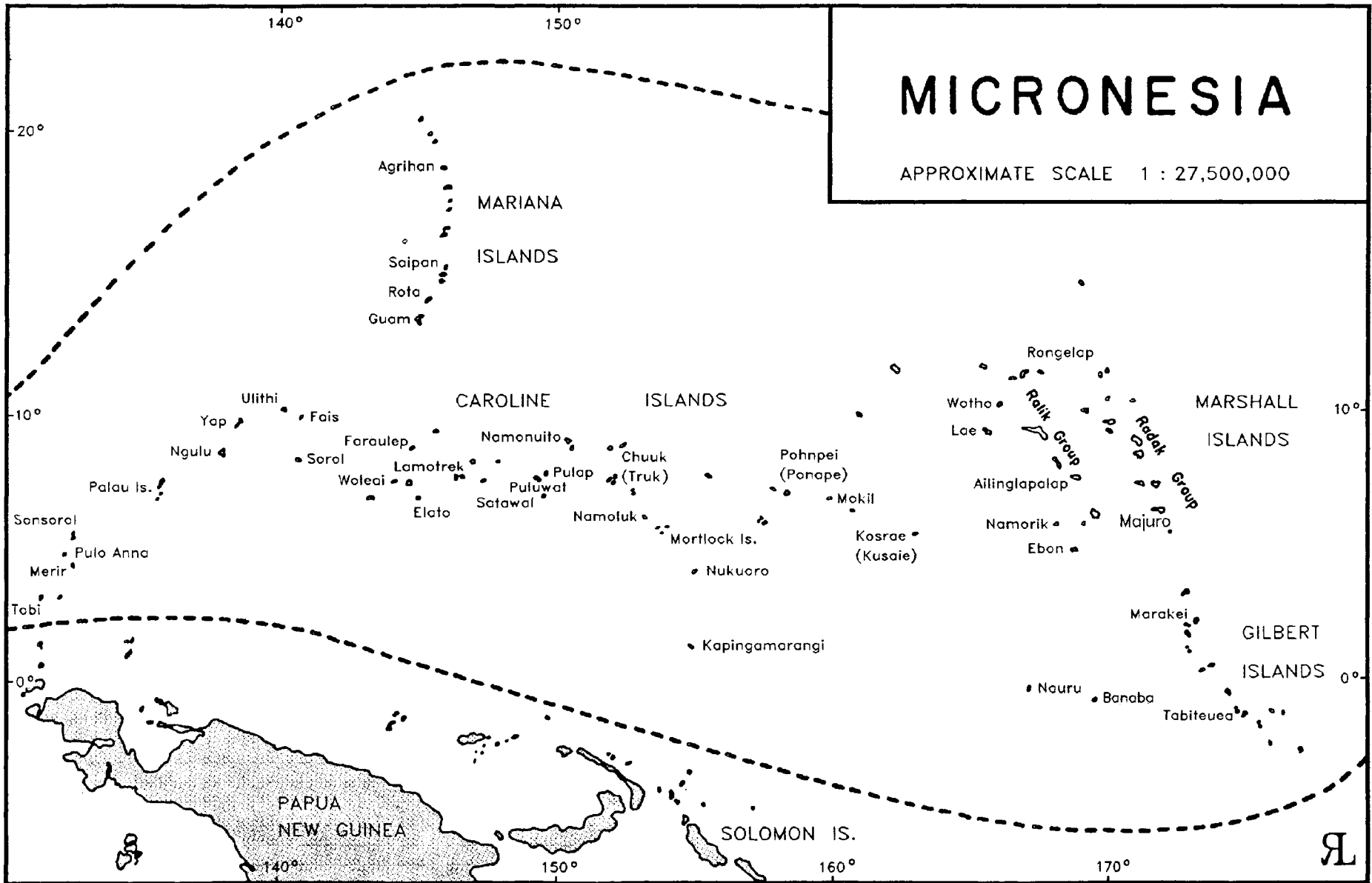
Note on place names

Place names are given as they appear in the original documents, except that the more common or modern spelling is given in brackets, whenever necessary; the latter form is used in the index to refer to all equivalent forms.

1 I recommend to anyone trying to make a sketch of such ancient buildings to consult Plate 81 first (reproduced on pages 124-125). Those who ignore Freycinet's sketches will do so at their own peril. I specially abhor inaccurate reconstructions, such as the one made by William N. Morgan, in his *Prehistoric Architecture in Micronesia* (Austin, 1988).



THE WORLD OF
OCEANIA



Documents 1818G (amended)

Forts of Guam—Condition in 1818

Source: LC Mss. Div., Span. Gov't Collection, Item 97.

Note: Fort San José, which had been built in 1803 (see Doc. 1803C), was abandoned in 1818.

G1. Report of Governor Medinilla, dated Agaña 7 December 1818

Original text in Spanish.

Ynmediatamente pasé à reconocer las Baterias con el fin de ponerlas en el mejor Estado de defenza posible, y como la de Sta. Cruz de los Dolores fué executada sin el mas leve conocimiento de Fortificacion, despues de haver reflexionado sobre sus defectos, y ventajas prosedí hacer las obras de mas importancia, haciendo componer el Terraplen, Esplanada para los Cañones con el declive necessario[,] darle la altura correspondiente de tres pies à las rodilleras, pues alcanzavan hasta tocar con las bocas de los cañones[,] anchar las Cañoneras à dos pies, y medio por la parte interior, pues tasadamente tenian un pie, y el rebujo del cañon huvieran destruido los Costados. Asimismo hice demoler dos grandes Mogotes de Piedra con dos Escaleras cada uno de siete pasos que estaban Situados en los Merlones del centro de la Bateria capaces en cualesquiera caso de haver hecho el mayor daño à la Guarnicion, y enseguida prosedí à mandar hacer un pequeño quarto para que hiciese de Casamata, y haviendo ganado al Mar el Terreno necesario por la parte opuesta que dà vista à las Calderas ò lugares que hacen de Surgidero, mandè hacer tambien Cuerpo de Guardia, Quartel para la Guarnicion, y Cosina, de modo que en el dia se halla la expresada Bateria con todos sus necesarios à excepcion de una pequeña Sixterna [sic] que le ès de necesidad por estar à Yslada [sic], y que verè se execute luego, y està montada con dos Cañones de Fierro Calibre de à 12., dos Culebrinas de Bronce Calibre de à 8., y un otro Cañon de los mejores de Fierro de los de à 6., que esta dado por inutil; Y en la bateria de Orote despues de haver hecho componer su Casamata, y muro de barveta quedan montados dos Cañones de Fierro Calibre de à 12., y dos Calibre de à 6., de los que tambien estan dados por inutil; Tambien hè armado tres lanchas cañoneras cada una con un cañon de Bronce Calibre de à 4., las que tengo listas en la Caldera del desembarcadero de Apra para cualesquiera ocurrencia en las Bocanas que presentan los Arrecifes que circumbalan la Ysla y por lo que respecta à las Baterias situadas en la Villa de Umata, solo diré à V.S. se hayan en

un estado deplorable de Defensa, pues los Cañones que las guarnecen con uno Calibre de à 8., seis Calibre de à 6., 2 Calibre de à 4., y uno de 3., todos dados por inútiles como consta por los Estados que anteriormente tengo remitidos à esa Superioridad pero sin embargo de su ynutilidad los hè puesto en Bateria haciendo componer perfectamente hasta el numero de beinte, y cinco Cureñas, no habiendo omitido para la defensa de estas Yslas, y cubrir sus atenciones el alistamiento de ochocientos hombres de la mejor disposicion, sin contar con los Avitantes de los Pueblos, y las tres Compañias Veteranas, à los quales luego que recivi la Superior Orden de V.S. alisté, y empezando por enseñarles los Tiros, pues no havia uno que los huviese executado, en el dia è ponerlos en un estado capaz à todo desempeño, sin que los expresados Avitantes de los Pueblos hayan dejado de instruirse con el mejor adelantamiento en el manejo de la Flecha, y Honda, y asi puede V.S. descuidar por lo que hace à la seguridad de estas Yslas, sin embargo de no tener la Artilleria necesaria.

Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Villa de Umata en las Yslas Marianas, y Diciembre 7 de 1818.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla y Pineda.

[A] *M. Y.S. Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.*

Translation.

Without further ado, I went to inspect the Batteries with the intention of putting them in the best possible condition for defence. It appears that Fort Santa Cruz, or Our Lady of Sorrows, was built without the least knowledge of fortifications;¹ after I had studied its defects, and advantages, I proceeded to make the more important modifications, by having the rampart repaired, the platform for the guns with the necessary slope, giving the corresponding height of three feet to the lower part of the embrasures (indeed, they came up so high as to touch the barrels of the guns), widening the embrasures to two-and-a-half feet on the inside (they only measured one foot, and the movement of the gun would have destroyed the sides). In addition, I ordered the destruction of two stone knolls, along with two stairways, each of seven steps, that were located in the parapets in the center of the Battery, likely in any case of creating serious injury to the garrison. I at once ordered a small room to be built, to be used as a powder storage room, After some necessary land had been reclaimed from the sea on the opposite side, the one that faces the basins or places serving as an anchorage, I also ordered the construction of a guard house, barracks for the garrison, with a kitchen, so that today this Battery is to be found with all the necessary improvements, except for one small cistern that is necessary, as it is isolated, and I will have one made soon. It is mounted with two iron guns of 12-pound caliber, two brass culverins of 8-pound caliber, and one other gun made of the best iron (the 6-pounder type) but which is considered unserviceable.

1 Ed. note: So says an infantry officer.

As for the Battery of Orote, after having had the powder storage room and the wall of the parapet repaired, there remain mounted two iron guns of 12-pound caliber, and two of 6-pound caliber, which are among those considered unserviceable.

I have also armed three launches, each with a brass gun of 4- pound caliber; they are now ready in the basin of the landing of Apra, to serve in any eventuality in the inlets through the reefs that surround the island.

As far as the Batteries located in the Town of Umata, I can only say to Y.L. that they are presently in a deplorable condition for defence; indeed, the guns that are mounted there, i.e. one 8-pounder, six 6-pounders, two 4-pounders, and one 3-pounder, are all considered unserviceable, as shown in the previous condition reports that I have submitted to the Superior Government. Nevertheless, in spite of their uselessness, I have placed them in battery and had up to twenty of them, and five carriages, perfectly repaired.

That is not all, for the defence of these Islands and for all their attentions, 800 men with the best disposition have been recruited, not counting the inhabitants of the villages, nor the three Companies of veteran soldiers, all of whom I have recruited as soon as I received the Superior Order of Y.L., and we have begun by teaching them how to fire the guns (indeed, none of them had done it before) and to bring them up to a state of readiness for any eventuality. As for the inhabitants of the villages, they have not stopped being trained to better handle bows and arrows, and the sling. So it is that Y.L. may relax, as far as the security of these Islands is concerned, although we do not have the necessary artillery.

May our Lord save Y.L. for many years.

Town of Umata in the Mariana Islands, 7 December 1818.

Your Excellency.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

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

G2. Report of Governor Medinilla, dated Agaña 16 December 1818

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 208.

M. Y.S.

Acompaño à V.S. por Triplicado el Estado que manifiesta con individualidad kas Baterias, Trinchera, y Cañones de Artilleria de que se hallan Guarnecidas, con expresion de Clases, y Calibres, Vestuario Nuevo de la Tropa, Fuciles, Embarcaciones, y demas correspondientes al servicio, y defenza de estas Yslas Marianas.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña, y Diziembre 17 de 1818.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla y Pineda.

[A1] *M. Y.S. Gobernador y Captaí General de las Yslas Filipinas.*

Translation.

Superior Government N° 208.

Your Excellency:

Enclosed please find three copies of the condition report showing in detail the Batteries, Trench, and the Artillery Guns installed therein, along with their categories and calibers, the new clothing for the soldiers, rifles, vessels, and other things belonging to the service, and for the defence of these Mariana Islands.

May our Lord save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 17 December 1818.

Your Excellency.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

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

[The attached Table, modified for easier reproduction, contains the following information. Such tables were submitted every year by Medinilla, some copies of which I have seen as far away as Madrid.]

Title of the report: Detailed list showing the present condition of the Batteries, Trenches, and Artillery Guns installed therein, with specifications as to their categories, and calibers, and serviceability, the numbers including Infantry weapons. In addition, the other ordnance, and ammunitions for war, and the Vessels that are found in these Mariana Islands, and the whole is as shown in the following columns [sic], to wit:

Moveable guns with their carriages: In the City:

1 brass 3-pounder + 2 brass 3-pounders.¹

Battery of Our Lady of Sorrows [=Fort Santa Cruz]: In the Basin:

2 serviceable iron 12-pounders + 2 brass 8-pounders + 1 unserviceable iron 6-pounder.

Gun boats: In the Basin:

3 brass 4-pounders.

Battery of Santiago: At Orote Point:

2 iron 12-pounders + 2 unserviceable iron 6-pounders.

Battery of Santo Angel: In the Town of Umata:

3 unserviceable iron 6-pounders.

Battery of Our Lady of Solitude [=Soledad]: In said Town:

1 unserviceable iron 8-pounder + 3 unserviceable iron 6-pounders.

Trench: In said Town:

3 unserviceable iron 4-pounders.²

1 Ed. note: I omit the details of the ammunition supplies reserved for each gun.

2 Ed. note: Fort San José was abandoned that year, 1818 (see below).

Uniforms for the Soldiers, Ordnance, and other serviceable items: In the City:

[Various small arms and supplies for them]

[Vessels:]

1 Schooner for the expeditions to the Northern Islands, which is under construction.¹

3 gun-boats, or launches, 2 belonging to the Garrison, and 1 from the shipwrecked frigate.

2 boats from said frigate, one a long boat, the other a small boat.

5 Carolinian canoes.

Note. The guns mentioned above come with all the necessary supplies to make them serviceable.²

Totals: 8 brass guns + 4 serviceable iron guns + 13 unserviceable guns + 11 vessels, etc.

San Ignacio of Agaña, 16 December 1818.

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

G3. Report of Governor Medinilla, dated Agaña 17 December 1818—Abandonment of Fort San José

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno—Nº 209.

M. Y.S.

Doy parte à V.S. haverme sido preciso para la mejor defensa de la Villa de Umata el haver abandonado la Bateria nombrada San José, pues como fué formada sin ningun conocimiento de Fortificacion se sentó su Terraplen, y derrumbò el muro que tenia à Barveta sobre el mismo lavio de la cumbre del cerro, como asimismo por su mala Situacion, y grande distance en que se hallava, y que en ningun caso podia ser util para la defensa del Canal, con concepto al pequeño calibre de los quatro cañones de à 6. [libras] que montava, y que parecen en todos los Estados dados por Ynutils.

Tambien hago presente à V.S. de que la Punta ò Cerro escarpado que se halla situado con proximidad à el Canal de la Rada de la expresada Villa, y en èl que estubo antes la Bateria que se nombrò Santo Angel dado por inutil creyendolo en estado de desplo-marse, es el lugar de mas seguridad, solidez, y ventajas, para la mejor defenza del Puerto, como lo podrá informar à V.S.[,] si lo tuviese à vien con presencia del Planof[,] el Alferz de Fragata Don José Navarrete, pues pasè con el para el intento de que lo reconociese, lo que verifíco con la mayor escrupulosidad, y provisionalmente le hè hecho

-
- 1 Ed. note: She was to be named Señor San José, alias Bella Constitución. It appears that her timbers, etc. came from the hull of the RPC ship Santiago, alias Infante Don carlos, shipwrecked in Apra Harbor in 1814.
 - 2 Ed. note: Supposedly, this remark really applies only to serviceable guns, although it is true that even unserviceable guns have supplies assigned to them in the table.

poner en su cumbre tres de los quatro cañones indicados, y quando terminen las obras que hè mandado executar en la Bateria de Santa Cruz, harè se verifique las que considere ser de necesidad; lo que informo à V.S. para que si fuere de su Superior àgrado lo àprueve, y de lo contrario me mande lo que tenga por combeniente. Nuestro Señor Guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña, en las Yslas Marianas, y Diciembre 17 de 1818.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

[A] *M. Y.S. Governador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.*

Translation.

Superior Government—N° 209.

Your Excellency:

I report to Your Lordship that I was obliged, in order to improve the defence of the Town of Umatac. Indeed, as it had been built without any knowledge of fortification, its rampart has subsided, and the wall that held the gun emplacements over the edge of the hill itself has collapsed, besides the fact that it was badly situated, at a great distance, and could in no way be useful to protect the channel, on account of the small caliber of the four 6-pounders that it had in place, the same guns that are listed as un-serviceable in all the condition reports.

I also report to Y.L. that the point or steep hill that is found situated near the channel of the port of said Town, the same one where the battery known as Santo Angel existed but had been judged useless, for fear that it would crumble down, is, in fact, the safest, more solid, and a more advantageous place for the defence of the port. Y.L. may get an idea of it, by taking a look at the plan, which Midshipman José Navarrete is taking along. Indeed, he was with me when I entrusted him with making a survey of it, and he did so carefully. As a temporary measure, I had him put on its top three of the four above-mentioned guns, and as soon as the works that I have ordered carried out at Fort Santa Cruz are finished, I will have those that are considered necessary done there. I report same to Y.L., hoping that it will meet with your superior approbation; otherwise, please advise me of what is more appropriate.

May our Lord save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña, in the Mariana Islands, 17 December 1818.

Your Excellency.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

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

Editor's comments.

No copy of the plan of Fort Santo Angel referred to above was kept in Guam. The reason for the activity of Governor Medinilla during the second half of 1818 was due to an order he had received from Manila, and brought to him by Midshipman José Navarrete, the captain of his privately-owned brigantine, named **Nuestra Señora de los**

Dolores, which had been captured on the last day of May 1818 off the coast of Cagayan Province, in NE Luzon (see Doc. 1818K). Navarrete returned to Guam in command of the lighter **Sonora** in September 1818. He soon went back to Manila with said ship, carrying the many reports of Governor Medinilla for the end of 1818.

One of the reports in the same file, dated 16 december 1818, is about the expenditure of gun-powder in recent years, as follows:

—In 1813, one arroba and 15 pounds: expended on usual holidays that year, and at the burial of Captain José Fernandez de Cárdenas;

—In 1814, 4 arrobas and 10 pounds, on the usual holidays;

—In 1815, 4 arrobas and 22 pounds, on usual holidays, and on the burial of Second-Lieut. Juan Rexis Pablo;

—In 1816, 1 arroba and 3 pounds, on usual holidays;

—In 1817, 1 arroba, on usual holidays;

—In 1818, 1 arroba 8 pounds 2 ounces, on the usual holidays, on the arrival of the Russian frigate and at the burial of Captain Domingo Manuel Garrido.

 Note 1818I

The San José, alias Rey Fernando, Captain Riva, from Lima to Calcutta

Source: MN 1777, fol. 137-144v.

Extract from her logbook

Original text in Spanish.

1818. Extracto de la navegación de Lima à Calcuta echa en la Fragata San José (a) el Rey Fernando de la Real Compañía de Filipinas.

Executada por primera vez por los Cabos de Hornos y Buen Esperanza, y dirigida por su Comandante el Capitan de fragata de la Real Armada D. Alonso de la Riva.

Nº 2ª

Advertencia.

*Todo lo que digo al fin de este Extracto sobre Derrotas, Vientos y Corrientes es deducido de lo que yo he experimentado, y una reflexion me ha dictado, sirviendome tambien para el efecto de las noticias de el Derrotero de la India de Horsburgh, de el de Apres [sic], de el Viage impreso del Capitan Hunter en la fragata **Sirius** de la S.M.B. en 1781 desde la Nueva Hollanda hasta el Cabo de Buena Esperanza, de los Memorias del Deposito Hidrografico de Madrid, y de una manuscrita formada por el Capitan de fragata retirado D. José Ygnacio Colmenares, sobre los Vientos, Mares, corrientes, y Derrotas en las costas de Chile, Chiloe, y Peru; con la Descripcion que contiene de los Puertos.*

Salida del Puerto del Callao.

*El 23 de Abril de 1818 à los 4 de la tarde, dé la vela del puerto del Callao de Lima en la fragata **San José (a) el Rey Fernando** de la Real Compañía de Filipinas, con el objeto de dirigir my Derrota por los Cabos de Hornos y Buena Esperanza...*

De Lima à Calcuta.

...

Translation.

1818. Extract from the logbook of the voyage from Lima to Calcutta aboard the frigate San José, alias Rey Fernando, belonging to the Royal Philippine Company.

Carried out for the first time by way of both Cape Horn and Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Royal Navy Commander, Don Alonso de la Riva.

Nº 2.

Warning.

Everything that I say at the end of this Extract regarding routes, winds and currents is the result of my own experience, and analysis, but I have made use of the notices appearing in the India Directory published by Horsburgh, those published by Apres [sic], those in the printed Voyage made by Captain Hunter aboard the His British Majesty's frigate **Sirius** in 1781 [sic]¹ from New Holland to the Cape of Good Hope, those from the Papers in the Hydrographical Office in Madrid, and from a manuscript written by retired Commander José Ignacio Colmenares regarding the winds, seas, currents and routes along the coasts of Chile, Chiloe, and Peru, and containing a description of the ports.

Departure from the port of Callao.

On 23 April 1818, at 4 p.m., I sailed from the port of Callao of Lima with the frigate **San José, alias Rey Fernando** belonging to the Royal Philippine Company, for the purpose of following my voyage by Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope.

From Lima to Calcutta.

...
[It appears that he remained strictly in the South Pacific, and consequently did not cross Micronesia in 1818, although he had gone around the world in 1814-15 in the **Descubierto**. These are only sailing directions and advice for future navigators, not an actual voyage.]

1 Ed. note: Rather 1781 (see Doc. 1791C1).

Document 1818J

Regarding the arrival of the Santa Rita in New Spain

Source: AGN Fil. 43, fol. 377-379v.

Letter from the Manila agent to Viceroy Apodaca, dated Mexico 7 January 1818

Original text in Spanish.

Exmo. Señor

*Apenas habia representado a V.E. por mi escrito del dia 5 la expectacion en que estaba de la Fragata **Rita** del comercio de Manila, quando como a las 6. de la tarde llegó en toda diligencia un extraordinario de Guadalajara con carta del compromisario de otro Buque Don Manuel Dárvin y Columbiér, que me avisa haber dado fondo en el puerto de San Blas el 11 del prox:mo pasado diciembre; y me encarga mui estrechamente agite los tramites precisos, para que en febrero pueda retornar á aquella plaza.*

Añade, que creido de que por la estrechez del tiempo podría el gobierno de Guadalajara, habia pedido el permiso de feria para Tepic en el presente mes, con designio de facilitar en febrero la vuelta de la fragata; pero que solo había logrado que en el mismo extraordinario se diese cuenta con el expediente á esta superioridad y concluye con que la solicitud de feria se haga no solo para Tepic, sino para aquella capital, segun al tiempo de abrir lo acontecen las circunstancias, y que el registro del valor que se expendase sea en barras quintadas.

Ya por mi citado Escrito anticipada substancialmente esta pretension, de modo que solo hay novedad de que la feria sea en cualquiera de los dos puntos especificados; y para cumplir con tan repetidos encargos, sobre la brevedad, recomendar a V.E. sus propios conocimientos de lo que importa en el Mar pacifico aprovechar la estacion para dar la vela a Manila, y evitar una costosa invernada en aquellas costas, cuyo quebranto obligará a los Buques Filipinas a sufrir mas bien su vuelta en lastre, comando dentro de pocas expediciones la total ruina de aquel comercio.

Suplico por tanto, y espero de la bondad de V.E. se dignara mandar que si ha llegado el expediente de que avisa el compromisario Dárvin se pase sin la menor demora con mi escrito y este oficio al señor fiscal de Real Hacienda; y que si no hubieren veni-

do aquellas diligencias, con vista de mi escrito y este oficio despache al señor fiscal encargandole la mayor brevedad posible, y que la misma se observe en los interiores trámites de modo que lleguen las superiores ordenes a Guadalaxara con proporcion á la considerable distancia de Tepic, donde ha de cumplirse, reuniendo en aquel punto los valores de varios que deben componer el interinante registro de ellos á que la Frágata viene destinada.

Dios guarde a V.E. muchos años.

Mexico 7 de Enero de 1818

Excelentísimo señor.

Francisco Alonso Teran

[A1] *Excelentísimo Señor Virrey Don Juan Ruiz Apodaca.*

Translation.

Your Excellency.

I had hardly finished writing to Y.E. on the 5th instant about my expectations of the frigate [Santa] **Rita** belonging to Manila traders, when, at about 6 p.m., there arrived in haste an extraordinary courier from Guadalaxara with a letter from the Supercargo of another ship, Don Manuel Darvin y Columbier, advising me that she had anchored in the port of San Blas on the 11th of last December. He entrusts me very much with the necessary proceedings, so that she may be able to return to that city in February.

He adds his belief that the Government of Guadalaxara, on account of the shortage of time before the frigate could return in February, had authorized a trade fair in Tepic, but that he had only had time to have said extraordinary courier carry a report to this superior government, and concludes with a request for the fair to be held not only in Tepic, but in that capital, according to what the circumstances will be at the time of opening it, and for the profits from it to be carried off in the form of silver ingots on which taxes would have been paid.¹

Since I had substantially foreseen said request, there remains only that the fair could be held on either of the two specified places; but to comply with his repeated requests to me, regarding the shortage of time, I need not recommend it to Y.E. because you already know about the conditions imposed by the Pacific Ocean and the need to take advantage of them to sail back to Manila, and avoid a costly wintering along those coasts, failing which the Philippine ships would rather return in ballast, and that would result in the total ruin of that trade after few expeditions.

Consequently, I beg Y.L. to be pleased to order that, if the file mentioned by Supercargo Darvin has been received, to forward same as soon as possible, along with my writ and this letter to the Fiscal of the Royal treasury, but, if those proceedings have not arrived, to please pass my writ and this letter to the Fiscal, ordering him to begin the internal procedures as soon as possible, so that when the superior orders arrive from Guadalaxara, given the considerable distance from Tepic, where the fair is to be held,

¹ Ed. note: The King's fifth, or 20% of assayed value, after weighing each bar.

the various valuables from which the interim manifest must be made of will already have been gathered there and destined for the frigate.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 7 January 1818.

Your Excellency.

Francisco Alonso Terán

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Juan Ruiz Apodaca.

 Document 1818K

The capture of the Mariana brigantine Dolores by the insurgent ship Argentina

Source: AGN Fil. 50, fol. 234-240v.

Note: According to Governor Medinilla himself, who was the owner of the brigantine, she had left Guam on 11 May, carrying yet another load taken from the shipwrecked Santiago (see Doc. 1812C).

Report of the Governor of the Philippines, dated Manila 5 August 1818

Original text in Spanish.

Extracto de las operaciones de la Fragata insurgente nombrada la Argentina, en Filipinas, y disposiciones del Superior Gobierno de las Yslas, para perseguirla.

La Fragata Argentina de porte de 36 cañones mandada por su Comandante Don Hipolito Buchard, de nacion Frances, y armada por el Gobierno de Buenos Ayres, apareció en Filipinas el 1º de febrero de 1818, y estableció su crucero desde el Cavo Bolinao á Ysla de Cabras.

En este Crucero apresó 15, ó 16 Pontines (que son las pequeñas embarcaciones del trafico de las Provincias) por ser justamente la estacion, en que con ellas se conduce el arroz á Manila de las Provincias de Ylocos y Pangasinan, y la propia para el trafico de las mismas Embarcaciones de las demas Provincias de Cagayan, y Zambales; siendo la mayor parte de los Pontines de los que regresaban vacios de Manila á sus Provincias.

El trafico y entrada en Manila de las embarcaciones de las Provincias del Súr estuvo libre.

Entre estas, apresó el 15 de Marzo á un Pontin, que regresaba á Pangasinan. De este sacó la gente á exepcion del Piloto y un Marinero, y en el embarcó á un Teniente, que hacia las veces de 2º Comandante en dicha Fragata, nombrado Don Guillermo Philips de Nacion Yngles con quatro marineros tambien Yngleses. Segun el Proceso actuado á estos Yndibiduos, há resultado, que teniendo la orden de seguir las aguas de la Fragata, y habiendo convenido con los quatro Marineros en no verificarlo se desunieron de la Fragata, y vinieron á tierra, aportando con el Pontin al Puerto de Mariveles, donde

fueron tomados por el Apostadero de Fuerzas Sutiles, que existe en la Ysla del Corregidor, y remitidos á Manila.

Se supo entonces, que la Fragata havia despachado al Estrecho de San Bernardino otro Pontin, que havia apresado, y armó y tripuló con seis Yndios, ocho Malayos, y ocho Yngleses, al mando del segundo Comandante Don Guillermo Nataniel Somers, con la idea de apresar los Bergantines de los Alcaldes de Camarines y Albay, que supo Buchard debian regresar con Xarcia á Manila, pues se hallaba, y se halla muy escaso de este articulo. No se verificó su idea, el Pontin apresó entre la Costa de Batangas y Marinduque una Falua y una Galera que hechò á pique; tomando la gente y quanto tenian estos Buques, y regresó á la Fragata, cuyo Comandante, despues de desalijado el Pontin lo echó á pique, como lo havia verificado con otros tantos quantos havia apresado, hasta entonces; cuya noticia yá esparcida por todos los Pueblos de la Costa, unos Pontines suspendieron su venida á Manila, y otros lo verificaron, atracados á la Costa, yá entrando en Manila, y yá tomando Puerto en Pangasinan y Zambales. El Gobierno dispuso, que el Puerto de Manila quedará cerrado para no salir ningun Buque.

El dia 29 de Mayo, al montar las Dos Hermanas el Bergantin de la propiedad del Gobernador de Marianas, avistó á la Fragata insurgente, que yá supo en Ylocos, que cruzaba por Bolinao. El Bergantin andaba mas que la Fragata, y como no le pudiera dár alcance le despachó un gran Bote con el segundo Comandante Somers, bien armado y tripulado con 22 indibiduos. Como el Buque trató de aproximarse á tierra, le alcanzó el gran Bote, con resolucion de abordarlo. El Comandante del Bergantin se puso en la defensiva, y con la mayor brabura y tesón, resistió el abordage, echando a pique el gran Bote, hiriendo, y ahogandose 14 personas, exepto el segundo Comandante Somers, y 8 marineros que apresó, y fueron conducidos á la Real Fuerza de Manila, á exepcion de uno que quedó muy mal herido, pero que por el cuidado que se há puesto en su curacion, se consiguíó esta, y há sido remitido á Manila.

Como el Comandante de la Fragata supiese por un Marinero del gran Bote, que llegó nadando á ella, el suceso ocurrido, armó y tripuló con 50 hombres un Pontin, que conserbava á su costado, y lo despachó á atacar de nuevo al Bergantin de Marianas. Este trató de varar y despues de haber consumido toda su polvora, y no poder resistir el fuego del Pontin (que no trató de acercarse al abordage) saliò toda la gente á tierra en la Lancha y Bote, sacando sus equipages, y abandonado el Bergantin, se lo llevó el Pontin, á la subida de la marea, arrivando sobre la Fragata el dia 1º de Abril.

En este mismo dia el Comandante Buchard despachó en el propio Pontin á todos los Yndios, que tenia prisioneros hasta el numero de 143, quedandose con 22 que escogió, y con una Carta para el Capitan General de las Yslas, un poco de arroz, y panocha, y un Barril de agua, arrivó el Pontin al Pueblo de Agoon en Bolinao, y todos los Prisioneros se dirigieron á sus Pueblos.

Se há sabido despues, que la Fragata armó el Bergantin de Marianas, y lo tenia en su conserva.

La Fragata montó el Cavo Bogeador, y en 17 de Abril apresó a un Pontin que llevaba el Situado para Yslas Batanes de 1700 pesos con otros tantos Cavanos de Arroz.

Se há savido despues, que el dia 11 de Mayo, la Fragata, el Bergantin, y el Pontin entraron en la ensenada de Casiguran.

*Entre las muchas disposiciones que tomó el Superior Gobierno de Filipinas fué la principal, la de armar en guerra la nao **Magallanes** con 372 hombres, entre Tropa, y Marineros, 40 Cañones, 2 Carronadas de á 20 y algunas piezas menores en las Cojas. La Corbeta **Fidelidad** con 29 piezas de Artilleria, y 4 menores en las Cojas, al mando del Capitan de Fragata Don Juan Bautista Uztariz, y la Goleta **Mosca** con 22 hombres, entre Artilleros y Marineros, y 8 Cañones de á 6 y dos Oficiales. La Corveta llevó tres, á mas del Comandante, y 4 Pilotos. La Nao llevó 8 Oficiales y 6 Pilotos, y toda esta Division salió de Manila el dia 4 de Mayo á proseguir á los insurgentes, Situandose Pliegos para el Comandante de ella, al Capitan de Fragata de la Real Armada Don Gregorio Roldan, en los Puntos N. de esta Ysla de Luzón, dandole aviso de hallarse los insurgentes en Casiguran, que és lo ultimo, que el Gobierno há llegado á saver hasta hoy primero de Junio de 1818, en que la Vigia del Corregidor anuncia la arrivada de la Fragata **Maria** de regreso de Acapulco en 75 dias, con Pliegos 6 Pasajeros, Religiosos, y Presidarios, Plata, y efectos de Nueva España.*

*La referida Fragata **Argentina** existió en la ensenada de Casiguran desde el dia 11 de Junio hasta el 19 por la mañana temprano, que zarpó de aquel Puerto, con rumbo acia la Ysla de Polillo. Despues acá, no se há tenido de dicha Fragata, ninguna otra noticia positiva, pero lo que ha sabido este Gobierno por partes que recibió del Corregidor de Nueva España [sic], y de los Yndividuos insurgentes, que fueron descuidos en el Pueblo de Santos de aquella Jurisdiccion, y que hán sido remitidos á la Real Fuerza de esta Plaza és: que estando la Fragata fondeada en la ensenada de Casiguran, y el Pontin de Batanes, y el Bergantin de Marianas anclados á la entrada de la misma ensenada, el Pontin tripulado por un Oficial frances y siete hombres, se desapareció en una noche con el cargamento de Arroz y plata, que no se habia extrahido de su bordo; y el Bergantin que era tripulado con dos Oficiales y doce hombres, pasó en otra noche á fondear en la ensenada de Dingalan, que esta situada mas al Sur de la misma Costa de Casiguran. El primer Oficial que lo mandaba salió á tierra con algunos indibuidos, y se dirigió al Pueblo de Santos, donde fué detenido por aquel Governadorcillo: entre tanto llegaron otros tres indibuidos del mismo Bergantin, espresando que los dos Malayos, que se hallaban abordo con el otro Oficial, y quatro Marineros, habian dado un hachazo al Oficial en la Caveza, y otro al un Marinero estando dormidos, y que tratando de hacerlo mismo con los otros dos, lograron estos echarse al agua por las portas de popa, y nadando llegaron á tierra, igualmente que el Marinero mal herido, los quales relacionaron este suceso, y que el Bergantin habia dado la vela, á su parecer con los dos solos Malayos, haciendo rumbo para Binangonan; pero ni en este Pueblo, ni en ningun otro de la costa, ha buuelto á verse el Bergantin, ni se sabe de positivo la suerte que haya corrido.*

*Por las noticias adquiridas del Oficial que mandaba el Bergantin llamado Don Daniel Olivers se persuade este Gobierno que la Fragata **Argentina** se hubiese dirigido a las Yslas de los Ladrones á refrescar su enferma y muy disminuida tripulacion, adquirir*

viveres frescos que no tenia, y reparar el Buque, hasta fin de Julio que pensaba el Comandante de ella dirigirse al Perú.

De aquí es suponer el Gobierno que haya verificado la Fragata **Argentina** su viage á Marianas, y que engañando á su Governador con fingirse buque de nuestra Real Armada haya podido sorprenderlo; aunque es de persuadir que por el disgusto en que se halla su tripulacion, pueda alguno de ella haber descubierto al mismo Governador ser la Fragata insurgente, y que con tal motivo, haya tomado las medidas convenientes para apoderarse de ella.

La Division compuesta de la Nao **Magallanes**, Corbeta **Fidelidad**, y Goleta **Mosca**, que salieron el 4 de Mayo a perseguir la **Argentina**, hizo la derrota que por instruccion, se previno al Comandante de ella, segun las noticias que entonces se tenia de la Ynsurgente. Reconocio las Babuyanes, y la punta Sur de Ysla Hermosa [i.e. Formosa], y quando el 23 de Mayo intentó la Division dirigirse al Cabo del Espiritu Santo, empearon los vientos á variarle á terminos de declararse un temporal desecho que obligó el 27 á que se dispersasen los tres buques, yendo la Goleta á arriivar con bastantes averias al Puerto de Lampon en la mañana del 5 de Junio; la Corbeta siguió su derrota al Estrecho de San Bernardino, que embocó la noche del 2 del mismo y el 18 entró en la Bahía de Manila, y la Nao montó el Cavo Bojeador como el rumbo mas breve para regresar á Manila en razón de las quarteladas del sorro de babor que observó despedia el buque en las cinco ultimas horas en que el temporal tomó su mayor fuerza, y el dia 20 del mismo Junio ancló en el Puerto de Cavite. La Goleta se supone que exista en el estrecho de San Bernardino para donde salió de Lampon el 15 del mismo mes, segun las ordenes que se le dieron; pero como hizo escala en Cabugao Pueblo de la Provincia de Camarines, y de aquel Alcalde Mayor obtuvo los auxilios que necesitó, se ignora hasta el dia, si habrá ya recalado á algun Puerto de la Provincia de Albay.

En la prevencion en que se halla el Gobierno de Filipinas de que la Fragata **Argentina** haya pasado á las Yslas Marianas, se há visto precisado á despachar á ellas en 18 de Julio proximo pasado la Gabarra **Sonora**, al mando del 1er Piloto de la Real Armada Alférez de Fragata Don Jose Navarrete, tanto para imponer á aquel Gobierno de la Real orden de 2 de Septiembre de 1817, como para instruirle de las operaciones de la Fragata **Argentina**, como quiera que aunque el Bergantin **Feliz** entró en Sorsogon el 27 de Mayo, y en aquel Puerto aseguró los Caudales que conducía; faltan todavia la Fragata **Carmen**, y la nombrada [Santa] **Rita**, que debian salir en el mes de Marzo del Puerto de San Blas con el registro de los efectos que transportaron ambos buques y á mas el de la nao **Magallanes** en su ultimo viage por haber regresado sin el. Por esta razon era muy importante que en las Yslas Marianas hubiese la mayor vigilancia, para que quando se avistan alguno de los dos referidos Buques, ó el Bergantincito **San Ruperto** alias el Aventurero, que tambien debe regresar de Nueva España con los caudales de su registro, dispusiera aquel Gobierno, como se le há prevenido, que se aproximen algunas embarcaciones á intimar á sus Capitanes, den fondo en los puntos que el mismo Governador les prevenga, para que tomando todas las noticias que se han comunicado, puedan navegar con precaucion hasta arribar al Puerto de Palapa,

donde el Gobierno tiene fuerzas sutiles que cruzan hasta Raporapo, con orden de auxiliarles, y las prevenciones oportunas que há hecho y hará, para que aseguren sus buques y Caudales, ò sigan hasta fondear en Cavite.

En esta vigilancia se há ordenado al Gobernador de Marianas, permanesca, hasta fin del presente año, valiendose de los diestros Carolinos y sus embarcaciones, para que oportunamente salgan à la mar à dar los avisos de recalar precisamente à Marianas los buques Españoles que se avisten, y tomar las noticias que quedan expresadas.

*Por una Fragata Española Mercante que el dia 22 de Julio, entró en la Bahía de Manila de regreso de Bengala, y con efectos de aquel Reyno, se sabe que el Pontin apresado por la **Argentina**, y marinado por el Oficial frances y siete hombres, arribo à Malaca, cuyo Gobierno desconfiando de la licencia que presentò dicho Oficial, y fuè expedida por este Gobierno à su propio Arraez para que con el Pontin navegase à Ylocos, de donde debia salir con el Situado para Batanes, dispuso que con la correspondiente escolta fuese conducido à Pullo Pignan [sic] donde existia el Vice Almirante, ò Gefe de las Fuerzas Britanicas en los mares de la India; y como parece que el mismo Arraez se conserbava abordo del Pontin, tal vez llegará el caso de que se disponga su debolucion.*

*Manila 5 de Agosto de 1818.
de Folgueras.*

Translation.

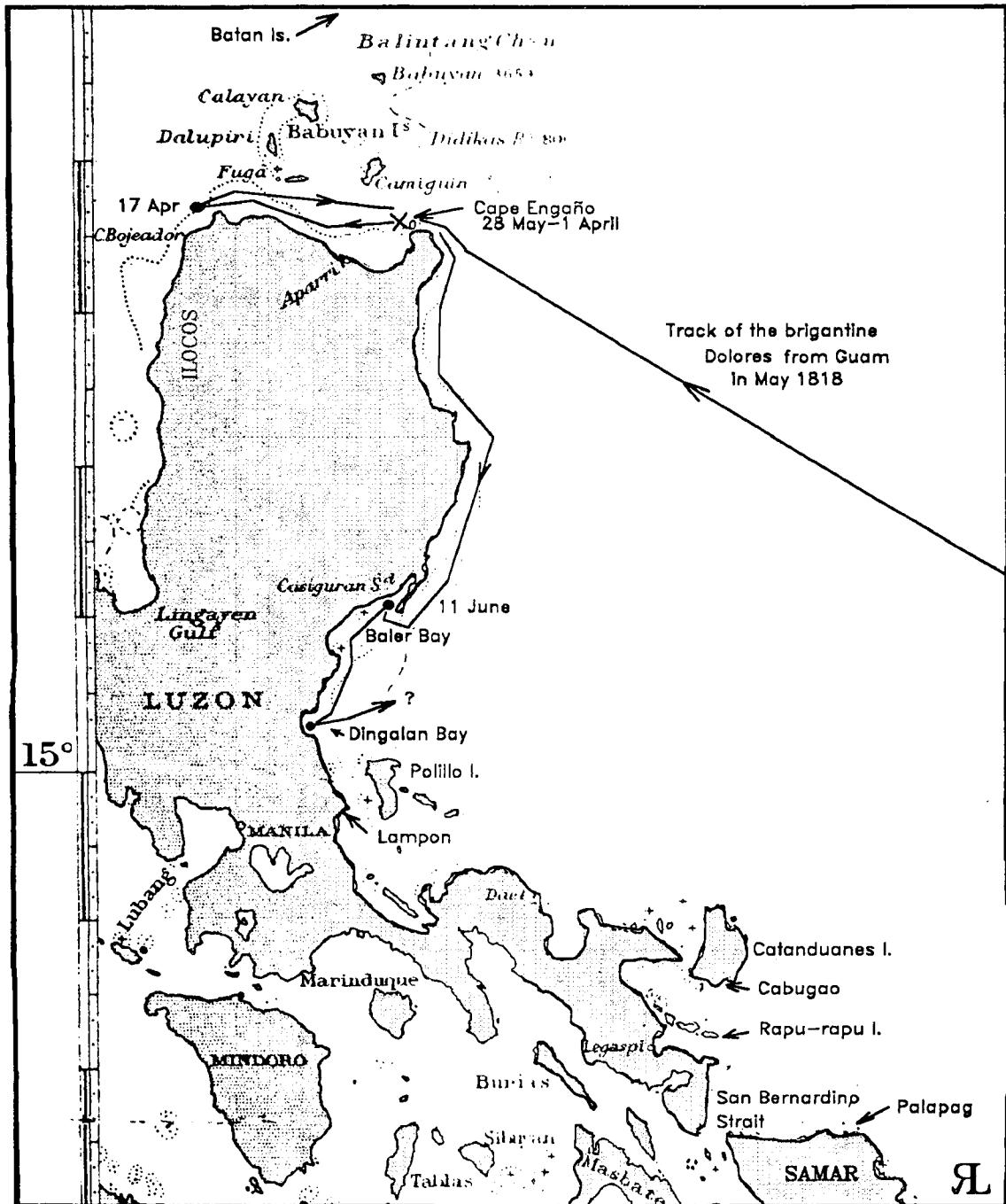
Summary of the operations of the insurgent frigate named Argentina, in the Philippines, and measures taken by the Superior Government of the Islands to pursue her.

The frigate **Argentina**, carrying 36 guns and commanded by Hypolite Bouchard, a Frenchman, and outfitted by the Government of Buenos Aires, appeared in the Philippines on 1 February 1818, and established a cruise between Cape Bolinao and the Island of Cabras.

During this cruise, she captured 15 to 16 *pontines* (which are small vessels used in the coastal trade of the Philippines), because it was exactly the season when the rice is transported to Manila from the provinces of Ilocos and Pangasinan aboard them; such vessels are also used for the trade to the other provinces of Cagayan and Zambales. Said *pontines* were luckily returning empty from Manila to their provinces.

The trade and access to Manila for the vessels coming from the southern provinces was not affected.

Among others, she captured, on 15 March, a *pontin* that was returning to Pangasinan. They took out the people, except the pilot and one sailor, and placed on board one Lieutenant, who had been acting as Mate of said frigate, whose name was William Phillips, an Englishman, plus four sailors, also English. According to the process opened against said individuals, it turned out that they had received the order to follow the frigate, but, the Englishmen having agreed not to obey, they separated from the frigate and came ashore, making port with the *pontin* at the port of Mariveles, where they



Capture of the Mariana brig Dolores on 1 April 1818. The frigate *Argentina* surprised the brig belonging to the Governor of the Marianas near Cape Engaño on 29 May 1818. She was captured and kept in company for a while, until two Malay sailors took control and disappeared with her in June.

were captured by the Naval Base for Light Cruisers, which is located on the Island of Corregidor, and they were remitted to Manila.

It was then learned that the frigate had despatched to the Strait of San Bernardino another *pontin* that she had captured, armed and crewed with 6 Indians, 8 Malays, and 8 Englishmen, under the command of the Second Mate, William Nathaniel Somers, the idea being to capture the brigantines belonging to the Mayors of Camarines and Albay, which Bouchard had learned were due to return to Manila with rigging; in fact, rigging was then, and continues to be, a rare article here. The idea failed, but the *pontin* captured a barge and a galley between the coast of Batangas and Marinduque, and sank them. They took the men and whatever these vessels contained and rejoined the frigate, whose Commander, after unloading the *pontin*, sank it too, the same as he had done with all the others that he had captured, until then. The news having spread throughout all the towns along the coast, some *pontins* suspended their trip to Manila, but others went ahead, following the coast very closely, either coming to Manila, or taking port in Pangasinan and Zambales. The Government ordered the port of Manila closed, to prevent any ship from leaving.

[Capture of the Mariana brigantine]

On 29 May, the brigantine belonging to the Governor of the Marianas, upon rounding the Dos Hermanas,¹ came upon the insurgent frigate, at the time it was learned in Ilocos that she was cruising near Bolinao. The brigantine was sailing faster than the frigate. As the frigate could not catch the brigantine, she despatched her launch with the Second Mate Somers, well armed and manned with 22 men. As the ship tried to get near the coast, the launch caught up with her, intending to board her. The Commander of the brigantine² placed himself on the defensive, and resisted with a great bravery and tenacity, sinking the launch, wounding and drowning 14 men, except for the Second Mate Somers and 8 sailors whom he made prisoners. They were all taken to the Royal Fort of Manila, except one who was very badly wounded; this man was taken care of so well that he eventually recovered, and was remitted to Manila also.

As the Commander of the frigate might have learned from a sailor from the launch, who swam back to her, what had happened, he armed and manned a *pontin* which he had alongside with 50 men, and despatched it to once again attack the Mariana brigantine. The latter tried to run aground, but, after having consumed all their gunpowder, they could no longer resist the fire of the *pontin* (which had not tried to approach her and board her) and all the men went ashore with the launch and boat, taking only their baggage and abandoning the brigantine. When the tide came in, those of the *pontin* were able to float off the brigantine, and both vessels headed for the frigate, where they arrived on the 1st of April.

1 Ed. note: The "Two Sisters" are in fact the islands forming Cape Engaño.

2 Ed. note: This was Midshipman José de Navarrete.

That same day, Captain Bouchard transferred all of the Indians, who had been kept prisoners on board (a total of 143), to that same *pontin* and sent it off, though he retained 22 others whom he selected. The former prisoners were carrying a letter for the Captain General of the Islands, a little rice and corn, and one barrel of water. It made port at the Town of Agoo in Bolinao, and all of the prisoners dispersed to their hometowns.

It was learned afterwards that the frigate armed the Mariana brigantine, and kept her in company.

The frigate rounded Cape Bojeador and, on 17 April, captured a *pontin* that was going to the Batan Islands with their subsidy of 1,700 pesos and as many cabans of rice.¹

It was learned afterwards that, on 11 May, the frigate, the brigantine, and the *pontin* came into the bay of Casiguran.

Among the many dispositions taken by the Superior Government of the Philippines, the main one was to place the galleon **Magallanes** on a war footing,² with 122 men, some soldiers and the others sailors, 40 guns, 2 carronades of 20-pound caliber, and a few minor pieces located in the crowsnests. The corvette **Fidelidad** carried 29 guns, plus 4 lesser guns in the crowsnests; she was commanded by Navy Commander Juan Bautista Uztáriz. The schooner **Mosca** was manned with two officers and 22 men, gunners and sailors, and mounted with 8 6-pounders. The corvette had three officers, besides the Commander, and 4 pilots. The galleon had 8 officers and 6 pilots, and the whole Division left Manila on 4 May to pursue the insurgents. Messages were despatched to many points along the north coast of the Island of Luzon, addressed to the commander of the Division, Commander Gregorio Roldán, advising him that the insurgents were in Casiguran. This was the last intelligence that the Government received until today, 1 June 1818, when the guard posted on Corregidor announced the arrival of the frigate **María** on her return voyage from Acapulco in which she spent 75 days, carrying the mail, 6 passengers, some Religious and convict soldiers, the silver, and goods from New Spain.

Said frigate **Argentina** remained in the bay of Casiguran from June 11th to the 19th, when she left that port very early in the morning, in the direction of Polillo Island. After that, we here did not learn of the positive whereabouts of said frigate, but what this Government has learned through news received from the Provincial Mayor of Nueva España [sic],³ and from individual insurgents who were caught by surprise in the Town of Santos in that jurisdiction, and who have been remitted to the Royal Fort of this City is: that, when the frigate was anchored in the bay of Casiguran, with the Batan *pontin* of Batan Islands and the Mariana brigantine anchored at the entrance of the

1 Ed. note: Ten cabans weighs 1 Kg., so that they stole about 170 Kg. of rice.

2 Ed. note: This is the proof that the last official galleon to return from New Spain did so in 1817. She did so in ballast (see below).

3 Ed. note: Rather Nueva Ecija, a province whose eastern boundary then extended to the eastern coast of Luzon, at Dingalan Bay.

same bay, the *pontin* being crewed by a French officer and 7 men, it disappeared one night, taking away the rice and the silver that had not been taken out of it. The brigantine, which was manned by two officers and 12 men, went off one other night and anchored in Dingalan Bay, which is situated more to the south of the same coast of Casiguran. The commanding officer went ashore with a few individuals and made his way toward the Town of Santos, where he was detained by that Provincial Mayor. In the meantime, three more individuals from the same brigantine came up, and declared that the two Malays who had been left with the other officer on board, and four sailors, had hit the officer on the head with an axe, and given another blow to a sailor, when both were asleep, and that they had tried to do the same to the other two sailors, but they managed to escape by jumping overboard through the portholes at the poop. They reached the shore by swimming, and the badly-wounded sailor as well. As they related this story, they added that the brigantine had sailed away, apparently with only the two Malays on board, making for Binangonan. However, neither in this town, nor in any other town along the coast, they spotted the brigantine, and we have not learned what happened to her.

From the officer who had been commanding the brigantine, a man named Daniel Olivers, this Government believes that the frigate **Argentina** might have gone to the Ladrone [i.e. Mariana] Islands to refresh their much diminished and sickly crew, to acquire fresh food supplies which they were lacking, and to repair their ship, until the end of July when it was thought that the Commander would head for Peru.

If what this Government supposes is correct, then the frigate **Argentina** has gone to the Marianas, and may have tricked their Governor into thinking that she was one of our Royal Navy ship, and taken him by surprise, although it is thought that the condition of her crew is such that a member of her own crew might have revealed to the same Governor that she was an insurgent ship, and the Governor might then have taken the appropriate measures to take possession of her.

The Division, consisting of the galleon **Magallanes**, the corvette **Fidelidad**, and the schooner **Mosca**, which went out on 4 May to pursue the **Argentina**, following instructions, and the route that her Commander had been told to follow, in accordance with the news that were then known of the whereabouts of the Insurgent, reconnoitered the Babuyan islands, then the south coast of Formosa Island, and when, on 23 May, the Division tried to head for Cape Espiritu Santo, the winds turned variable, then a full storm hit it, which forced the three ships to disperse, on the 27th. The schooner made it into the port of Lampon with much damage in the morning of the 5th of June. The corvette pursued her voyage to the Strait of San Bernardino, which it entered on the evening of the 2th of the same month, and on the 18th was back in Manila Bay. The galleon rounded Cape Bojeador, which she considered the shortest way to return to Manila, because the ship which had lost many copper plates on her port side during the last five hours of the storm, when it was at its fiercest; on the 20th of said month of June, she anchored in the port of Cavite. As for the schooner, she is supposed to be somewhere in the Strait of San Bernardino, because she was headed overthere when she

left Lampon on the 15th of that same month, according to orders that she had been given. However, she did make a stop at Cabugao, a Town of the Province of Camarines,¹ where she obtained the help she needed from the local Mayor, but until now we do not know whether or not she touched at any port of the Province of Albay.

With the expectation that the Government of the Philippines had, that the frigate **Argentina** might have gone to the Mariana Islands, it became necessary to despatch overthere, on 18 July last, the lighter **Sonora**, under the command of Chief Pilot of the Royal Navy, Midshipman José de Navarrete, not only to let that Government know of the Royal order of 2 September 1817,² but also to inform it of the operations of the frigate **Argentina**, although the brigantine **Feliz** had already made it into Sorsogon on 27 May, and had unloaded and placed in safety the funds that it carried. The frigate **Carmen**, and the one named [Santa] **Rita**, which were to have left the port of San Blas during the month of March with the registered profits from the goods that both these ships had transported, and also those carried by the galleon **Magallanes** in her last voyage, since she had returned without them. For this reason, it was very important for those in the Mariana Islands to be very vigilant, so that, when any one of the two above-mentioned ships be sighted, or the small brigantine **San Ruperto**, alias *Aventurero*, that was also expected to return from New Spain, with the profits from her sale, that Government should take the measures that it was ordered to take, that is, to send some boats alongside to tell their captains to anchor at places that the Governor would have planned, in order to receive all of the news that were communicated to him, and thus be able to sail with precaution until reaching the port of Palapag, where the Government has light cruisers operating as far as Raporapo.³ They have been instructed to assist them, in accordance with timely precautions that the Government has taken and will take, to make their ships and funds secure, or to follow them until they anchor in Cavite.

One of the measures that the Governor of the Marianas has been ordered to take, is to retain [in Guam] the skilful Carolinians and their canoes, until the end of the present year, so that they might put out to sea immediately upon sighting Spanish ships that must necessarily stop at the Marianas, and receive the news that have already been mentioned.

Through a Spanish merchantman that came into Manila Bay on 22 July, returning from Bengal, with goods from that Kingdom, it was learned that the [Batan] *pontin* that had been captured by the **Argentina**, and was manned by a French officer and 7 men, arrived at Malacca, whose Government, not trusting the licence that said officer presented (the one that this Government had issued to its owner and captain for said *pontin* to sail to Ilocos, whence it had to leave with the subsidy for the Batan Islands) decided to send it under escort to Pulo Piñan [i.e. Penang] where the Vice-Admiral, or

1 Ed. note: Cabugao is a bay on the south side of Catanduanes Island, now called Virac.

2 Ed. note: Not available, but, from what follows, this order probably concerned precautions against revolutionaries from America.

3 Ed. note: Rapu-rapu is an island at the north end of Albay Bay.

Officer in charge of the British Forces in the East Indies, resided. Since it appears that the owner and captain was being kept on board the *pontin*, perhaps the decision will be made to send her back home.

Manila, 5 August 1818.

De Folgueras

Documents 1818L

The Arleguí brothers, sons of a former Governor of the Marianas

L1. Petition to the King, dated Orizaba 8 August 1818

Source: AGN Fil. 47, fol. 386-389.

Note: The petitioner was then in New Spain, travelling from Manila to Madrid.

Original texts in Spanish.

Señor.

Don José María de Arlegui Capitan del Regimiento de Dragones de España, con el mayor respeto y veneracion à V.M. expone: Que tiene el honor de servir à V.M. treinta años quatro meses, y veinte y seis días à esta parte, incluso el havono [sic = abono] del tiempo de campaña, hasta fin de Julio de este año habiendo empesado su carrera desde Cadete en el Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon, en Filipinas, y seguidamente en España en el Real Cuerpo de Guardias de Corps; y en este Reyno de Teniente en el Regimiento de Ynfanteria de N.E. en el mismo empleo, y el de Capitan desde el diez y ocho de Noviembre de mil ochocientos doce, en su actual Regimiento: Que durante la ultima Guerra en la Peninsula contra los Exercitos del tirano Napoleon, y en la actual de este Reyno contra los traidores rebeldes, hà acreditado en campaña su lealtad, fidelidad, y acendrado amor à la agusta Real Persona de V.M. en defensa de sus sagrados derechos y de la Patria en los terminos que informaran sus Gefes, y consta en su ojas de servicios, habiendo expuesto resueltamente, y gustoso su vida, en las muchas, y reñidas acciones en la que hà tenido la gloria de hallarse y distinguirse asi en Europa, como en America: Que habiendo llevado à su noticia, por cartas fidedignas de Manila (su patria) de hallarse vacante el Gobierno de Zambuanga en las expresadas Filipinas, por muerte del Capitan de Fragata Don Luis de la Concha, à quien V.M. tubo à bien conferirselo, siendo entonces este Gefe, Governador del Puerto de Cavite; y teniendo el suplicante que percibir en aquellos Dominios algunos intereses que le pertenecen, como heredero de su Abuelo Materno el Marquez de Villamediana, los que quedaron pendientes por [1-cm hole] siencia, y por no haverle [1-cm hole] las circunstancias [1-cm hole] -erra solicitar de la Real Piedad de V.M. la soberana lisencia para pasar à aquellos Paises; Y confiado ultimamente de que V.M. tendrà en benigna consideracion sus meritos, servicios, y los largos y acreditados de su difunto Padre el Coronel Don

José de Arleguí y Leóz, Comandante que fuè del citado Esquadron de Dragones de Luzon, y Governador de las Yslas Marianas quien en estos empleos, y otros anteriores, tubo el honor de servir fielmente à V.M. por el dilatado tiempo de cincuenta años.

A V.M. suplica rendidamente, que por un efecto de su soberana clemencia, se digne conferirle el mencionado Gobierno de Zamboanga, ò el de Cavite, que save hallarse igualmente vacante; cuyo destino continuando sus meritos y servicios, podrá al mismo tiempo recojer, y arreglar sus propios intereses abandonados, y atender con mas desahogo à la honrosa substistencia de su esposa y familia. Gracia que sumisamente impetra y confía merecer de la Real benignidad muy notoria, y grande beneficencia de V.M.

Orizava 8 de Agosto de 1818.

Señor.

A Los Pies de V.M.

José M^a de Arleguí.

[Recommended to the Viceroy of New Spain]

N. 1201.

Exmo. Señor

Paso a las superiores manos de V.E. triplicada solicitud que dirige à S.M. pidiendo el Gobierno de Samboanga ó el de Cabite en las islas filipinas el Captain del Regimiento de Dragones de España Don José María Arleguí.

Dios guarde à V.E. muchos años.

Mexico Septiembre 2 de 1818.

Exmo. Señor

Pascual de Liñan.

[A] *Exmo. Señor Virrey Don Francisco Ruiz de Apodaca.*

Translation.

Sire:

I, José María de Arleguí, Captain of the Regiment of Dragoons of Spain, with all due respect and veneration, expounds to Y.M.:

That I have the honor of having served Y.M. thirty years, four months and twenty-six days as of the end of July of this year, including the surplus for time spent campaigning, having begun my career as a cadet officer in the Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon, in the Philippines, and then in Spain in the Royal Corps of Bodyguards, and in this Kingdom as Lieutenant in the Regiment of Infantry of New Spain in the same employment, and as Captain since 18 November 1812, in his present Regiment;

That during the last war in the Peninsula against the armies of the tyrant Napoleon, and in this Kingdom against the rebel traitors, my loyalty, faithfulness and spotless love for the august Royal Person of Y.M. have been proven during campaigns for the defence of your sacred rights and those of my country in terms that my Superiors have vouched for, as can be seen in my Record of service; I have exposed my life resolutely and will-

ingly during many hard-fought battles in which I have had the glory of finding myself in, and of distinguishing myself, not only in Europe but also in America;

That, as I have learned, from trustworthy letters that I received from Manila (my hometown), that the Government of Zamboanga in said Philippines is vacant, on account of the death of Navy Commander Luis de la Concha, to whom Y.M. had deigned to confer it, when said officer had been Governor of the port of Cavite; and as I have some [monetary] interests to recover in those Dominions, as heir to my maternal grandfather, the Marquis of Villamediana, which have remained pending on account of my absence, and my lack of circumstances, I appeal to the Royal mercy of Y.M. to obtain your sovereign permission to go to those countries;

Finally, being confident that Y.M. will take in your benign consideration my merits, services, and the long and recognized services of my late father, Colonel José de Arlequí y Leóz, the former Commander of said Squadron of Dragoons of Luzon, and Governor of the Mariana Islands, who in those posts and previous ones, had the honor of faithfully serving Y.M. for the very long period of fifty years:

I humbly beg Y.M. to apply your sovereign clemency and deign to confer upon me the above-mentioned government of Zamboanga, or that of Cavite, which I also know to be vacant; such a posting would allow me to continue my merits and services, and at the same time allow me to recover and arrange my own abandoned interests, and attend with more decorum to the honorable subsistence of my wife and family. A favor which I most humbly beg for and hope to get from the well-known Royal kindness and great beneficence of Y.M.

Orizaba, 8 August 1818.

Sire.

At the feet of Y.M.,
José María Arlequí

[Recommended to the Viceroy of New Spain]

Nº 1201.

Your Excellency.

I am sending to Y.E. three copies of the petition addressed to H.M. by Don José María Arlequí, Captain of the Regiment of Dragoons of Spain in which he asks for the Government of Zamboanga or that of Cavite in the Philippine Islands.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Mexico, 2 September 1818.

Your Excellency.

Pascual de Liñán

[To] His Excellency Viceroy Francisco Ruiz de Apodaca.

Editor's notes.

How could a 35-year-old Captain have served for more than 30 years in the Army? Because the time he served in Spain against the forces of Napoleon were credited to

him at double rate. From his service record, it appears that he was born in Manila circa 1783, and joined his father's squadron there when he was about 15 years old. The file does not contain the decision taken by the Viceroy, or the King.

L2. The sons of Governor Arleguí left destitute in Spain

Source: Present location unknown; ms. sold by the Maggs Brothers of London, ref. Maggs Catalog 442 (1923), page 478.

Notes: The note and enclosed report total 8 pages. They were offered for sale at 3 pounds 3 shillings. Colonel Arleguí served as Governor of the Marianas, from 1786 to 1794. These sons were born in Manila beforehand. Bayonne is a town in the Basque country, on the French side of the border.

Note from Huizi to Amnarriz, dated Bayonne 24 August 1818

Autograph note by Martín Antonio de Huizi to José de Amnarriz, referring to the accounts and affairs of the Arleguí Brothers, sons of the [former] Governor of the Mariana Islands.

Friend and Colleague.—The enclosed is a statement of the accounts of Arleguí, about which I have advised you so that when my nephew arrives in your town, you will do me the favour to hand it to him. I am sending it open, so that if your Excellency has the time and inclination, you may read the Report.

...

Autograph report, dated Bayonne 14 August 1818

In the year 1806, when seated in my office, a handsome young Guardsman called upon me one day. I did not know him, and, asking him who he was, and in what way I could serve him, he replied that he had come to seek my protection and help, and that I had seen him once before in my house, where he had called with his brother or sister, and that his name was Arleguí.

On hearing the name, I remembered that some time ago three young people had called to see me and had brought me a letter of introduction to them or their father, from Don Juan Francisco Orroz of Manila.¹ I offered them due hospitality out of courtesy to the person who had introduced them, and out of respect for them also as children of a Colonel and [former] Governor of the Mariana Islands.

After this visit they did not come to my house again, nor did I seek them out in their house, for two reasons: First, because presuming that they had brought other letters of introduction, they would have availed themselves of these in preference to mine; and, secondly, because, considering them rich people and not needing any assistance from me, I refrained from soliciting their friendship, and thought no more about them.

I was therefore greatly surprised at this unexpected visit, which did not fail to rouse my interest and curiosity, coming from so gallant a youth. He declared that he would be compelled to retire from the Life Guards, as he was entirely destitute, having spent

¹ Ed. note: His name is not listed in the B&R index.

all the money which they had brought and not having received any remittance from Mexico, where their capital was. This news that his elder [rather younger] brother, who was about nineteen years of age, had married the daughter of a watchmaker or silversmith of the Puerta del Sol [the central arcade in Madrid], and had one or two children, and was as penniless as himself. He related the story of his life until his landing at Cadiz, **his father having died on the voyage**; and, having squandered all their resources, one of these improvidant young people had contracted a hasty marriage without guidance or advice, and the other was on the point of ruining his career.

All this led me to enter into the matter fully, and I put many questions to him which he answered to my satisfaction, referring me to an officer of the Guards whom I knew well, having met him many times at Don Juan Soret's house. I spoke with him, and he told me it was a great pity that a youth of such qualities and good conduct should be obliged to leave the service, and that he would stand by him if I did not care to help on my own account.

...
[This very interesting report states that the youth handed his legal documents to the writer for the purpose of claiming his fortune in Mexico, and that full authority was given him to act in the matter.]

Document 1818M

The King re-affirms one of the rules about galleons

Source: AGN Fil. 62, fol. 379.

Letter on behalf of the King, dated Madrid 23 February 1818**Original text in Spanish.**

Exmo. Sor.

Enterado el Rey de la duda propuesta por V.E. en carta de 31 de Agosto de 1816 acerca del cumplimiento del artículo 41 del reglamento adicional de 18 de Diciembre de 1769 y conformandose S.M. con el parecer del supremo consejo de Yndias, se ha servido resolver que se observe con todo rigor el citado artículo 41 asi como todas las demas providencias dirigidas á evitar los fraudes en el Comercio de Filipinas con ese Reyno haciendolas extensivas á los Puertos de San Blas, Sonsonate y qualesquiera otro á que se amplie este Comercio: Lo que de real orden comunico á V.E. para su mas puntual y efectivo cumplimiento mientras otra cosa no se mande.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años.

Madrid 23 de Febrero de 1818.

Martin de Garay

[Al] Sr. Virey de Nueva España.

Translation.

Your Excellency.

The King, having been made aware of the doubt that Y.E. expressed, in a letter dated 31 August 1816, regarding compliance with Article 41 of the Additional Regulation of 18 December 1769, and being in agreement with the opinion of the Supreme Council of the Indies, has been pleased to decide that said Article 41 be observed with all rigor, as well as all the other measures directed at avoiding the frauds in the trade of the Philippines with that Kingdom, by making them apply also to the ports of San Blas, Sonsonate and any other port to which this trade might be extended. What by royal order

I communicate to Y.E. for your most timely and effective compliance, until ordered otherwise.

May God save Y.E. for many years.

Madrid, 23 February 1818.

Martin de Garay

[To] Viceroy of New Spain.

 Documents 1818N

Governor Medinilla asks to be replaced

Source: LC Mss. Division, Spanish Colonial Government, Item 97 (letter book of Gov. Medinilla, 1818-1822); cited in B&R 53:377.

N1. Letter dated 20 December 1818

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno N° 214

M. Y.S.

El haver impresado la Fragata Ynsurgente el Bergantin de mi propiedad, y el corto señalamiento de ocho Mil pesos designados en cada un año por esa Superioridad para cubrir las atenciones de este Presidio, me hacen manifestar à V.S. la Total imposibilidad en que me hallo de poder en lo Sucesivo contiuar Satisfaciendo los Sueldos de la Oficialidad, Tropa, y demas ocurrencias, pues no alcanza la expresada Cantidad ni aun para la mitad de lo gastos indispensables; y las muchas Sumas que saquè de esas obras pias, y de barios sugetos particulares, con mas las que despues me ha proporcionado mi Apoderado, no han podido ser satisfechas por no haver recibido Situado alguno en todo el tiempo que llevo de Gobierno, y los intereses de ellas se han aumentado progresivamente en tales terminos que han hecho sean muchos mayores mis empeños, los que hê sufrido complacer por que estos interesados no experimentasen las faltas de los Situidos, pero en el dia en razon de las circunstancias en que me hallo, y la de faltarme el expresado Bergantin, no solo considero dificil, pero si imposible el que mi citado Apoderado me bolviese à mandar nueva Abilitacion por que no le serà facil el encontrar quien le proporciona fondos capaces para la Compra de los Efectos que son precisos, y por separado para el pago del flete para su traslacion, el que no bajaria del Siete à ocho Mil pesos, segun han puesto en costumbre los dueños de los Buques; y para no berme precisado à faltar al cumplimiento que me impone mi dever, he de merecer à V.S. tenga à bien nombrarme Subcesor para que me releve.

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Diciembre 20 de 1818.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla y Pineda,

[A] M. Y.S. Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Translation.

Superior Government N° 214.

Your Excellency:

Since the Insurgent ship has captured the brig that belonged to me, and given the 8,000 pesos per year allotted by that Superior Government to cover the expenses of this Garrison, I am obliged to bring to the attention of Y.L. that I am henceforth completely unable to continue to cover the salaries of the officers and men, and other expenditures; indeed, the sum in question does not even cover half of the indispensable expenses, The large sums that I borrowed from the Pious Works overthere, and from various individuals, plus the amounts that my Agent has later made available to me, have not been repaid, because I have received no Subsidy at all during the whole time since I have taken over this Government.¹ Besides, the interests have been accumulating progressively to such an extent that they have made my debts that much greater, though I have suffered in silence, so as not to have the interested parties experience the lack of subsidies; however, today, by reason of the circumstances in which I find myself, specially that of the loss of said brig, I consider it not only difficult, but impossible to expect my Agent to keep on sending new shipments, because it will not be easy for him to find someone to advance him enough funds for the purchase of the articles that are necessary, not to mention the shipping costs, which would not be below a sum between 7,000 and 8,000 pesos, on account of the custom established by ship owners. So, in order for me not to be forced to renege what I consider my duty, I expect Y.L. to consider favorably my request to be relieved of my duties and have a Successor appointed to replace me.

May our Lord save Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio of Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 20 December 1818.

Your Excellency.

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

N2. Notes on Guam-to-Saipan boat runs, 1803-1816 period

Source: Same as above.

Note: Such operations were mostly for the purpose of getting meat and other products from the islands of Tinian and Saipan. The name of the schooner in question is not given.

In a letter dated 10 December 1818, Governor Medinilla reveals the details of the local shipping operations between the islands of Guam, Rota, Tinian, and Saipan. They can be summarized as follows:

—From 3 July 1803 to 4 February 1804: Captain Domingo Manuel Garrido, to Saipan, with the schooner belonging to the garrison;

—August to November 1804: same captain, ship, and destination;

¹ Ed. note: In 1812.

- July 1805 to January 1806: same captain, ship, to Tinian;
- June to September 1806: Captain Luis de Torres, to unnamed island;
- April to September 1807: Captain Garrido, to Saipan and Tinian;
- July to October 1808: Captain Francisco Arceo, Mayor of Rota;¹
- June 1809 to June 1810: same captain;
- August 1810 to January 1811: same captain;
- July 1812 to July 1813: same captain, to both Tinian and Saipan;
- May 1813 to January 1814: Captain was Second-Lieut. Pedro Danglon;
- May to October 1814: same captain;
- November 1815 to September 1816: same captain.

1 Ed. note: I presume, to all three islands to the north of Guam.



**Captain Leon A. Hagemeister,
commander of the Kutusov, 1819**

 Document 1819A

The Russian frigate Kutusov, Captain Hagemeister, visited Guam

Sources: PNA; 2 copies in the Letter book of Governor Medinilla, now in LC Mss. Div., Item 97.

*Note: Leonid Andreianovich Hagemeister (1780-1834) was a Russian Naval Officer who had served for many years in the British Navy before taken over the command of the *Neva* in 1806-1810, then the *Kutusov* in 1816-1819. He replaced Baranov as Chief Administrator of the Russian-American Company, officially in 1818, so that he already held that post, when he visited Guam. He himself must have made Baranov (and his nephew) prisoner(s), as they were both on board his ship at that time (see below).*

Letter of Governor Medinilla, dated Umatac, 15 February (amended 25) 1819

Original text in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno—Nº 219.

M. Y.S.

*Al rallar [i.e. rayar] el dia nueve del corriente me dieron parte los Vigias de haver avistado un Buque de tres Palos por la Caveza Norte de la Ysla, y que hasia su Proa con direccion à esta Ciudad, lo que dió motivo à que sin perdida de instante pasase à la playa de donde con Anteojo(s) le divisé (como) bien enmarado, y determinè luego que el Capitan (de la segunda Compañia) Don Antonio Guerrero, con el Practico, (y) è Ynterprete se embarcasen en el Bote para hirlo à reconocer, y como à los tres quartos de hora cambio de rumbo (la Fragata) como en demanda de querer entrar en el Puerto de San Luis de Apra, siguiendo el Piloto sus Aguas sin poderle dar alcance hasta que los perdi de vista, y como à horas de las diez, me dió parte el Governadorcillo del Pueblo de Tepungan de que havia dado fondo en la misma canal de la entrada de Orote, y à las doce regresò el citado Capitan (Guerrero) diciendome ser la Fragata de la Compañia Rusa Americana llamada **Kutusoff** al mando del Teniente Capitan (de la misma Clase) Don Leon Hagemeister, que venia de (Lima, y de) los Establecimientos del N.O. con necesidad de hacer Aguada. (Leña) y Viveres para seguir su Viage à S. Petersburgo, asegurandome dicho Capitan que el Buque estava en Eminente riesgo de perderse por que hiva arreciando el viento del Nordeste la mar creciendo demaciado, y havia dado fondo al terminar la Canal de la entrada de Orote muy proximo à la reventazon por haberle hecho de Practico sin serlo el Carolino del Sur Lorenzo Arlegui, el que havia*

tomado à su Bordo el Comandante en la Costa de Retillan (Tanocatan)¹ donde se hallava al cuidado de varias Bancas en espera de buen tiempo para pasar a la Ysla de Rota (Tinian), y al siguiente dia [supe que de los tres Cables con que estava amarrado al uno de ellos le havian faltado dos Cordones, y en la noche, segun las grandes, y repetidas fugadas que ocurrieron coche(?) de p----ico(?) que huviese fracasado, y muy de mañana con el fin de ver si le podia auxiliar la Falua llevando en la Lancha que fué de la fragata **Santiago** sesenta hombres, pero fue en balde, pues lo recio del viento y lo empollado de las Mares no me permitieron pasar del Castillo de Santa Cruz de los Dolores, y en la madrugada del quarto dia como huviese conocido el referido Comandante que de permanecer mas tiempo en el lugar donde se hallava hera irremisible su perdida, mando alistar todo el àparejo, y haciendolo hecho marear à un tiempo y que picasen los dos Cables sobre que se mantenía rasando la reventazon, y con las vergas tocando el fronton del Cerro de Orote logró salir, y dar fondo en el Puerto de la Villa de Umata...

Al dia siguiente de seis Cavallerias en el Desembarcadero de Piti, para venir me à visitar con sus Oficiales lo que no llevo à tener efecto por haver bisto arreciando el viento N.E. en terminos que al tercer dia; despues de haver dejado dos Anclas, logré salir con el mayor riesgo, y por direccion del Practico que le havia mandado en el Bote logrado dar fondo en la Ensenada de esta Villa en la que ha permanecido hasta el dia de la fecha, (y en donde le hà proporcionado sin mas interes que la complacencia de servirle los auxilios que le has sido de necesidad, ni habiendo omitido el tratarle en Casa, como à los demas Oficiales con todo el obsequio que me ha sido posible, y lo participo à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.)

Nuestro Señor guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Villa de Umata, y Febrero 15 de 1819.

M. Y.S.

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

M. Y.S. Governador y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

....dio fondo en el Puerto de la Villa de Umata en donde permanecio hasta el quince que sargo para seguir su derrota à San Petersburgo, y con el debido respeto acompaño à V.S. señalada con el num. 1 Copia àuthorizada de la Credencial ò Pasaporte que me presento para poder con livertad àrrivar à cualesquiera Puerto Español, y el num. 2 indica los auxilios de Rancho que sin el menor interes le proporciono al referido Comandante; No omitiendo el hacer presente à V.S. de que à su Bordo con toda distincion llevaba Preso à Don Alexandro Baranoff, Cavallero de la Orden de Santa Ana, de la Medalla de Alexandro 1º, Emperador de las Rusias, y Governador que fué beinte, y ocho años de Sitca (en la Costa del Norueste) por haverle dado al Americano Davis Pasaporte, y Vanderas para figurar ser su Fragata (la **Orina**) de Nacion Rusa, y à mas

1 Ed. note: Or else Inapsan. The second copy, dated 25 February, differs at times, and is, in fact, more detailed; its text appears in square brackets below.

hecho embarcar con el distintivo de la precitada Medalla en clase de sobre Cargo a su Sobrino Don Alexandro Baranoff, à el que tambien llevava Preso. Todo lo que me ha parecido informar à V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.

Nuestro Señor Guarde la importante vida, y salud de V.S. muchos años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Febrero 25 de 1819.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla y Pineda.

M. Y.S. Governador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.]

Nº 1:

Don Ygnacio Perez de Lema, encargado de Negocios de S.M. Catolica en la Corte Ymperial de Rusia.

*Hallandose la Compañia Rusa Americana en vispera de expedir del Puerto de Cronstad el Navio de su pertenencia llamado el **Kutusoff** mandado por el Teniente Capitan de esta Marina Hagemeister, con el fin de que conduzca Viveres à sus Colonias; y deviendo emplearse este en su viage de ida, y buelta, en descubrimientos geograficos, historicos, y phisicos, obgeto de una utilidad general: à solicitud del Excelentissimo Señor Conde de Nesselrode, Secretario de Estado de S.M. el Emperador de todas las Rusias (quien me ha informado de quanto antecede) y en virtud de la buena armonia que reyna entre la España, y la Rusia, concedo esta Carta de seguridad al expresado Navio **Kutusoff**, su Comandante, y Tripulacion para que puedan en aquella parte de los Dominios de S.M. à que la necesidad les obligare, y reclamar de los Virreyes, Capitanes Generales, Governadores, ò Alcaldes los auxilios de que huvieren menester.*

Por ello pido igualmente à dichas Autoridades, y à los Comandantes de los Buques de Guerra de S.M. con quienes pudieren encontrar, que no se refhusen à protegerles; antes bien esmeren en quanto estè de su parte en auxiliar à la dicha Expedicion.

Dada en San Petersburgo firmada de mi puño, y sellada con el Sello de mis armas hoy beinte y siete de Mayo (a.c.) de mil ochocientos diez y seis.

Ygnacio Perez de Lema.

Lugar del Sello.

[Minute]

*La Fragata de la Real Compañia Rusa Americana nombrada **Kutussoff** que entrò en este Puerto el beinte y nueve de Marzo sale en esta fecha, Proveida de quanto à necesitado, y franqueado por este Superior Gobierno cuyo Excelentissimo Señor Virrey ha declarado en estado de riguroso Bloqueo è inaccessibles todas las Costas y Puertos de Chile, y de este Virreynato à excepcion de las Yslas de la Mocha, y Santa Maria, Callao, y Colan(?), cuyos ultimos puntos son adonde podran solicitar Viveres, y Agua-da en las Urgencias de absoluta necesidad; Comandancia Militar, y Capitania del Puerto del Callao, diez y nueve de Mayo de mil ochocientos diez y siete.*

Fernando Caminèz.

*Concuerta con su Original que presentò à este Gobierno el Comandante de la Fragata de Nacion Rusa nombrada la **Kutussoff** à que me remito de donde saquè el presente en este Papel simple por no usarse del Sellado en estas Yslas Marianas, yò el Capitan Don Justo de la Cruz, Secretario del Gobierno, y Guerra de ellas, en la Villa de Umata à catorce de Febrero de mil ochocientos diez y nueve, y està fielmente sacado, corregido, y concordado; siendo Testigos el Sargento Mayor de la Plaza Don Luis de Torres, el Ayudante Don Manuel Tiburcio Garrido, y el Subteniente Don Nicolas de Borja presentes de que doy fee.*

En Testimonio de verdad lo firmo:

Justo de la Cruz

Secretario del Gobierno, y Guerra.

[Nº 2:]

*Razon del Rancho que sin interes franqueó este Gobierno al Comandante de la Fragata de Nacion Rusa llamada la **Kutussoff** (para hacer la travesia hasta Persia) [para seguir su Derrota à San Petersburgo], y ès, A saver:*

Seis Reses Bacunas.

Doce Puercos de Manteca.

Seis Yden. de Carne.

Tres Zurrones de Carne de Baca hecha Tapa.

Tres Yden. de diversos Pescados Secos.

Treinta Cavanos de Arroz Limpio.

Una Tinaja de Pescado en Escaveche.

Doscientos, y cinquenta Gallinas.

Ocho Patos.

Trescientos, y cinquenta Huevos.

Diez Ballones de Maiz.

Seiscientos Cocos.

Dos Tinajas de Azeyte.

Quatrocientos Cavezas de Ajos, y Porcion de Cevollas.

Diversos frutas, y Verduras.

(Villa de Umata à 15 de Febrero de 1819) [San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Febrero 25 de 1819].

José de Medinilla, y Pineda.

Translation.

1819—Nº3.

Letter (Nº 219) from the Governor of the Marianas reporting that he has provided the necessary assistance to the Captain of the frigate belonging to the Russian-American Company, named **Kutusoff**, under the command of Captain Leon Hagemeister.

[To] the Most Illustrious Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands.

Most Illustrious Sir:

At daybreak on the 9th instant [Feb. 1819], the lookouts informed me of having spotted a three-masted frigate by the northern tip of the island and that she was heading directly for this City, which gave me reason to go immediately to the beach, from where I could make her out with a telescope, well out at sea. I then decided that the Captain of the 2nd Company, Antonio Guerrero, along with the local Pilot, and Interpreter, should board the Boat to go and reconnoiter her. After three-quarters of an hour, the frigate changed course as if to head for the Port of San Luis de Apra. The boat tried to follow in her wake but without overtaking her, until I lost sight of them. At about 10, the mayor of the village of Tepungan reported to me that she had anchored in the entrance channel at Orote, and at 12, said Captain [Guerrero] returned to say that it was a frigate belonging to the Russian-American Company, named **Kutusoff**, under the command of Lieutenant-Captain (i.e. Commander) Leon Hagemeister who came from the Northwest Settlements with a need to take on water and food, in order to pursue his voyage to St. Petersburg. Said Captain [Guerrero] assured me that the ship was in imminent danger of being lost, because she was anchored within the channel itself and almost on top of the breakers, for having accepted as a pilot a Carolinian from the South, Lorenzo Arlegui,¹ whom the Commander had taken on board on the coast of Retillan [i.e. Retidian], where he was in charge of his canoes waiting for [favorable] weather to pass to the Island of Rota [Tinian], and also that said Commander required for the next day six mounts at the Piti landing, in order to come and visit me, which did not take place, because the N.E. wind became stiffer, so that on the third day, after having abandoned two anchors, he succeeded in going out with the greatest risk, and under the direction of the Pilot whom I had sent to him in the Boat, he succeeded in anchoring in the Bay of this Town [of Umatac], where he has remained until today,² and where I provided him, without any other interest than to be of service to him, the assistance that he needed, including a reception at my house of this officer, as well as the other officers, with all the courtesy that I was capable of, and I report this to Y.L. for your Superior intelligence.

May our Lord save Y.L. for many years.

Town of Umatac, 15 February 1819.

-
- 1 Ed. note: He had taken the family name of a former Governor of the Marianas responsible for his kind reception of Carolinians in the 1780s.
 - 2 Ed. note: In his letter of 25 February, Governor Medinilla was more extensive (see text within square brackets below).

José de Medinilla y Pineda.¹

[... He anchored in the port of the Town of Umatac where he remained until the 15th to pursue her voyage to St. Petersburg, and with due respect I enclose for Y.L., marked as Exhibit N° 1, a certified copy of the Credential or passport that he presented me, that says that he could freely touch at any Spanish port, plus N° 2, which is a list of the rations that I made available to said Commander for free. I will not omit to report to Y.L. that he kept on board a distinguished prisoner, Don Alexander Baranoff,² Knight of the Order of St. Ann, holder of the Medal of Alexander I, Emperor of all the Russias, and former Governor, for 28 years, of Sitka (on the Northwest Coast). He had been made prisoner, for having given to the U.S. citizen named Davis a passport and flags to make believe that his frigate (the **Orina**) was a Russian vessel.³ and also for having embarked on board her his nephew, also named Alexander Baranoff, bearing the above-mentioned Medal. Said nephew was also held prisoner on board. All of which I report to Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

May our Lord save the important life and health of Y.L. for many years.

San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 25 February 1819.

Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

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

N° 1.

Don Ignacio Perez de Lema, Chargé d'Affaires for His Catholic Majesty at the Imperial Russian Court.

Whereas the Russian-American Company is about to despatch to the port of Kronstad their ship named **Kutusoff**, under the command of Lieutenant-Captain of this Navy, Hagemeister, for the purpose of carrying food supplies to their colonies; and, since this officer has been instructed to make geographical, historical, and physical observations during his round-trip voyage, a mission of general utility; at the request of His Excellency the Count of Nesselrode,⁴ Secretary of State of H.M. the Emperor of all the Russias (who has given me the above information); and in view of the good har-

1 Ed. note: From the PNA file, I was able to find out that the above letter was taken by Captain Hagemeister to Batavia, where it was entrusted to the firm of P. H. Siberg of Gilderbins, who forwarded it to Manila aboard the English frigate **Sterling** in April 1819. Perhaps this was the brig **Stirling Castle**.

2 Ed. note: Alexandr Andreevich Baranov (1746-1819) had been governor, rather chief administrator, of the Russian-American Company in Alaska as of 1790. He died aboard the **Kutusoff** before she reached Russia. Hagemeister himself was then named to replace him. See my comments below.

3 Ed. note: Orina was the new Russian name of the U.S. ship **O'Cain**. She visited Guam in January 1815 (see Doc. 1812C).

4 Ed. note: Karl Robert, Count of Hesselrode (1780-1862), was a Russian diplomat of German origin, born in Lisbon. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs for the czar from 1816 to 1856.

mony that prevails between Spain and Russia, I grant this Letter of safe-conduct to the above-mentioned ship **Kutusoff**, her Commander, and Crew, for them to use in any place within the Dominions of H.M. that necessity may force them into, and claim from the Viceroy, Captains General, Governors, or Mayors the assistance that they might need.

Consequently, I also request said Authorities, and the Commanders of H.M.'s warships which they may meet, not to refuse to protect them; rather, they should vie with one another to assist said Expedition as best they can.

Given in St. Petersburg, signed by my hand, and sealed with my coat-of-arms on this day, the 27th day of May 1816 A.D.

Ignacio Perez de Lema

[Place for the seal]

[Minute]

The frigate of the Royal Russian-American Company, named **Kutusoff**, which entered this port on 29 March, is leaving today, supplied with everything that she needed, for free by this Superior Government, but His Excellency the Viceroy has declared in a state of rigorous blockade and inaccessible all of the coasts and ports of Chile, and those of this Vice-Kingdom, except for the Islands of Mocha, Santa Maria, Callao, and Colan(?); said points are [the only ones] where they might solicit food and water supplies, in emergencies of absolute necessity.

Military Headquarters and Office of the Port Captain of Callao, 19 May 1817.

Fernando Caminez

I, Captain Justo de la Cruz, Secretary for Administration and War of these Mariana Islands, do certify that the above is an exact copy of the original that the Commander of the Russian frigate, named **Kutusoff**, presented to this Government, and to which I refer, and from which I made the present, on this ordinary paper, because sealed paper is not used in these Islands, at the Town of Umatac on 14 February 1819, and it has been faithfully transcribed, checked, and corrected, in the presence of the following Witnesses, to wit: Sergeant-Major of the Garrison, Don Luis de Torres, Adjutant Manuel Tiburcio Garrido, and Sub-Lieutenant Nicolas de Borja, for whom I vouch.

In faith whereof, I sign:

Justo de la Cruz,

Secretary for Administration and War.

Nº 2.

List of the food supplies that this Government has provided to the Commander of the Russian-American frigate Kutusoff, to enable her to reach Persia [before proceeding back to St. Petersburg], to wit:

- 6 cows;
- 12 fat pigs;
- 6 lean pigs;

- 3 pouches of dried, or jerked, beef;
- 3 pouches of dried fish of various species;
- 30 cabans of clean rice;
- 1 jar of pickled fish;
- 250 chickens;
- 8 ducks;
- 350 eggs;
- 10 bales of maize [i.e. corn];
- 600 coconuts;
- 2 jars of [coconut] oil;
- 400 bulbs of garlic, and some onions;
- Various fruits and vegetables.

Town of Umatac, 15 February 1819.

[San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 25 February 1819]

José de Medinilla y Pineda.

Notes on the Baranov affair.

Sources: 1) Howay, F. W., A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1805-1814, and 1815-1919, in Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1932, 1933; 2) Life of Baranof...; 3) (in Russian:) Materials for the History of Settlements on the Shores of the Eastern Ocean (St. Petersburg, 1861); 3 Bancroft's History of the North West Coast, 1884.

The U.S. ship **O'Cain**, of 280 tons, of New York, Captain Jonathan Winship, Jr., made a pioneer poaching of fur seals off the coast of the Spanish Californias, beginning in 1806, using Aleut Eskimos from Sitka as hunters. A similar venture took place during 1807. She was back again at Sitka in December 1809, to do the same thing, during 1810. By this time, she had linked with another U.S. ship, the **Isabella**, of 209 tons, of Boston, Captain William Heath Davis. Both ships continued their poaching activities off California in 1811, and perhaps also in 1812, when they switched to trading sandalwood out of the Hawaiian Islands, not for the lack of fur seals, but for fear of British ships which were then cruising the Pacific Ocean in search of Yankee ships. However, the **O'Cain** did return to hunting off California in 1813. Both ships were sold to the Russians before November 1814, because Captains Winship and Davis boarded the U.S. ship **Packet** at that time, and reached Canton and later Boston as passengers on board her. By last report, the **O'Cain** (alias Orina) was undergoing repairs at Sitka in October 1815.

Document 1819B

The French ship *Bordelais*, Captain Roquefeuil

Sources: Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil. Journal d'un voyage autour du monde (Paris, 1823); partially translated as: A Voyage Round the World (London, 1823).

Introduction

The aim of this expedition was, like Marchand's, to buy furs on the NW Coast of America for sale in China. A 200-ton vessel, the **Bordelais**, sailed from Bordeaux in October 1816 with 34 men on board. Captain Roquefeuil traded all along the western coasts of the Americas, buying whale teeth, sandalwood, and furs.

On January 1819, after stopping at the Islands of Hawaii and Oahu, this ship followed the 18° parallel until it reached Asunción and Agrigan Islands in the northern Marianas on 25 February 1819. No time was wasted, however, and the ship headed for Macao.

The narrative of Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil

Original text in French.

...

Chapitre XVIII et dernier

En partant de Woao, je donnai du Sud à la route jusqu'au dix-huitième parallèle, que je comptais suivre jusqu'aux Mariannes, les vents étant plus frais dans ce parage que vers le Tropique...

Le 24 [février 1819] à huit heures du soir, je me faisais à 50 miles dans le Sud-Est de la partie Nord d'Agrigan; je dirigeai au Nord-Ouest dans l'intention de traverser les Mariannes par le passage de La Pérouse. (C'est le nom que donnent les Américains au canal entre Agrigan et l'Assomption.) Le lendemain à cinq heures du matin, étant en latitude, je mis le cap à l'Ouest. Un moment après de fortes apparences de terre se firent remarquer sous les nuages amoncelés dans cette partie. À sept heures on eut connaissance de l'Assomption par le bossoir du vent, et Agrigan se découvrait en même temps par le travers de l'autre bord. À midi la hauteur du soleil donna 19 deg. 31 min. de latitude Nord; en releva en même temps l'Assomption du Nord 12 à 18 deg. Ouest, le milieu d'Agrigan au Sud 7 deg. Est du compas. Quoique cette dernière île fut à peine visible

à l'horizon, le soin qu'on avait mis à la suivre de l'oeil ne laisse pas lieu de craindre de méprise dans ce relèvement. D'après ces données et la latitude de 18 deg. 54 min. Nord, que les meilleures autorités modernes assignent à Agrigan, le milieu de cette île serait situé à sept milles à l'Est de l'Assomption; cette dernière étant par 143 deg. 15 min. Est selon La Pérouse la longitude d'Agrigan doit être 143 deg. 22 min. Cette différence de méridien était confirmée par la montre qui mettait l'Assomption par 143 deg. 28 min., et Agrigan par 143 deg. 35 min. Les relèvements ont été corrigés de 3 deg. 30 min. de variation Nord-Est. L'état du ciel ne permit pas de prendre des distances la nuit.

Le sommet de l'Assomption fut constamment caché par un petit nuage de vapeur blanche; de l'extrémité de cette espèce de bonnet, il se détachait à chaque instant des flocons qui disparaissaient bientôt. Il me semble que ce ne pouvait être que la fumée de quelques feux souterrains.

L'aspect de ce rocher, dont nous passâmes à 10 milles, n'est pas moins lugubre que du temps de La Pérouse. Nous ne fûmes jamais à moins de huit lieues d'Agrigan; à cette distance nous ne pûmes faire de remarque. Dans cette traversée des Sandwich aux Mariannes, nous n'éprouvâmes que 18 min. de différence Ouest; mais le navire fut porté de 107 min. dans le Sud. Après avoir doublé ces îles, la brise ne varia que de l'E. au N.-N.-E., et fut constamment assez fraîche.

Le 7 mars.—à trois heures et demie du matin, n'étant qu'à quelques milles de la plus Nord des îles Bachées...

...

Translation.

...

Chapter 28, the last.

Taking leave again of Woahoo, on the 26th of January, I steered southwards, to the eighteenth degree, intending to keep in that latitude till we reached the Mariana Islands. The winds were fresher in that neighborhood than toward the Tropic [of Cancer]...

On the 24th [of February] at 8 p.m., I estimated my position to be 50 miles S.E. of the north end of Agrigan. I headed N.W. in order to cross the Marianas by the La Pérouse Channel (the name given to the strait between Agrigan and Asunción by the Americans). The next morning, at 5 a.m., having reached that latitude, I headed due west. A short time later, some strong appearances of land were noticed under a group of clouds in that direction. At 7, we recognized Asunción over the cat-head to windward, and Agrigan could be seen at the same time abeam on the other side. At noon, the sun's elevation gave 19°31' lat. N. At that time, Asunción bore from N12°W to N18°W and the center of Agrigan bore S7°E magnetic. Although the latter island was hardly visible on the horizon, the care that we had taken to follow it with the eyes left no doubt about this bearing being correct. According to these data and the latitude of 18°54' N. that the best modern authorities assign to Agrigan, the center of this island would be situ-

ated 7 miles to the east of Asunción, the latter being situated in $143^{\circ}15'$ E.; according to La Pérouse the longitude of Agrigan must be $143^{\circ}22'$.¹ This difference in longitude was confirmed by the chronometer which placed Asunción in $143^{\circ}28'$, and Agrigan in $143^{\circ}35'$. The bearings were corrected for the [magnetic] variation of $3^{\circ}30'$ NE. The condition of the sky did not allow us to take lunar distances at night.

The summit of Asunción was constantly hidden by a small cloud, or white vapour, from which flakes, which soon disappeared, every moment detached themselves. I think it can only be the smoke of some subterraneous fire.

The appearance of this rock, of which we came within 10 miles, is no less dismal than at the time of La Pérouse. We were never less than 8 leagues from Agrigan; at such a distance we could not notice anything. During this crossing from the Sandwich Islands to the Marianas, we experienced a difference of only 18 minutes West, but the ship drifted 107 minutes southward. After we passed these Islands, the breeze changed only from E to NNE, and remained constantly fresh.

At 3:30 in the morning of the 7th of March, we were only a few miles from the northernmost of the Bashee Islands...

...

1 Ed. note: East of Paris.

Documents 1819C

The Freycinet Expedition—Report of Governor Medinilla

Source: LC Mss. Div., Span. Gov't Collection, Item 97.

Note: The expedition's ship was named Uranie, after the Muse of Astronomy and Geography.

Report of Governor Medinilla, dated Agaña 3 July 1819

Original texts in Spanish.

Superior Gobierno—Nº 221.

M. Y.S.

Hallandome en la Villa de Umata con el fin de proporcionar à la Fragata Paz quanto le fuese de necesidad para su mas prompta salida à las once de la mañana del día diez y seis del ultimo mes de Marzo, me dio parte uno de los dos Vigias del Cerro de Ylichu haver avistado un Buque de tres Palos con direccion al Pueblo de Merizo, y à las doce poco mas me bienieron à ber los dos Oficiales que tenia destinados para el reconocimiento de los Buques que devian recalar del Reyno de N. E. el uno en el Sitio llamado Jajayan, y el otro en la Ysla de Cocos, y me informaron ser la Corveta de Guerra de S.M. Catolica Luis XVIII y como à horas de las quatro sobre Bordos logró dar fondo, è inmediatamente su Comandante y Capitan de Fragata Mr. Don Luis de Freycinet me embio à su segundo, y Teniente de Navio Mr. Lamarche con la Credencial ò Pasaporte que manifestava poder con libertad arrivar à qualesquiera Puerto Español (de cuyo Documento incluyo à V.S. Copia Certificada señalada con el nº 1) haciendome presente à mas lo permitiese con urgencia, y proporcionase Alojamiento capaz para trasladar à el treinta y siete Yndividuos Enfermos de la mayor gravedad con el mal de Escorrupto [rather Escorvuto] y Calenturas intermitentes, y con separacion para un Cavallero Guardia ó aspirante, y el Capellan que tambien lo tiene del Rey, y Cavallero de la distinguida Orden de San Dionisio, y que estuviese advertido de que Abordo se hallavan exâusto de todo recurso de alimento, por lo que al rayar el siguiente día les mandè un abundante refresco, compuesto de una Res Bacuna, dos grandes Puercos, cincuenta Aves, algunos Pescados frescos, Leche, Huevos, y diversas Frutas, y Verduras, y à las ocho binò à berme el Comandante è hizo entender el obgeto de su Expedicion, que hera handar el Emisferio Austral en solicitud de nuevos descubrimientos; y que en esta Ysla,

*y si hera posible en la de Rota, y Tinian se proponian hacer barias observaciones Astronomicas, y adquirir quantos conocimientos fuesen dables del verdadero Ydioma de estos Naturales con los usos, y costumbres de la gentilidad, no omitiendo las del dia, como asimismo hacer Colectar algunas producciones, y preciosidades correspondientes à los tres Reynos, Animal, Vegetal, y Mineral, y al instante de haverse retirado à su Bordo, pasè à corresponderle la Visita, è hise entender de nuevo los deseos que me asistian de complacerle, y servirle en quando estuviese à mi alcance, y pendiese de mi autoridad, è inmediatamente dispuse que se desembarcaran los Enfermos los que à excepcion del Capellan, y Guardia que hace quedar en Casa fueron alojados en las Avitaciones del Convento, y con separacion los tres facultativos que los havian acompañado, y por p[re]dijo del primero auxiliador en cada un dia como diez y ocho Gallinas, una arrova de Carne fresca, beinte y quatro Huevos, ocho Botellas de Leche, Leña, Cocos, Frutas, y Berduras barias, y aun no havia medido media hora quando bolvio à berme con el fin de presentarme su Oficialidad Secretario Comisario, tres Fisicos, Naturalistas, y dos Pintores, y en la mañana del siguiente dia diez y ocho en la Lancha transbordaron porcion de Caxones de Ynstrumentos sin que los huviesen perdido de vista el Comandante, y Oficiales en consorcio de su Esposa Madama de Freycinet, joven de beinte y dos años de hedad de un parecer el mas brillante, y de una biveza, y talento singular, tanto que verificava por si sola toda observacion Astronomica, y en la proporcion que les presentó la Fragata **Paz** para dirigir con inmediacion à su Corte los trabajos que tenian executados mientras que su Marido los coordinava, y arreglava dictò al Secretario los Oficios para los Ministros, y otros Personages de Paris, el dia diez y nueve lo pasaron en celebrar el Patriarca Señor San José, y el beinte y dos en una primera Tienda de Campaña dieron principio à sus operaciones las que terminaron el beinte y siete, y haviedo embarcado en la mañana del beinte y ocho los Enfermos dieron Vela para fondear en la Caldera del Castillo de Santa Cruz de los Dolores lo que berificaron en la tarde del dia primero de Abril y el dos à excepcion de un Oficial que quedó para el cuidado del Buque pasaron todos à esta Ciudad en la qual fueron alojados, el Comandante, su Madama, Capellan, y Secretario en mi Casa, los Oficiales, Guardias, Comisario, Fisicos, y Pintores en la Casa Real llamada del Retiro, y los Enfermos en el Hospital, y al siguiente dia fuè convertido esta Casa en un verdadero observatorio, pues no havia avitacion en ella en que no se executasen distintas operaciones sientificas, y por separado en tres famosas tiendas de Campaña situadas en la Sotea [rather azotea], Jardin, y Huerta hasta las quatro de la madrugada sin intermision de obra, en aun los de precepto, de cuyo resultado, y de las que realizaron en la Villa de Umata por considerar puedan ser de algun valor à esa Comandancia de Marina acompaño à V.S. Copia indicada con el num^o 2 y no incluyo las que Verificaron de la Pendula de la intensidad magnetica, y las de las bariaciones de la Aguja magnetica porque les faltò tiempo para calcularlas en tierra, respecto haver sido terminadas al ponerse el Sol de la tarde vispera de su embarque.*

Mientras tanto hacian Comandante, y Oficialidad sus observaciones, los Fisicos, Naturalistas (sin desatender los Enfermos) Botanico, y un famoso Farmaceutico no de-

jaron lugar el regirando(?) diversas especies de tierras, Piedras, Caracoles, Conchas formando Analisis de cada una las que despues de bien preparadas fueron encaxonadas, con marravillosa diferencia de Aves, Peces, Mariscos, è insectos, pues ni aun los que ocurrían à la luz artificial estavan seguros de sus garras, omitiendo por no hacerme mas difuso el expresar lo mucho que en desempeño de sus deveres lavoraron los Pintores. Yndicarè(?) que logró lo que no hera facil, y si dificil de creer, y fuè el total, y ... restablecimiento de sus Enfermos, pues à su llegada conceptuaron los facultativos que con dificultad escaparian de morir el mayor numero de ellos, respecto la mucha devilidad y deplorable salud en que se hallavan, incluso el Capellan hombre de una corpulencia extraordinaria, y de hedad de sesenta y ocho años, pues para administrarle el alimento de Caldo con Bambilla hera indispensable le ayudasen à incorporar entre dos personas, y que se mantuviese asido con las dos manos de una cuerda pendiente del techo; yo voy à concluir con dar à V.S. esta breve razon de quales fuertes los auxilios que facilitè al Comandante.

*Con la ocacion de haver llegado de las Yslas Carolinas del Sur siete Bancas con sus mismas tripulaciones se las proporcionè, para que mandase hacer la Expedicion à las de Rota y Tinian, y haviendo pasado à ellas un Cavallero Guardia, un Naturalista, el primer Pintor, y Farmaceutico, con otros dos Franceses excelentes tiradores, logro haviesen hecho nuevos acopios con mas que levantaron Planos, Perfìles, y Elevaciones de distintos Edificios de la gentilidad, Tambien mandè hacer y proporcionè para que lleven con todo lo necesario una Banca semejante à la de los Yndios Carolinos capaz de resistir y Navegar con quatro personas: Distintas piezas de Herramientas conforme con las que exeutan sus lavores estos naturales y de las mismas de piedra con que los verificavan los antiguos, con barios ropages con parecer à los que usavan en aquellos tiempos, y **copia del Diccionario de su verdadero Ydioma**, sin que huviese defecto en esta Ciudad y Pueblos persona reservada de las que considerè capaces de poderle dar algunas hideas à cerca de sus costumbres, incluso el Sargento Mayor del qual como mejor Orientado en èllas, en espacio de mas de un mes, y en quatro ò cinco horas en cada noche, sugeto à un interrogatorio el mas latò de preguntas y repreguntas, logró haver hecho sus apuntaciones, y sacar el partido que deseava, como asi mismo barios apuntes y noticias de la situacion de las Yslas Carolinas y costumbres de sus Avitantes, por haverle proporcionado Ynterpretes, y al Capitan ó Tamon llamado **Protar Gefè** de las expresadas siete Bancas, è igualmente le facilitè Tablas y mandè hacer treinta y nueve Caxones de barias proporciones, haviendo sido el uno de ellas de un tamaño desmedido y asi se acomodò en èl con todos sus necesarios la expresada Banca Carolina, y pusè en la Popa de la Corveta, y como no le huviese sido facil al referido Comandante el poder contar con ninguno de los de su Tripulacion inclusos los Oficiales de Mar ni aun para equifàr [=esquifàr? equipar?] unas Embarcaciones menores, pues en el instante de pizar tierra le desertavan y muchos desde su Bordo hechandose al agua lo verificavan, y se havia demasiado dificil su aprencion por la geograafia de los Montes, y quebradas, desde los primeros dias de su arrivo hasta el momento mismo de dar la Vela me vi precisado à facilitarle quantos auxilios de Gentes le fueron de necesidad para*

tripular sus Embarcaciones menores, y la Lancha que fuè de la Fragata Naufragada, con el fin de embarcar y desembarcar los Equipages y Enfermos, hacer Aguada, Leña, y otras atenciones indispensables, no habiendo sido menos el numero que le proporcionè en tierra para el logro de las adquisiciones que llevo dicho [q.] hicieron y otra multitud de ocurrencias de diario que si fuera à detallar las me haria demasiado molesto; Y por lo que respecto à los que existieron Abordo quanto les fuè preciso y pedieron(?) menester asi como no les faltò lo mas leve y conforme con lo que dictaron los facultativos à los Enfermos, y convalecientes, no dejandoles que desear en mi Mesa al Comandante, su Madama[,] Oficialidad, Guardias, Capellan, Comisario, Secretario, Fisicos, y primer Pintor; y para hacer la travecia à las Yslas de San Duwich [sic] Navegacion de dos y medio à tres meses quando mas le hice poner un Rancho para la Tripulacion capaz de resistir hasta seis, no habiendo sido menos abundante, y hecho con otra delicadeza, el que destinado para su Servicio, Madama, y Capellan fuè conforme con la Relacion que con el mayor respeto acompaño señalada con el numº 3; No deviendo omitir que al segundo dia de haver arribado, en presencia de su Comprador ò Comisario nos hizo presente tuviese à bien nombrar una persona de toda satisfaccion para que llevase Cuenta exacta de quanto le hiciese proporcionar paara Via de auxilio, y que al fin me daria libramente de su importe contra las Reales Caxas principales de Paris, pues se hallava sin numerario para poder realizar el pago de contado, y pocos dias antes de su partida, me envio el citado Comisario con el fin de que la hiciese manifestar la indicada cuenta para verificar el Documento, y como le huviese contextado de que à su Bordo en el dia de dar la Vela se le haria presente se retirò, y al poco rato bolviò acompañado con el expresado Comandante à el que habiendome hablado sobre el particular le hice entender, que los auxilios administrados en los dos meses, y quince dias que llevaba de estar en la Ysla, como los demas que le fueran precisos en el tiempo que huviese de permanecer en ella no tenian otra remuneracion mas que la satisfacion que me asistia de haverla complacido en obsequio à la Expedicion por el mejor servicio del Rey, me insto sobre manera en el asunto, bolviò à visitar, y biendo que no accedia à sus ideas me abrazò y diò las mas expresivas gracias, y habiendo pasado à sus avitaciones como à los tres quartos de hora me mandò por el Secretario una Carta de gracias la que he hecho traducir è incluyo Copia señalada con el numº 4 por tener el honor de que si V.S. lo tiene à vien se instruya de su contenido, y con el mismo obgeto acompaño con los numeros 5, y 6 Copia del Rol que manifiesta con individualidad las Personas con que fuè armada y que existian en la enumerada Corveta, y razon circunstanciada de los Puertos y demas parages en que estuvo, y en los que tenia que estar antes de arribar à el de su procedencia.

No omitirè el hacer presente à V.S. que como no huviese llegado à estas Yslas ninguno de los encargados de la Comicion Filantropica destinada à America por S.M. para la propagacion del precioso fluido Bacuno; y lo huviesen trahido en vidrios los indicados Fisicos, hice que entre dias selo inyeciesen à cien Yndividuos, pero fuè tal la disgracia de estos Asistidos que no prendiò en ninguno por desvigoritado, respecto el dilatado tiempo de dos años que tenia, ni tampoco tuvieron la suerte de que les hubiese

prendido à estos el Pus natural de distintas Bacas que hice traer para el intento. Todo lo que me ha parecido propio de mi dever poner en la alta concideracion de V.S. para su Superior inteligencia.

Nuestro Señor Guarde la importante vida y Salud de V.S. los mas felices años.

San Ygnacio de Agaña en las Yslas Marianas, y Julio 3 de 1819.

M. Y.S.

Josè de Medinilla y Pineda.

[A1] M. Y.S. Governador, y Capitan General de las Yslas Filipinas.

Nº 1.

*Muy Señor mio: Tengo el honor de participar à V.S. en contextacion à su Nota de diez y nueve del Corriente, que el Rey mi Amo, propenso siempre à contribuir con quantos auxilios esten de su parte al mayor adelantamiento de las Ciencias, hà mandado con esta fecha à sus Secretarios del Despacho de la Guerra, y de Marina que Circulen las Ordenes convenientes à todos los Capitanes Generales, Governadores, y Comandantes Militares de Puertos en sus Dominios, y en particular à los de las Yslas Filipinas, y Costas Ocidentales, y Meridionales de la America Española, para que à Monsieur Luis de Freycinet, Capitan de Fragata, y Comisionado por S.M. Cristianisima, para un Viage de Circum Navegacion, en la Corveta **la Uranie** de quinientas toneladas y cien Hombres de Tripulacion, cuyo obgeto ès medir la Configuracion del Hemispherio Austral, y observar tanto la inclinacion ò declinacion de la Abuja de marear, como la intencidad de las fuerzas magnetica[s], se le franqueen los Viveres, y Socorros que necesite su Buque, y Tripulacion en caso de arrivada à Cualesquiera Puerto de sus Dominios, y sele proveen los demas auxilios relativos à las observaciones Astronomicas, Sientificas de que và encargado. Pongo en noticia de V.S. esta Soverana resolucion, la qual se servirà trasladar à Mr. Freycinet para que presentandose con ella en Cualquiera Puerto de S.M. Catolica pueda ser bien admitido.*

Aprovecho esta oportunidad para reiterar à V.S. las seguridades de mi particular estimacion.

Dios Guarde à V.S. muchos años.

Palacio 26 de Enero de 1817.

Besa la Mano de V.S. su mas àtento, y Seguro Servidor.

Josè Pizarro.

[A1] Señor encargado de Negocios de Francia.

Nº 2.

*Observaciones hechas en la Villa de Umata por el Comandante, y Oficiales de la Corveta de Guerra de nacion Francesa nombrada **la Urania**.*

Desde el 22 al 27 de Marzo de 1819.

Ynclinacion de la aguja magnetica:

19°31'20"

Declinacion del Norte al Este:

2°22'13"

Latitud hallada por dos alturas, y tomadas cerca del meridiano:

13°17'58" norte

Observaciones hechas en la Ciudad de San Ygnacio de Agaña.

Desde el 4 de Abril al 20 de Mayo.

Latitud observada en el Palacio por alturas meridianas de Estrellas: 13°27'43" norte

Ynclinacion de la aguja: 12°38'40"

Declinacion del Norte al Este: 4°28'30'

Las observaciones meteorologicas fueron hechas del 7 al 18 de Mayo[:] el grado mas alto del Barometro durante este tiempo fuè à 764.43. millimetros, y el menos alto à 760.3.

El thermometro de cientos grados expuesto al ayre libre fuè hasta 34°3 y nunca fuè mas baxo que 24.2 expuesto à los rayos del Sol fuè à 37 en el mas grande Calor, el Trigonometro [rather higrometro] era de cientos grados nunca fuè mas baxo que 68 Pero en cada noche enseño siempre la excesiva humedad.

Las observaciones de la Pendula de la intensidad magnetica y de las variaciones de la aguja magnetica no se expresa el resultado de ellas, por no haver tenido tiempo para formar el calculo, respecto no haverlas terminado al ponerse el Sol de la tarde vispera de su embarque.

San Ygnacio de Agaña, y Julio 3 de 1819.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

Nº 3.

Razon que manifiesta el Rancho destinado para el servicio de la Camara del Comandante, su Esposa, y Capellan de la Corveta Urania, para hacer la Travesia à las Yslas de San Duwich, y ès, A saver:

Dos Caxones con barias especies de Pescados secos, y peso de quinze Arrovas, diez libras.

Dos Zurrones de Carne de Baca hecha Tapa.

Una Quarterola de Carne de Yd. en Salmuera sin hueso con el peso de diez, y ocho Arrovas, ocho libras.

Una Yd. de Pescado en Yd. con peso de diez, y siete Arrovas, doce libras.

Dos Barriles de Tozino.

Tres Yd. de Carne de Puerco sin hueso en Salmuera.

Dos Yd. de Gallinas en Manteca.

Uno Yd. en Yd. de Palomas.

Dos Yd. de Escaveche de Mañana.

Uno Yd. en Yd. de Tiao.

Uno Yd. en Yd. de Lisas, y otros Pescados.

Uno Yd. de Lomos de Puerco en Adovo.

Uno Yd. de Carne de Yd. frita.

Uno Yd. con Azaduras de Yd. en manteca.

Un Tibor con Yd. Yd.

Una Tinaja de manteca.

Quatro Puercos para Yd.

Doscientas Gallinas.

Veinte, y cinco Capones.

Trece Patos.

Doce Lechoncitos.

Una Tinaja de Azucar.

Una Yd. de Pan Tostado de Manila.

Una Yd. de Sidroas(?) Cubiertas.

Una Yd. de Soletas(?)

Un Tibor grande con dulce de Limoncitos de China.

Uno Yd. Yd. de Rima.

Un Caxon con Rosquetes de Gaugao.

Seis Gantas de Cafè de Manila.

Doscientos Bollos de Chocolate.

Quatrocientos Huevos.

Seis Tinajas de Gaugao.

Ocho Cavanos de Maiz.

Doscientas Nicas.

Frutas, y Verduras barías.

Don Cabras con sus Crias.

Quatro Tinajas, y dos Gorgonetas para Agua.

San Ygnacio de Agaña, y Julio 3 de 1819.

Josè de Medinilla, y Pineda.

Nº 4.

Señor Governador.

Permitame Vmd. que le manifiesta la exposicion de mi sincera gratitud, por lo amable, y distinguida manera con la qual acogió Vmd. cada una de las personas de mi Expedicion en particular, y à la Expedicion misma; En ninguna parte de los Puertos donde fuimos hemos recibido un tan lisongero acogimiento, en ninguna parte hemos hallado tanta facilidad para la execucion de nuestras labores, en ninguna parte en fin hemos conocido un desinteres tan grande y tan perfecto, tantas bondades enternecen è inspiran à nosotros los sentimientos del mas bive reconocimiento, ès bien dulce para mi el ofrecer à Vmd. el Omenage de ellos, tanto en mi nombre quanto en el de mi Oficialidad, y Tripulacion.

*Me apresurarè de Escribir por la primera ocasion que seme presente al Ministro de la Marina en Francia para hacerle conocer todo lo que deve mi Expedicion à la generosa solicitud de Vmd., y expresarle lo que hizo Vmd. por el restablecimiento de nuestros Enfermos y el abastecimiento de la Corveta **Urania** sin querer absolutamente aceptar la menor retribucion[.] direlo las activas eficaces diligencias que practico Vmd. para facilitar nuestras Cientificas pesquizas, no solo sobre la Ysla de Guajan, sino tambien sobre la de Rota, y Tinian, Suplicare à su Excelencia que tenga la bondad de hacer parte al Gobierno Español de una Conducta tan loable como generosa à la Expedicion de la **Urania**.*

Requiero de Vmd. Señor Gobernador que agrade los Votos que fueren por su dicha, y prosperidad, y puede contar con todo mi reconocimiento, y la invariable afición que alcanzo à Vmd.

Agaña, y Julio primero de mil ochocientos, diez y nueve.

*Tengo el honor de ser Señor Gobernador de Vmd. el mas humilde, y ovediente Ser-
vidor.*

*Luis de Freycinet Capitan de Fragata, y Comandante de la Corveta **Urania** arma-
da en descubierta.*

A Monsieur Don José de Medinilla, y Pineda, Gobernador de Yslas Marianas.

Nº 5.

*Rol de los Oficiales de Plana Mayor, y Tripulacion que lleva à su Bordo la Corveta
de Guerra nombrada **la Urania** de S.M. Católica Luis XVIII haciendo un Viage de
Circum-navegacion.*

Oficiales & Criados

Comandante y Capitan de Fragata Mr. Don Luis de Freycinet, Cavallero

de la Real, y Militar Orden de San Luis, y de la Legion de honor, flor de Lis. 1

Sus Sirvientes.

Forniel, Pierre, y Antoine 3

Segundo Comandante Mr. Lamarche, Teniente de Navio, y Cavallero de la

Legion de honor 1 & 0

3er Comandante Mr. Labiche, Murio en ultima Travecia à fines de Enero de 819 1 & 0

Mr. Duperry, Alférez de Navio 1 & 0

Mr. Laborde Alférez de Navio, murio en ls Travecia del Rio Geneyro al Cavo

de Buena Esperanza en Febrero de 818 1 & 0

Guardias Marinas ò Aspirantes de primera Clase

Mr. Fabre, Mr. Guerin, Mr. Railliard, Mr. Berard, Mr. Pellion, Mr. Ferrand,

*Mr. Dubaud: Mr Prat Bernon, Murio en la Travesia de Tolon à Gibraltar el
10 de Octubre de 817: 8 & 0*

Capellan, y de la Capilla del Rey Mr. Quelen, Cavallero de la distinguida Orden

de San Dionisio: Su criado Miguel: 1 & 1

Comisario Mr. Requin. Su Criado Baltazar: 1 & 1

Secretario Mr. Gabert 1 & 0

Primer Fisico, y Naturalista, Mr. Quoy 1 & 0

Segundo Yd. Mr. Gaimard 1 & 0

Tercer Yd. Mr. Gaudichaud 1 & 0

Primer Pintor: Mr. Aragon [sic] 1 & 0

Segundo Yd. Mr. Tonetel(?) 1 & 0

Boticario: Mr. Guemard(?) 1 & 0

Primer Contramestre: Mr. B....(?), Cavallero de la Legion de honor 1 & 0

Segundo Yd. Fougue 1 & 0

Condestable: Rolland 1 & 0

<i>Ynterprete: Vicente</i>	1 & 0
<i>Primer Calafate: Baltazar</i>	1 & 0
<i>Segundo Yd. Senes</i>	1 & 0
<i>Primer Carpintero: Boutin</i>	1 & 0
<i>Segundo Yd. Beringuier</i>	1 & 0
<i>Primer Maestro de Velas: Chautard</i>	1 & 0
<i>Segundo Yd. Guirand</i>	1 & 0
<i>Primer Cerrugero: Lerat</i>	1 & 0
<i>Segundo Yd. Francisquin</i>	1 & 0
<i>Calderero: Sivara</i>	1 & 0
<i>Maestro Albañil: Amiel</i>	1 & 0
<i>Primer Maestro de Viveres: Taseyre</i>	1 & 0
<i>Segundo Yd.: Guineux</i>	1 & 0
<i>Cosinero del Comandante: Ruiz</i>	1 & 0
<i>Repostero de Yd.: Bori</i>	1 & 0
<i>Cosinero de la Oficialidad: Rolando</i>	1 & 0
<i>Timoneles</i>	
<i>Adan, Fournier, Anderson, José Audier(?)</i>	4 & 0
<i>Marineros</i>	
<i>Los mas de estos Soldados de la Guardia que se nombró imperial con Uniforme, y el distintivo de dos Ginetes:</i>	57 & 0
	---- ----
<i>Suma Total:</i>	132 & 5
	---- ---
<i>Esposa del Comandante Madama Doña Rosa Pinon, natural de Paris</i>	1
<i>Sobrino de Yd. Don Carlos Freycinet</i>	1

<i>Total:</i>	2

*San Ygnacio de Agaña, y Julio 3 de 1819.
José de Medinilla, y Pineda.*

Translation.

Superior Government—N° 221.

Illustrious Sir:

As I was in the Town of Umatac for the purpose of looking after the needs of the frigate **Paz** for her quick departure at 11 a.m. of the 16th of March last, one of the two lookouts posted on top of Ilichu Hill reported to me that he had seen a three-masted ship heading for the Town of Merizo. At about noon, the two officers that are assigned to intercept any ship coming from the Kingdom of New Spain, one posted at a place called Jajayan, and the other on Cocos Island, came to see me and reported that it was the war corvette of His Catholic Majesty Louis XVIII. At about 4 p.m., after many tacks, she succeeded in anchoring. Immediately, her Commander, Navy Commander Louis de Freycinet, sent me his Mate, Navy Lieutenant Lamarche, with the credential or passport that showed that they could freely stop at any Spanish port (enclosed please find a certified copy of this document, marked as N° 1). He reported to me that there were 37 individuals on board very seriously sick with the scurvy and intermittent fevers, who needed urgent transfer ashore, and he requested to be given a suitable building to lodge them, plus separate accommodations for a gentleman cadet officer, and the Chaplain who was also Chaplain to the King and Knight of the distinguished Order of Saint-Denis. He also told me that they were out of food on board. That is why, at daybreak of the next day I sent them an abundant refreshment, consisting of one cow, two large pigs, 50 chickens, some fresh fish, milk, eggs, and various fruits and vegetables. At 8 a.m., the Commander came to see me and made me understand the objective of his Expedition, which was to sail through the Southern Hemisphere looking for new discoveries, and he wished to make various astronomical observations in this Island, and possibly in Rota and Tinian as well, to acquire as much information as possible about the true language of these natives, their customs, old and new, and to collect some local products and curiosities belonging to the three kingdoms, animal, vegetal and mineral. As soon as he had returned on board his ship, I returned his visit, and made him understand once more that it was my wish to please him and serve him as best I could, with everything in my power, and I immediately arranged for them to disembark their sick who, with the exception of the Chaplain and Cadet officer whom I took home, were lodged in the rooms of the Convent, with a separate room for the three physicians who looked after them. By request of the head physician, they were provided every day with 18 chickens, 1 arroba of fresh meat, 24 eggs, 8 bottles of milk, firewood, coconuts, various fruits and vegetables. Not even one hour had elapsed when he returned my visit and presented me his officers, his secretary, his supercargo, three physicians and naturalists, and two painters.

In the morning of the next day, the 18th, their launch brought ashore part of the crates of instruments, while the Commander and officers did not lose sight of them, in conjunction with his wife, Madame de Freycinet, a young woman of 22, seemingly very intelligent and so lively and talented that she carried out all the astronomical observations by herself. She welcomed the opportunity presented by the imminent departure

of the frigate **Paz** to send a letter to Paris regarding the tasks that they had already performed.¹ Meanwhile her husband was coordinating them all, he dictated to his secretary the letters for the Ministers, and other important persons in Paris.

They spent the 19th celebrating the feast-day of St. Joseph, and on the 22nd, they set up the first field tent where they began their operations, which they finished on the 27th. In the morning of the 28th, having embarked the sick, they sailed for the inner basin of Fort Santa Cruz de los Dolores [i.e. Apra Harbor]. They made it in the afternoon of April 1st, and on the 2nd, except for one officer who remained on board to take care of the ship, they all came to this City, where they were given lodgings. The Commander, his Madame, the Chaplain, and the Secretary were lodged in my House; the officers, midshipmen, supercargo, physicians and painters were put in the Royal House called "del Retiro."² The sick were placed in the hospital.

The next day, my house was converted into a true observatory; indeed, there were no rooms in which there were no distinctive scientific operations going on. In addition, on my roof terrace, in the garden proper, and even in the vegetable garden, there was work going on at all hours of the day and until the early morning hours, even on holidays. Some of their early results, here and those carried out in the Town of Umatac, given that they might be considered of some value to our Naval Headquarters overthere, I enclose for Y.L. a copy marked N° 2, but I am not sending the results of their experiments with the pendulum on magnetic intensity, nor those of the variations of the magnetic needle, because they did not have the time to finish their calculations while ashore; indeed, they finished their work only at sunset on the eve of their departure.

While the Commander and officers were making their observations, the physicians/naturalists (while still attending the sick), the botanist, and a famous pharmacologist, did not stop collecting various species of earths, stones, snails, shells, which they kept analyzing one at a time and which, after some careful preparation, were put into crates separately, some for birds, others for fish, shell-fish, and insects. In fact, not only daytime insects but those that exist in artificial light were not free from their reach. I omit, so as not to be too prolix, the description of the huge amount of work done by the painters. I will only mention something that was not an easy thing to believe; it was the total recuperation of the sick; indeed, at their arrival, the physicians thought that the majority of them would die, given their great weakness and the deplorable condition of their health, including that of the Chaplain, a man of an extraordinary corpulence, about 68 years old. In fact, to make him eat his broth through a tube, two persons had to prop him up in a sitting position, while he maintained himself in that position with both hands holding a cord hanging from the ceiling. I am going to conclude by giving Y.L. a brief list of the many types of assistance that I provided to the Commander.

Seven canoes having arrived from the south, from the Caroline Islands, along with their crews, I requisitioned them and sent them on an expedition to the Islands of Rota

1 Ed. note: This frigate was also headed eastward, to New Spain (see Doc. 1812C).

2 Ed. note: Or Garden House, near the so-called Palace of the Governor.

and Tinian. A gentleman Midshipman, a naturalist, the first painter, and the pharmacologist, with two other Frenchmen who were excellent marksmen, went along and returned with new collections, plus many drawings, plan and profile views of various native buildings. I also ordered the building of a canoe similar to those of the Caroline Indians, with all its accessories, able to sail and resist the sea and to hold four persons; I gave it to them. I also gave them various specimens of iron tools used by the natives to carry out their labors, and others made of stone that their ancestors used, with various clothes that may have been used in former days, plus **a copy of the Dictionary of their true language**.¹ There was not a single knowledgeable person to be found in this City and Town who was not consulted about their customs, including the Sergeant-Major of this Garrison,² the best scholar on that subject, was interviewed during the space of one month, at the rate of 4 to 5 hours every evening, subjected to a series of questions, and repetitionsonsHe³ managed to make many notes, and get the information that he was after. He also made inquiries and notes on the situation of the Caroline Islands, the customs of their inhabitants, since I provided him some interpreters, and the Captain or Tamon, named **Protar**, chief of the above-mentioned seven canoes. I also arranged for, and provided the boards, in sufficient quantity, to built 39 crates of various sizes [to pack their collections]. One crate was of an extraordinary size, because it contained the above-said Carolinian canoe with all of its accessories, which I then ordered placed in the poop of the corvette. Since it was nearly impossible for the above-mentioned Commander to rely on any of his crewmen, including the sea officers, not even to man the boats, I found it necessary, from the moment of their arrival until they set sail to leave, to provide as many men as he needed to man his boats, and our launch that had belonged to the shipwrecked frigate, to load and unload the crew and the sick, to replace the water and firewood, and the other indispensable chores; indeed, as soon as they arrived, some of his men had deserted upon stepping ashore, and others had simply jumped overboard, and their capture was difficult, on account of the ruggedness of the hills and ravines. The number of services that I provided them ashore were no fewer, for the acquisitions that they made, as I have already mentioned, and for a multitude of daily occurrences which would be too boring to mention in detail. As far as those who remained aboard were concerned, they received as much as they needed, and asked for. In addition, anything that the physicians asked for the sick and convalescent, they got. The others received plenty at my table, the Commander, his Madame, the officers, midshipmen, chaplain, supercargo, secretary, physicians, and first painter. And, to make their crossing to the Sandwich Islands, a voyage of 2-1/2 to 3 months, I had enough food supplies placed on board to last the crew up to six months. For the table of the Commander, his Madame, and the Chaplain, I provided a more abundant

1 Ed. note: Emphasis mine. This could have been a copy of the lexicon that Father Coomans had made. What happened to those artifacts? Would they still be stored somewhere in Paris, perhaps in the Museum of Man?

2 Ed. note: Major Luis Torres.

3 Ed. note: He refers to Freycinet (see Doc. 1819D).

supply, with a greater variety, in accordance with the list which I enclose, with due respect, marked N° 3.

I should not omit that, on the second day after their arrival, in the presence of their Supercargo, whom the Commander appointed, as a person of all satisfaction, to make an exact record of whatever was provided them by way of succor, and said that at the end he would willingly pay their value, by giving me a letter of credit against the main Royal accounts in Paris; indeed, he had no more cash available. A few days before his departure, he sent me the above-mentioned Supercargo to ask me to look over the accounts so that the document could be verified. As I told him that I would present my note on board on the day of their sailing, he went away, but soon returned with the Commander. After talking over the matter for a while, I let him understand that the assistance provided during the two months and fifteen days of their stay in the Islands, as well as the others yet to be provided for the remainder of their stay, did not need to be rewarded by anything other than the satisfaction that I had of having pleased the Expedition, for the greater service of the King. He urged me to reconsider, made me another visit to insist, but, seeing that his ideas were not accepted, he finally embraced me and gave me the most expressive thanks. Then, he went to his quarters. About three-quarters of an hour later, he sent me a letter of thanks through his Secretary; I have had it translated, and enclose it, marked N° 4, in case Y.L. may wish to check its contents. Likewise, I have enclosed, marked N° 5 and N° 6, a copy of the detailed list of the individuals who were then serving aboard the corvette, and a detailed list of the ports and other neighborhoods visited, as well as those they planned to visit on their way home.

I will not omit to report to Y.L. that, as none of the persons hired by the Philanthropic Commission sent to America by H.M. for the propagation of precious vaccines against smallpox came to these Islands, and as the above-mentioned physicians had brought it along in glass tubes, I arranged for them to give injections to 100 individuals, but it was a misfortune for all of them that the vaccine did not catch in any of them, as it had lost its strength; indeed, they had held the vaccine for more than two years. Another experiment was also tried with various local cows, but their natural pus had no effect on the people either. All of which it seemed to me appropriate to bring to the attention of Y.L. for your superior intelligence.

May our Lord save the important life and health of Y.L. for many more happy years.
San Ignacio de Agaña in the Mariana Islands, 3 July 1819.

Illustrious Sir.

José de Medinilla y Pineda

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

N° 1.

Dear Sir:

In answer to your Note of the 19th instant, I have the honor to report to Y.L. that the King my Lord, forever eager to contribute as much as he can to the development of

the sciences, has today ordered his Secretaries in the Army and Navy Headquarters to circulate the appropriate orders to all the Captains General, Governors, and Military Commanders of the ports in his Dominions, and specially those in the Philippine Islands, and along the west and south coasts of Spanish America, for them to assist Monsieur Louis de Freycinet, Navy Commander commissioned by His most Christian Majesty to perform a voyage of circumnavigation, with the corvette **Uranie** of 500 tons and 100 crewmen, whose objective is to measure the configuration of the Southern Hemisphere, and observe the inclination and declination of the magnetic needle, as well as the intensity of the magnetic forces. The food and succors needed by his ship are to be provided to him, and his crew, whenever they visit any port of his Dominions, and they are to be provided the other assistance regarding the astronomical and scientific observations that they have to carry out. I advise Y.L. about this sovereign decision, which you will please transmit to Mr. Freycinet, so that he may present same in any port of His Catholic Majesty and be well received.

I take this opportunity to reiterate to Y.L. that I remain, sincerely yours.

May God save Y.L. for many years.

Palace, 26 January 1817.

The most devoted servant of Y.L. who kisses your hand,
José Pizarro

Nº 2.

Observations made at the Town of Umatac by the Commander and the officers of the French war corvette named **Uranie**.

From 22 to 27 March 1819.

Inclination of the magnetic needle:	19°31'20"
Declination from North to East:	2°22'13"
Latitude observed twice, and taken near midday:	13°17'58" norte

Observations made in the City of San Ignacio de Agaña.

From 4 April to 20 May.

Latitude observed in the Palace by noon altitudes of the stars:	13°27'43" North.
Inclination of the needle:	12°38'40"
Declination from North to East:	4°28'30'

Meteorological observations were carried out from 7 to 18 May: the highest barometer reading recorded during this period was à 764.43. millimetros, y the minimum was 760.3.

The 100-degree thermometer exposed to freely-moving air rose to a maximum of 34°3 and never went below 24°2. When exposed to the sun, it rose to 37 on the warmest day. As for the 100-degree hygrometer, it never went below 68, but at night it always showed an excessive humidity.

The observations of the pendulum on magnetic intensity and those on the variations of the magnetic needle are not reproduced here, because there was no time to finish their calculations, since they were not finished until sunset on the eve of their departure.

San Ignacio de Agaña, 3 July 1819.

Josè de Medinilla y Pineda

Nº 3.

List of the food supplies meant for the table of the Commander, his wife, and Chaplain of the corvette **Uranie**, to make the crossing to the Sandwich Islands, to wit:

- 2 crates with various species of dry fish, weighing 15 arrobas and 10 pounds.
- 2 pouches of dried, or jerked, beef.
- 1 quarter-cask of salted beef, boneless, weighing 18 arrobas and 8 pounds.
- 2 barrels of bacon.
- 3 barrels of salted pork, boneless.
- 2 barrels of chicken meat, in lard.
- 1 barrel of turtle dove meat, in lard.
- 2 barrels of pickled *Mañahfak* [rabbit-fish].
- 1 barrel of pickled *Tiao* [goat-fish].
- 1 barrel of pickled mullets, and other fish.
- 1 barrel of pork, pickled loins.
- 1 barrel of pork, fried.
- 1 barrel of pork entrails, in lard.
- 1 large jar of idem.
- 1 jar of lard.
- 4 pigs for idem [i.e. fat pigs].
- 200 chickens.
- 25 capons.
- 13 ducks.
- 12 piglets.
- 1 jar of sugar.
- 1 jar of Manila toasted bread.
- 1 jar of covered *Sidroas(?)*.¹
- 1 jar of *Soletas(?)*.²
- 1 very large jar with candy made from the fruits of the bush called *Limoncito de China*.
- 1 very large jar of breadfruit.
- 1 crate of arrowroot biscuits.
- 6 gantas of Manila coffee.

1 Ed. note: Cannot be identified.

2 Ed. note: Cannot be properly identified. A food item called by a word that normally means a piece of cloth used to mend the soles of socks or stockings.

- 200 chocolate bars.
 - 400 eggs.
 - 6 jars of arrowroot.
 - 8 cabans of corn.
 - 200 *Nica* roots.
 - Various fruits and vegetables.
 - 2 she-goats with their kids.
 - 4 jars and 2 goblets for water.¹
- San Ignacio de Agaña, 3 July 1819.
José de Medinilla y Pineda

Nº 4.

My dear Governor:

Allow me to express my sincere gratitude for the kind and distinguished manner with which Your Grace has welcomed every member of my Expedition, and the Expedition itself. In no other port were we received in such a pleasing manner, nowhere else did we find so much assistance to carry out our tasks, nowhere else indeed did we find such a great and perfect disinterestedness. So much kindness has moved us, and excited in us the most lively feelings of gratitude. Indeed, it is a very sweet duty for me to offer to Your Grace the expressions of these feelings, not only in my name, but also on behalf of my officers and crew.

As soon as I get a chance, I will write to the Minister of the Navy in France to let him know of everything that my Expedition owes to the generous attentions of Your Grace, and to express to him what Your Grace has done for the recuperation of our sick men and the supplies of the corvette **Uranie**, having refused absolutely to accept any compensation. It will be my pleasure to recount how diligent Your Grace was in helping us carry out our scientific researches, not only in the Island of Guam, but also in the Islands of Rota and Tinian. I will beg His Excellency to be so kind as to report to the Spanish Government such a praiseworthy and generous conduct toward the **Uranie** Expedition.

My dear Governor, I beg Your Grace to please accept my best wishes for your happiness and prosperity, and you may count on the sincere gratitude, and enduring affection that I hold toward Your Grace.

Agaña, 1 July 1819.

I have the honor to be, my Dear Governor, the humblest and most obedient servant of Your Grace,

Louis de Freycinet, Navy Commander, and Commander of the corvette **Uranie**, on a voyage of discovery.

To Monsieur José de Medinilla y Pineda, Governor of the Mariana Islands.

¹ Ed. note: Not food items but earthenware utensils.

N° 5.

List of the staff officers, and of the crew, aboard the war corvette named **Uranie**, belonging to His Catholic Majesty Louis XVIII, on a voyage of circumnavigation.

Officers and their servants.

Commander, Navy Commander Mr. Louis de Freycinet, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of Saint-Louis, and of the Légion d'honneur, Fleur-de-Lys. 1

His servants.

Forniel, Pierre, y Antoine	3
Second Officer, Mr. Lamarche, Lieutenant, and Knight of the Légion d'honneur	1 & 0
Third Officer, Mr. Labiche, died during the last crossing, end of January 1819	1 & 0
Mr. Duperrey, Midshipman ¹	1 & 0
Mr. Laborde, Midshipman, died during the crossing from Rio de Janeiro to the Cape of Good Hope in February 1818	1 & 0
Officer cadets, or volunteers.	
Mr. Fabre, Mr. Guérin, Mr. Railliard, Mr. Bérard, Mr. Pellion, Mr. Ferrand, Mr. Dubaud; Mr. Prat Bernon, died during the crossing from Toulon to Gibraltar, on 10 October 1817:	8 & 0
Ship Chaplain, and Chaplain of the King's Chapel, Mr. Quélen, Knight of the distinguished Order of Saint-Denis; his servant Michel:	1 & 1
Supercargo, Mr. Requin; his servant Balthasar:	1 & 1
Secretary, Mr. Gabert	1 & 0
First physician and naturalist, Mr. Quoy	1 & 0
Second id., Mr. Gaimard	1 & 0
Third id., Mr. Gaudichaud	1 & 0
First painter, Mr. Arago	1 & 0
Second id., Mr. Tonetel(?)	1 & 0
Pharmacist, Mr. Guémard	1 & 0
First Boatswain, Mr. B....(?), Knight of the Légion d'honneur	1 & 0
Second id., Fougue	1 & 0
Master gunner, Rolland	1 & 0
Interpreter, Vincent	1 & 0
First caulker, Balthasar	1 & 0
Second id., Senes	1 & 0
First ship carpenter, Boutin	1 & 0
Second id., Bérenger	1 & 0
First sailmaker, Chautard	1 & 0
Second id., Guirand	1 & 0

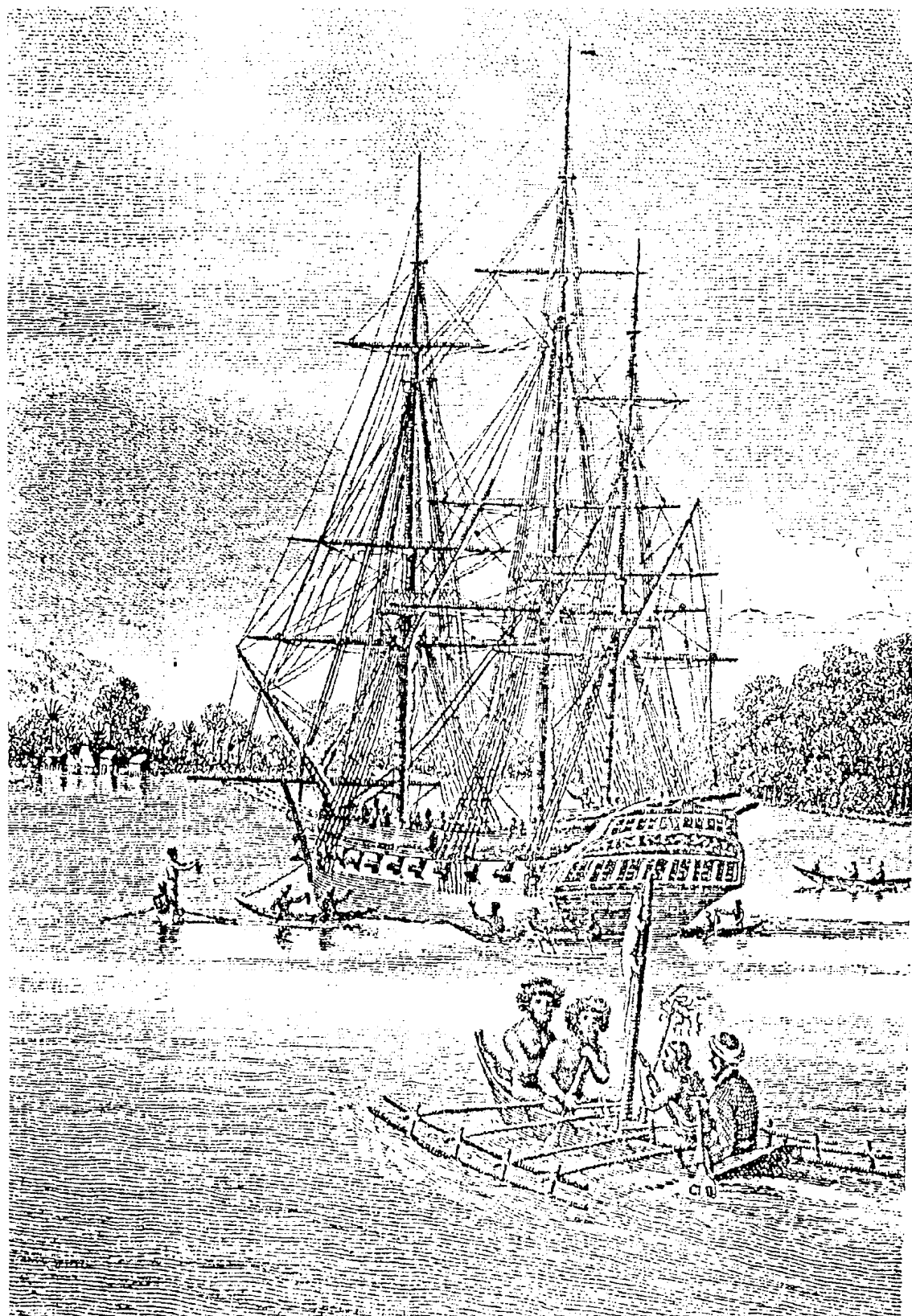
1 Ed. note: Six years later, Duperrey was to return to Guam in charge of his own expedition.

First locksmith, Lerat	1 & 0
Second id., Francisquin	1 & 0
Tinsmith, Sivara	1 & 0
Master mason [sic], ¹ Amiel	1 & 0
First Steward, Taseyre	1 & 0
Second id., Guineux	1 & 0
Commander's chef, Ruiz	1 & 0
Commander's dessert maker, Boris	1 & 0
Officers' cook, Roland	1 & 0
Helmsmen.	
Adam, Fournier, Anderson, ² José Audier(?)	4 & 0
Marines.	
These soldiers belonged to the Imperial Guard and carried uniforms with badges showing two mounted horsemen:	57 & 0
	---- ----
Total:	132 & 5
	---- ---
Wife of the Commander, Madame Rose Pinon, a native of Paris	1
Nephew of id., Mr. Charles Freycinet	1

Total:	2

San Ignacio de Agaña, 3 July 1819.
 José de Medinilla y Pineda.³

-
- 1 Ed. note: This may be a mis-translation into Spanish, for house carpenter, or cabinet maker, instead.
 - 2 Ed. note: This Anderson was one of the deserters who remained in Guam. He settled in Guam, married locally, and became port captain of Apra Harbor.
 - 3 Ed. note: Doc. n° 6, the itinerary of the Uranie, is omitted here.



 Documents 1819D

The Freycinet Expedition—Accounts by Captain Freycinet himself

Introduction.

Louis de Freycinet had already made one voyage of discovery to austral lands, from 1800 to 1804, as commander of the schooner **Casuarina** that sailed in company with the corvettes **Géographe** and **Naturaliste**. The main scientific objective of his own expedition aboard the corvette **Uranie** was to search for the shape and magnetism of the earth. The expedition left Toulon on 17 September 1817, went by way of Gibraltar, Teneriffe, Rio de Janeiro, Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Réunion, Timor, then went on to spend **nearly three months in the Marianas**, not only on account of the scientific operations to be carried out, but also to resupply the ship and give time to many sick crewmen to recover.

After leaving Guam, the **Uranie** passed by the northern Marianas, Hawaii, New South Wales, Tierra del Fuego, and the Malouine (later Falkland) Islands, where their ship unfortunately sank... After some difficulties of major proportion, the expedition finally returned to Le Havre on 13 September 1820.

D1. Letter from Freycinet, dated Guam 22 March 1819

Source: ANP Marine 5JJ70.

Original text in French.

A Monsieur Le Vice-amiral, Comte de Rosily, Directeur général du Dépôt des cartes et plans de la Marine. Paris.

Monsieur le Comte,

La Corvette de S.M. l'Uranie que j'ai l'honneur de commander, a visité successivement, depuis son départ de l'île Maurice, une partie des côtes de la Nouvelle-Hollande, de celles de Timor...

...

J'ai eu le malheur de perdre, dans ma dernière traversée mon second lieutenant, Mr. Labiche, officier dont je faisais un cas particulier, et qui avait eu l'honneur de recevoir plusieurs fois de vous, Monsieur le Comte, des marques de bienveillance et d'estime...

Je suis arrivé depuis trois ou quatre jours dans l'île de Guam, où je resterai le temps nécessaire pour rétablir quelques malades et faire les travaux qui me sont ordonnés. Dans quinze jours cependant, j'espère pouvoir remettre sous voiles et reprendre le fil de ma navigation.: je désire que l'importance des travaux qui me restent à faire puisse la faire considérer comme utile à l'hydrographie et à l'art nautique.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec respect,

Monsieur le Comte,

Votre très humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

Louis De Freycinet.

Corvette l'Uranie, rade d'Umatac (île Guam) le 22 Mars 1819.

P.S. Oserai-je vous prier de me rappeler au souvenir de Mr. De Rossel:

Translation.

To Vice-Admiral, Count of Rosily, Director General of the Hydrographic Office of the Navy, Paris.

My dear Count:

H.M.'s corvette **Uranie** which I have the honor to command, has visited in succession, since her departure from Mauritius Island, a part of the coasts of New Holland, and those of Timor...

...

I have the misfortune of losing, in my last crossing, my second officer, Mr. Labiche, and officer whom I particularly liked, and who had had the honor many times to receive from you, my dear Count, some marks of kindness and esteem...

I got here three or four days ago, at the Island of Guam, where I will remain the time necessary to cure a few sick men and carry out the tasks that I have been instructed to do. However, within 15 days, I hope to be able to set sail once more and pursue my voyage. I hope that the importance of the tasks that remain to be done may help in having you judge it useful to hydrography and to nautical science.

I have the honor to be, respectfully yours,

My dear Count,

Your humblest and most obedient servant,

Louis de Freycinet

Corvette **Uranie**, in the roads of Umatac, Island of Guam, 22 March 1819.¹

P.S. Please transmit my good wishes to Mr. de Rossel.

¹ Ed. note: This letter was immediately entrusted to Captain Rocha of the Spanish ship **Paz**, to be posted in Mexico. Unfortunately it was delayed by this ship returning to Guam a second time to Guam, and later back to the Philippines.

D2. Captain Freycinet's published narrative of the voyage

Sources: Louis-Claude de Saulces de Freycinet. Voyage autour du monde (Paris, 1824-1844); see Bibliography, under 1819 (1); part translation in HRAF Yale #MS1410.

Note: The drawings are taken from the Historical Atlas, by Arago, Pellion, et al.

List of partial contents.

The results of the Freycinet Expedition were published, in French naturally, beginning in 1824, in 12 official volumes, i.e. 8 regular volumes, plus 4 atlas volumes, under Freycinet's directions, not counting books by other participants. Only a small part, mainly from Volume 1, on the history of the voyage, and its corresponding atlas, can be represented in this chapter, as follows:¹

Volume 1, Tome 2, Part 1:

Book 1:

Extract from the Preface, giving the names of the senior officers:

—Louis C. Desaulces de Freycinet, Commander, promoted to Captain in December 1820;

—J. F. Lamarche, Lieutenant;

—J. J. Labiche, Lieutenant;

—L. J. Duperrey, Midshipman, promoted Lieutenant in 1821, and Commander in 1825;

—C. L. Théodore Laborde, Midshipman;

—H. Requin, Supercargo;

—F. L. de Quélen de la Villeglée, Chaplain;

—Jacques E. V. Arago, Draughtsman;

—P. G. Gabert, Secretary;

—J. R. C. Quoy, Physician 2nd Class;

—J. Paul Gaimard, Physician 3rd Class;

—Ch. Gaudichaud, Pharmacist 3rd Class;

+ 8 Midshipmen and Cadet officers + 3 Volunteers.

...

Book 3:

—Chapter 22: From Timor to the Mariana Islands.

—Chapter 23: Details on the Caroline Islands.

—Chapter 24: Stay at the Mariana Islands; excursion to Rota and Tinian.

—Chapter 25: Historical abstract on the Mariana Islands, before 1820.

—Chapter 26: Description of the Marianas, and specially the island of Guam.²

1) Geographic description;

2) Observations on meteorology and physics [omitted here];

¹ Ed. note: Extracts from Vol. 8: Navigation and hydrography, will be found in Doc. 1819N.

² Ed. note: This chapter is the only part that has been previously translated into English, though unpublished (see reference to HRAF above).

- 3) Geology and mineralogy;
- 4) Fertility of the soil; products [only the tables];
- 5) Man, considered as an individual;
- 6) Man, as a member of a family;
- 7) Man, as a member of society;
- 8) Agricultural industry;
- 9) Manufacturing industry;
- 10) Commercial industry;
- 11) Government of the ancient Marianos;
- 12) Colonial administration.

...

Book 4: From Guam to the Sandwich Islands, including the latter.

—Chapter 27: Passage from Guam to the Sandwich Islands—Stay at the latter islands.

...

Plates from the Historical Atlas of Freycinet.

Plate	Captions and explanations.
50	View of Tinian Island, with canoes from the Caroline Islands (original in color).
51	Plan views and details of a Carolinian canoe.
52	Profile views and details of a Carolinian canoe.
53	Carolinian man and woman seen at the Island of Guam (original in color).
54	Caroline Islands: two men dancing (original in color).
55	Caroline Islands: dances and dress of the natives. N. B. A tamor, or chief, placed on the right, is directing this dance.
56	Caroline Islands: dance of the natives.
57	Tamor of the Caroline Islands and his wife, seen at Tinian Island.
58	Caroline Islands—Various objects used by the inhabitants (original in color): 1-4: Necklaces; 5: Bailer, to remove water from inside the canoes; 6: Large ladle, for the same purpose; 7: Conch shell used to make various sound signals; 8: Letter written by a tamor from the Caroline Islands, to an officer at the Island of Guam; 9-12: Fishhooks of various shapes, used for different types of fishing; some are made of bone, others of shell, etc.; 13: Stick used by the natives for their happy exercises; 14-15: Two wooden vessels, varnished; 16: Stick used to conjure the winds; 17: Shells used to conjure certain illnesses; 18: Hat made of pandanus leaves;

- 19-20: Box, with cover, used to keep precious objects;
 21: Box of the same type, but smaller.
- 59 Charts of Guam, Rota, Aguijan, Tinian and Saipan: study of old place names, by Louis de Freycinet.
- 60 Map of the city of Agaña in 1819, by A. Bérard.
- 61 Mariana Islands: Guam.
 1,2: Estevan and Claudio Lajo, pure-blooded Indians [i.e. “The Last of the Chamorros”];
 3,4: Mariana and Josefa, daughters of the Mayor of Umatac;
 5,6: Different hair styles of the Inhabitants of the Marianas.
- 62 Guam Island: customs of the ancient inhabitants.
- 63 Mariana Islands: customs of the ancient inhabitants: fishing.
- 64 Woman of the Island of Guam: Josefa Cortez (original in color).
- 65 Guam Island: woman going to church (original in color).
- 66 Guam Island: view of the college of the city of Agaña.
- 67 Guam Island: view of the governor’s garden and part of his palace.
 N.B. The women are watering a patch of tobacco.
- 68 View of a distillery on Guam Island (original in color).
- 69 Agaña: Guam Island. house-keeping activities (original in color).
- 70 Guam Island: agricultural activities (original in color).
- 71 View of the royal farm of Tachuña, on Guam Island.
- 72 Guam Island: main character in the dances of Montezuma (original in color).
- 73 Mariana Islands: ruins of ancient pillars, seen on Rota Island [see rear endpaper].
- 74 a. Ruins of ancient columns, seen on Tinian Island.
 b. Ruins of ancient columns, seen on Tinian Island.
- 75 a. Ruins of ancient columns, seen on Tinian Island.
 b. Ruins of ancient columns, seen on Tinian Island [see front endpaper].
- 76 Leper women of Guam Island.
- 77 Guam Island: elephantiasis.
- 78 Mariana Islands: tuberculous leprosy: Martin Kikane of Rota.
- 79 **Mariana Islands—Various objects used by the ancient inhabitants.**
 Drawn by Bévalet. Engraved by Coutant (original in color).
 1. Sort of adze whose cutting part is a hard stone;
 b) Binding that joins the cutting part to the handle; it is turned in the direction necessary for the work to be done;
 2. Coconut grater, named *kamdju*,¹ whose cutting part (a) is made of a piece of turtle shell;
 3. Javelin, named *gudgud-anum*;

1 Ed. note: Chamorro words quoted herein must be pronounced as in French.

4. Tool to cultivate the soil, named *dagau*;
5. Ornament made up of turtle-shell disks, stacked up in the shape of a truncated cone, and named *gouinéba-famaguon*;
6. Sling, named *atupet*;
7. Sling-stone, named *djiukpatu*;
8. Large earthen pot, used on holidays;
9. Pandanus-woven basket, or dish, named *sarghi*, or *kotud*, depending on size; was used to serve cooked rice;
10. Gaudy stick, named *fudfud*, used by the natives in their happy reunions; it has a sort of pommel (a) that is made of coconut palm leaves;
11. Wooden harpoon, barbed, named *pulus*;
12. Shell which, once sharpened by rubbing, gives birth to the sort of scythe shown next to it;
13. Scythe named *sainan-dogas*, and used to cut rice (see n° 12 above);
14. Necklace of turtle-shell disks, named *lukao-hugua*;
15. A full-size turtle-shell disk, like those making up the preceding necklace;
16. Large piece of turtle shell, pierced with many holes, and named *pinipu*;
17. Fishing tool, named *poiu*;
18. Serving dish made with palm leaves;¹
19. Woman's hat, of woven pandanus leaves;
20. Man's hat, of woven pandanus leaves;
21. Paint brush, made of a piece of coconut coir;
22. Sandals in pandanus leaves, used to walk upon coral rocks;
23. Necklace of turtle-shell disks, named *gouini*;
24. A full-size turtle-shell disk, like those making up preceding necklace;
25. *Saluu*, pouch made up of woven pandanus leaves, that closes like a case; it was used on holidays;
26. *Hagug*, large basket, shaped like a case, of woven pandanus, and used to carry war and food supplies;
27. Large wooden trough, named *salukan*, placed upon two forked sticks planted into the soil, and used in the fabrication of coconut oil;
28. Earthenware pot named *pitor*;
29. Water cup, made of coconut shell.

1 Ed. note: The type of palm tree in question is called *latanier* by the French, and may be same as what they call *buri* in the Philippines.

- 80 **Mariana Islands—Various objects used by the present inhabitants**
 Drawn by Bévalet, after sketches by Duperrey and A. Taunay. Engraved by V. Plée.
- a. Cutlass that the inhabitants call *machete*, and carry on their belt most of the time;
 - b. Weeding tool named *focigno*;¹
 - c. Carpentry tool (curved adze) whose iron piece can be turned in various directions;
 - d. Wooden serving dish;
 - e. Woman's saddle, made up of a single liana, and finished with leather;
 - f. Leather sandals;
 - g. Corrugated bench used by washerwomen to wash clothes;
 - h. Iron, to iron clothes;
 - i. Scythe, to cut rice;
 - k,l. Details of the still used to distill coconut brandy; a cutaway view of the barrel, that forms the body of the still, purports to show the arrangement of the wooden pallet that collects the droplets resulting from the condensation of the vapor; a small bamboo leads this liquor into a bottle;
 - m. Bamboo used as a water sprinkler;
 - n. Mortar and its pestle, used in crushing chocolate cakes, and corn kernels, once taken off their cobs;
 - o. Tool used in agriculture, named *cubo*, to dig holes;
 - p,q. Outrigger canoe, presently used at the Island of Guam:
 - p. Plan view of the canoe; q. Sideview of the same canoe;
 - r,s. Canoe, presently used at the Island of Guam: r. Plan view; s. front view.
- 81 **Mariana Islands—Ancient and modern architecture.**
 Drawn by E. Olivier, after various drawings. Engraved by Adam.
- Ordinary house, modern.
- Ordinary house, in former times, named *guma saga*.
- House used by a powerful chief, in former times; a. Cross-sectional view; b. Cutaway view, lengthwise; c. Plan view.
- Three-dimensional view of the interior of the above house. Note that the dotted lines indicate the position of the roof.
- Governor's House in the Town of Pago, Island of Guam, Marianas:
 Profile view; Plan view: 1. great hall; 2. bedroom; 3. gallery and toilet; 4 & 5. bedroom; 6. office; 7. gallery and cooling area; 8. passage and terrace; 9. kitchen and oven; 10. storage room.
- A private farm in the Island of Guam: Profile view; Plan view: 1. farmer's

1 Ed. note: Usually written with Spanish sounds, as *fosiño*.

house; 2. pig-pen; 3 & 4. space destined to work that must be done under cover.

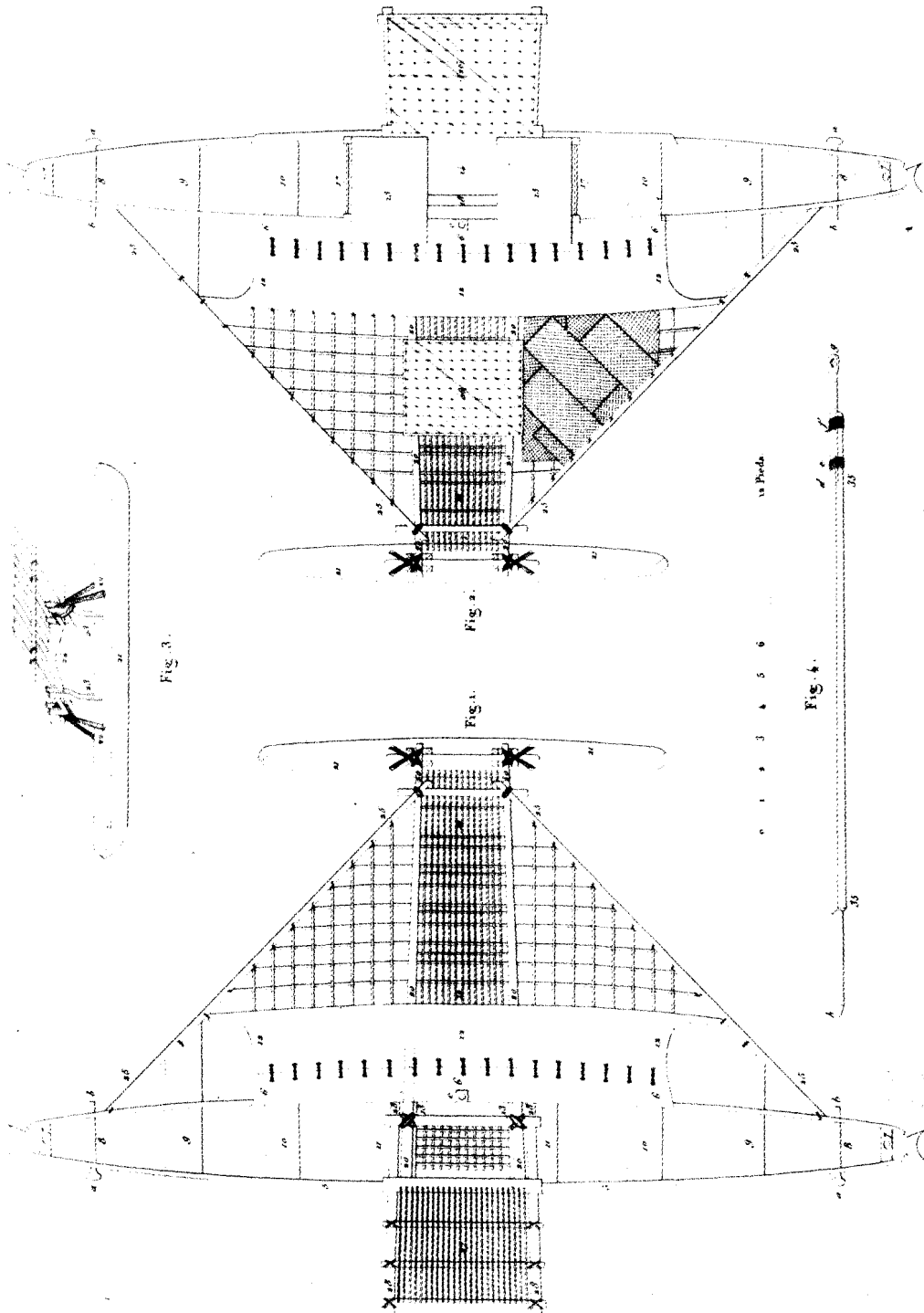
Salt-making hut: Side view of the conical hut, named *sadi gani*; Plan view of same: the oven and the basin where sea-water is evaporated can be seen.

Plan view of the King's farm at Tachuña]: 1 & 3. bedrooms; 2. great hall; 4. gallery and toilet; 5. terrace; 6. kitchen and ovens; 7. chicken-house; 8. part of the area where the large cattle is kept.



Plate 50. View of Tinian I., with Carolinian canoes.

Pl. 51.



M. de la Roche

PLANS ET DÉTAILS D'UNE PIROQUE DES ÎLES CAROLINES.

(Figures l'explication des planches.)

Bérend d'Abel

Plate 51. Plan views of a Carolinian canoe.

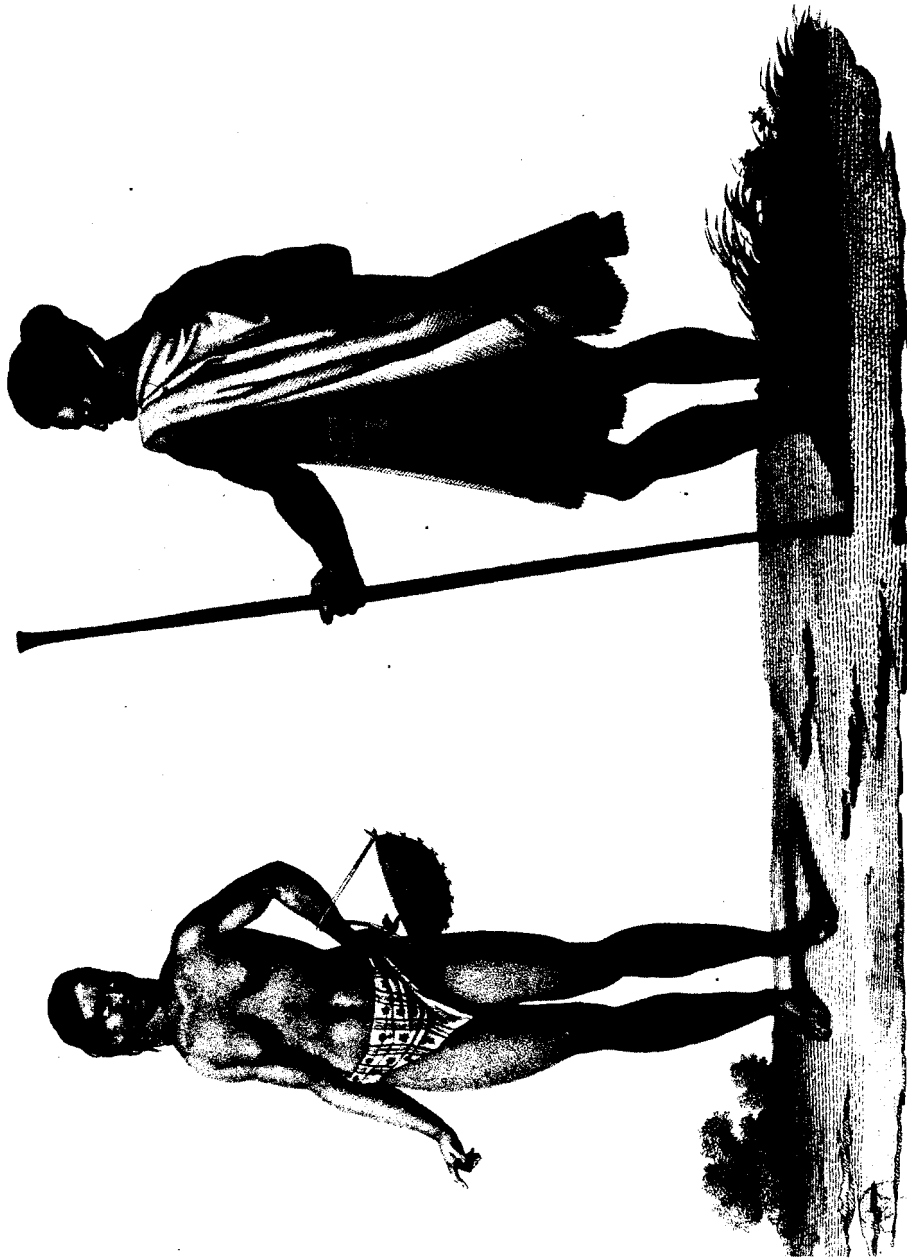


Plate 53. Carolinian couple seen at Guam.



Plate 54. Caroline Islands: two men dancing.

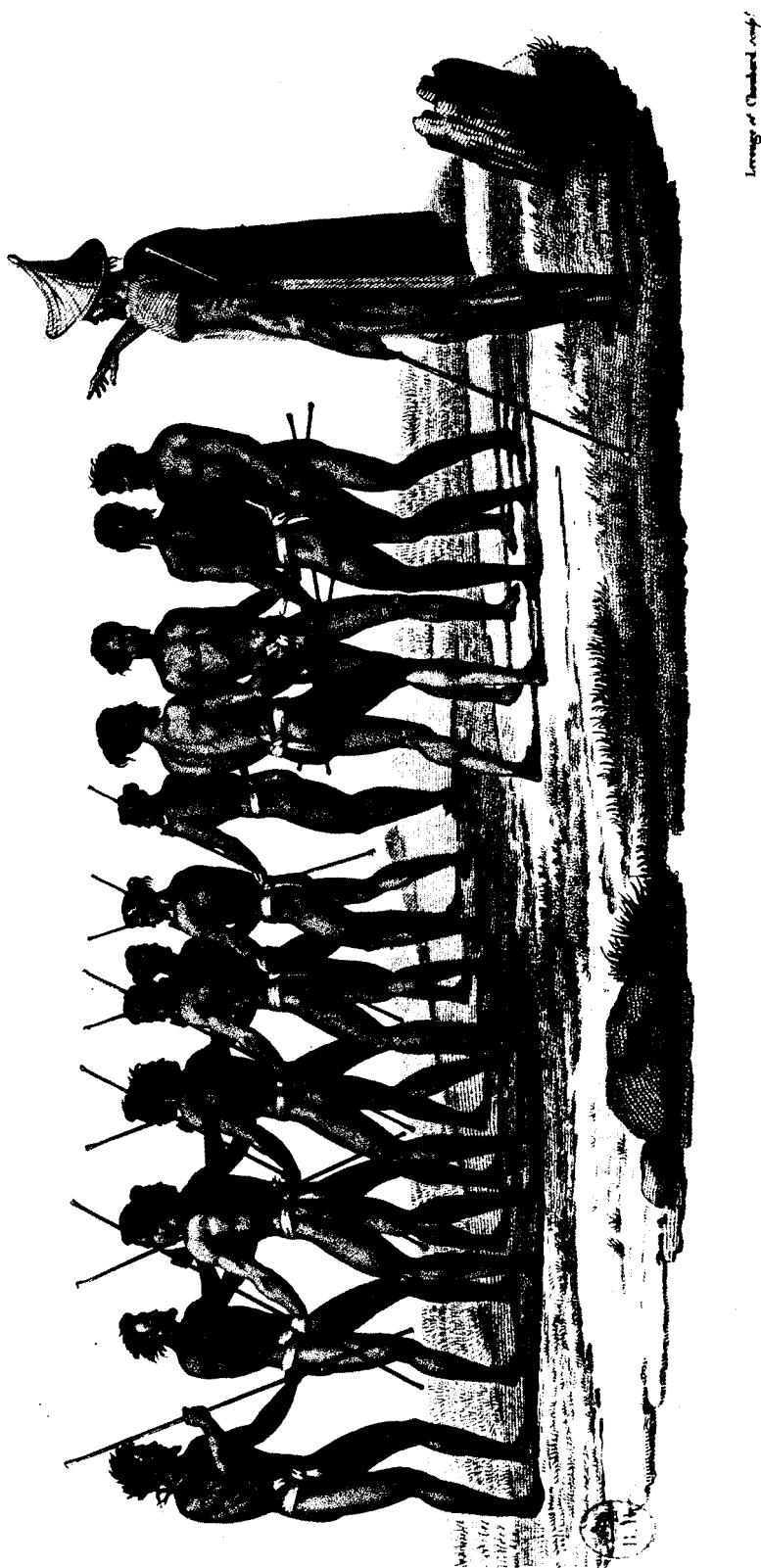


Plate 55. Caroline Islands: stick dance.

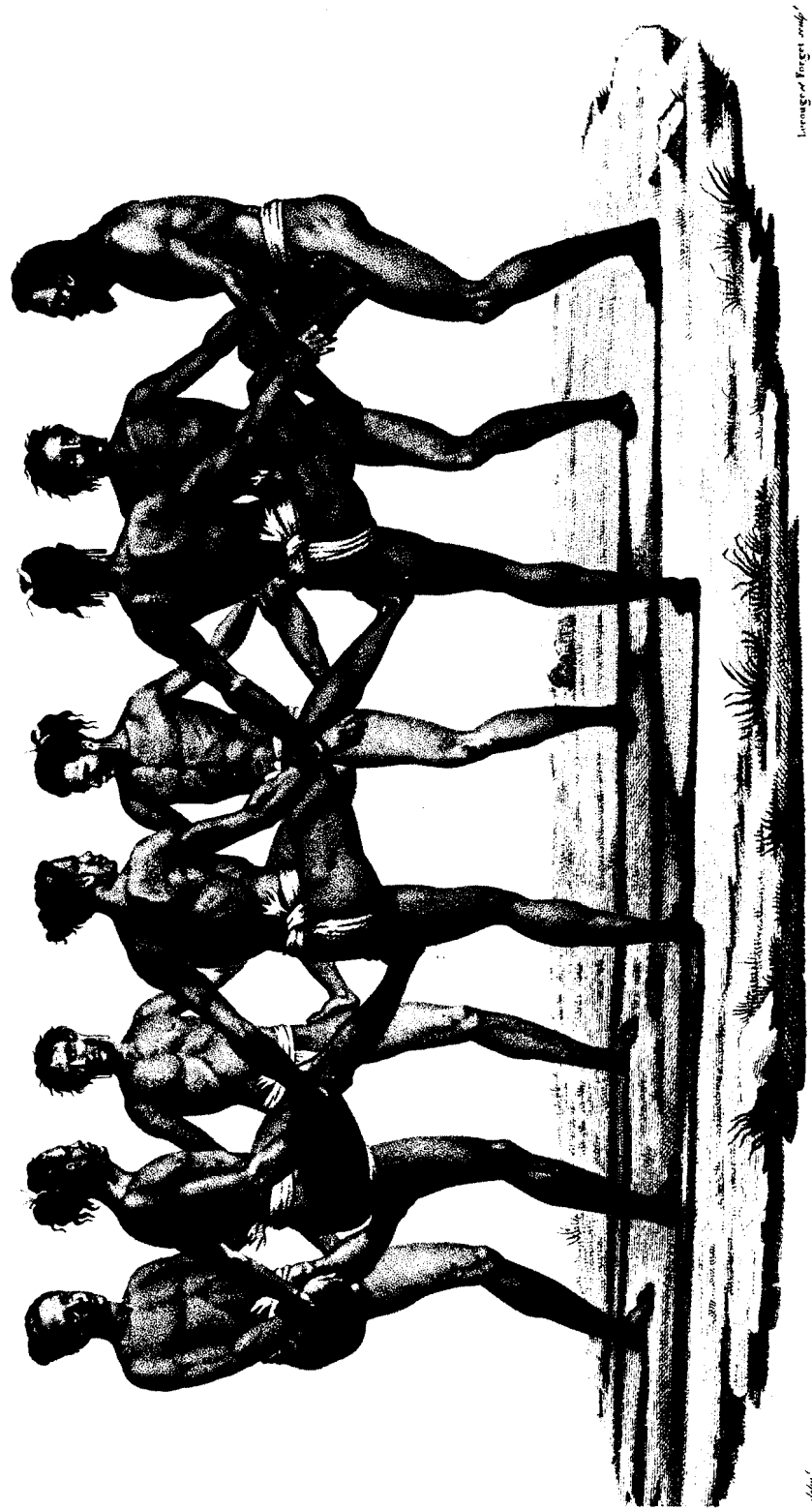


Plate 56. Caroline Islands: another dance.

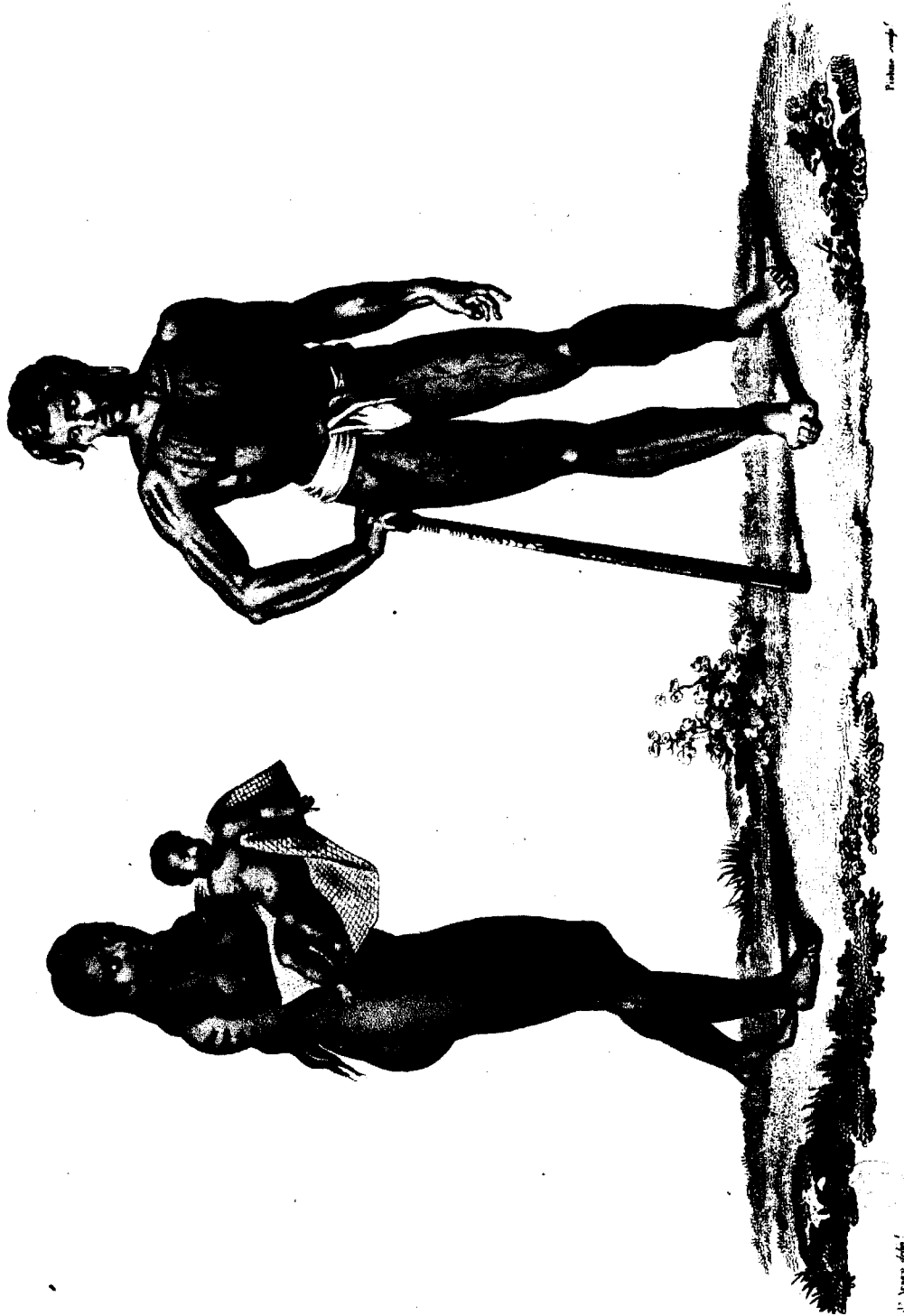


Plate 57. Caroline Islands: Tamor and wife, seen at Tinian.

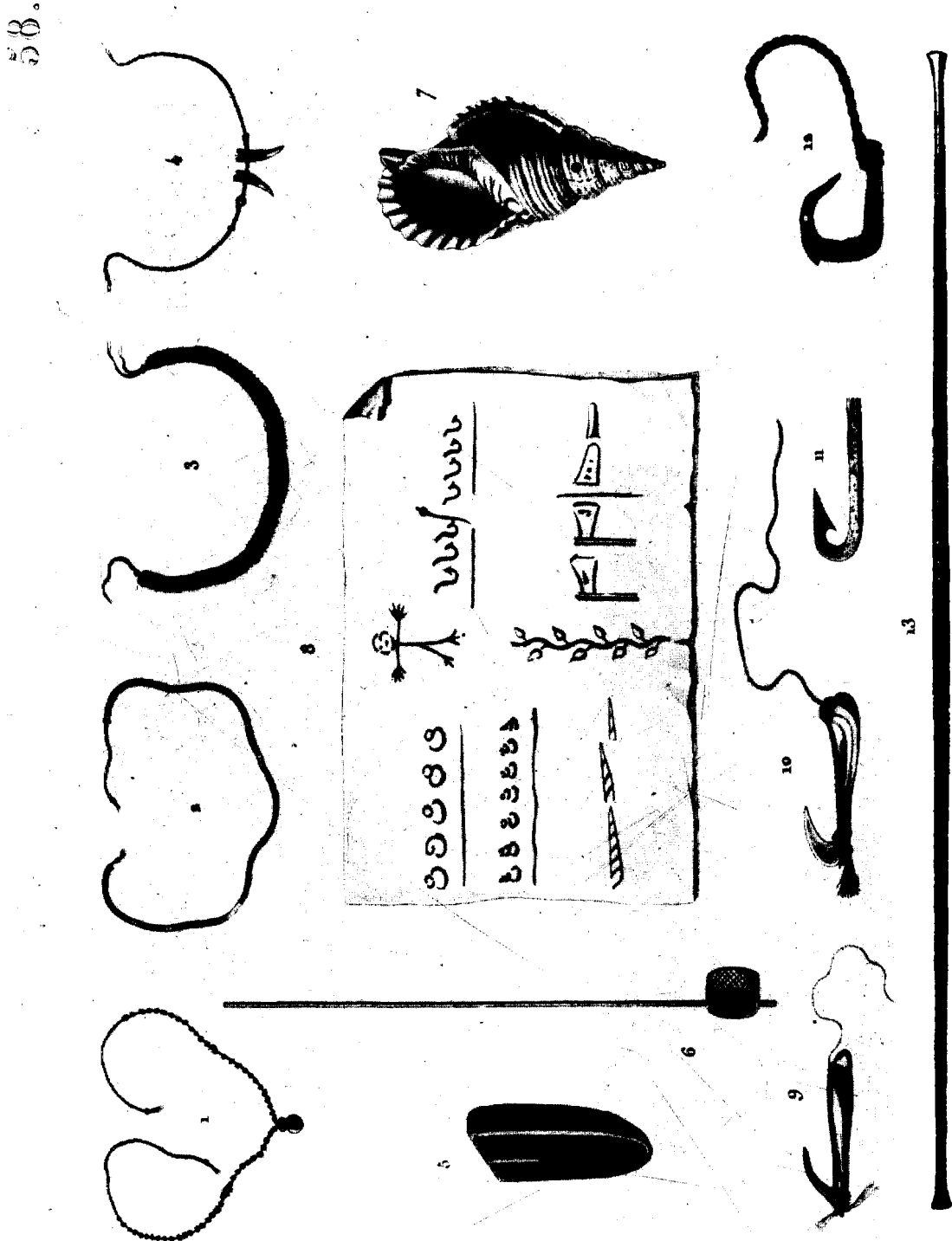
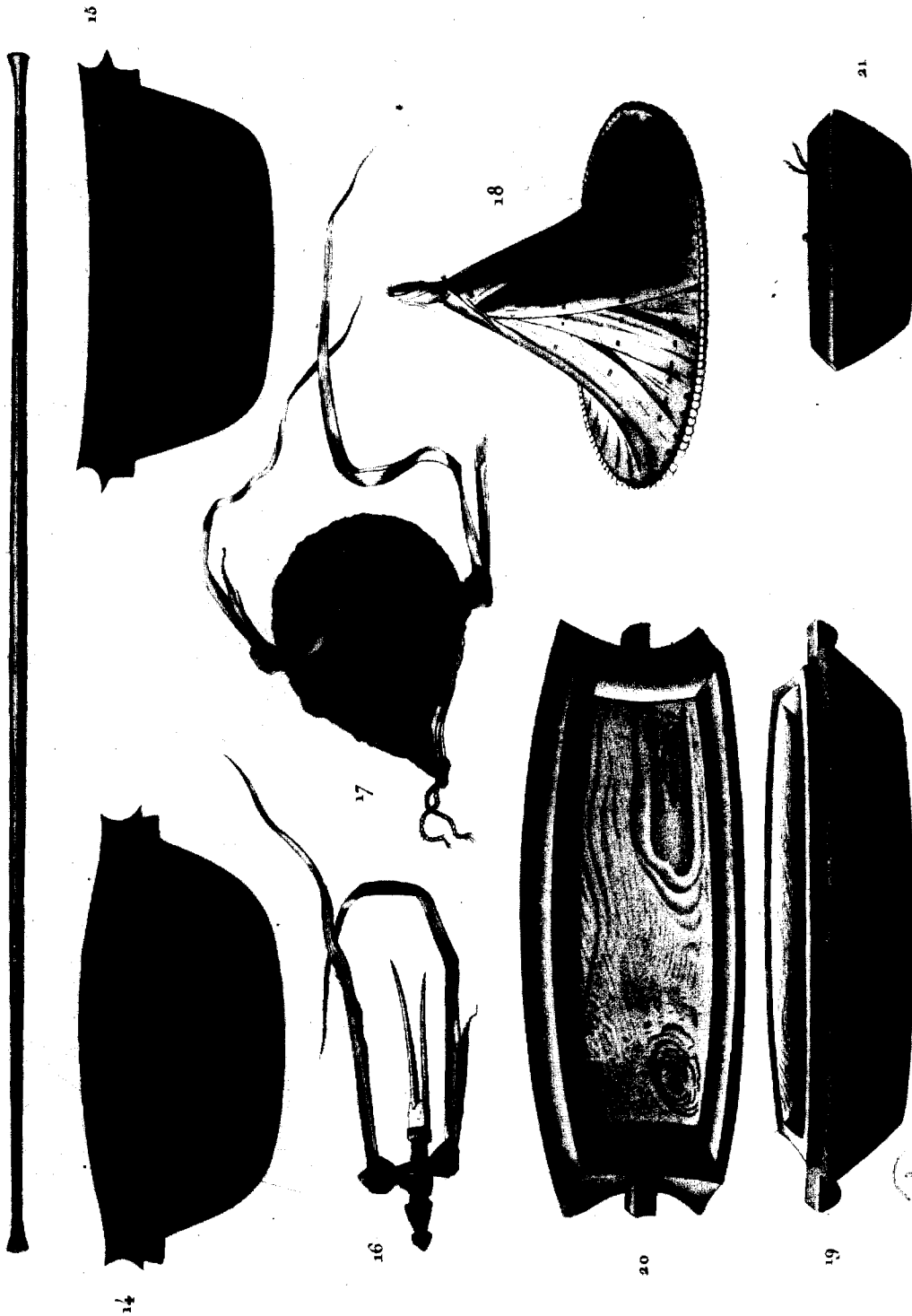


Plate 58a. Caroline Islands: objects (see desc. p. 82).



Constant

ÎLES CAROLINES: DIVERS OBJETS À L'USAGE DES HABITANS.

(Voyez l'explication des planches.)

Plate 58b. Caroline Is.: objects (cont'd, see pp. 82-83).

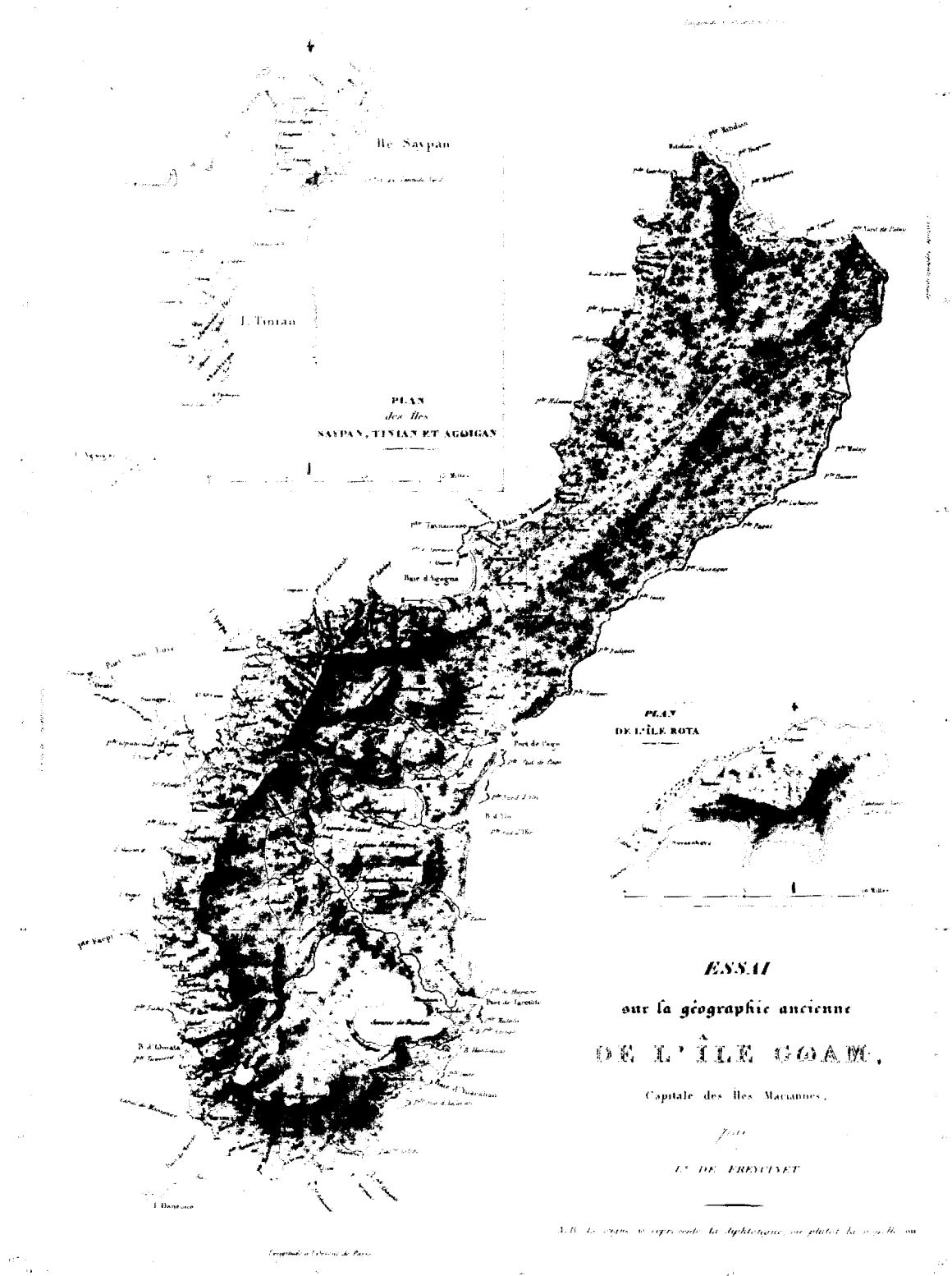


Plate 59. Chart of Guam, Rota, etc. (see next pages).

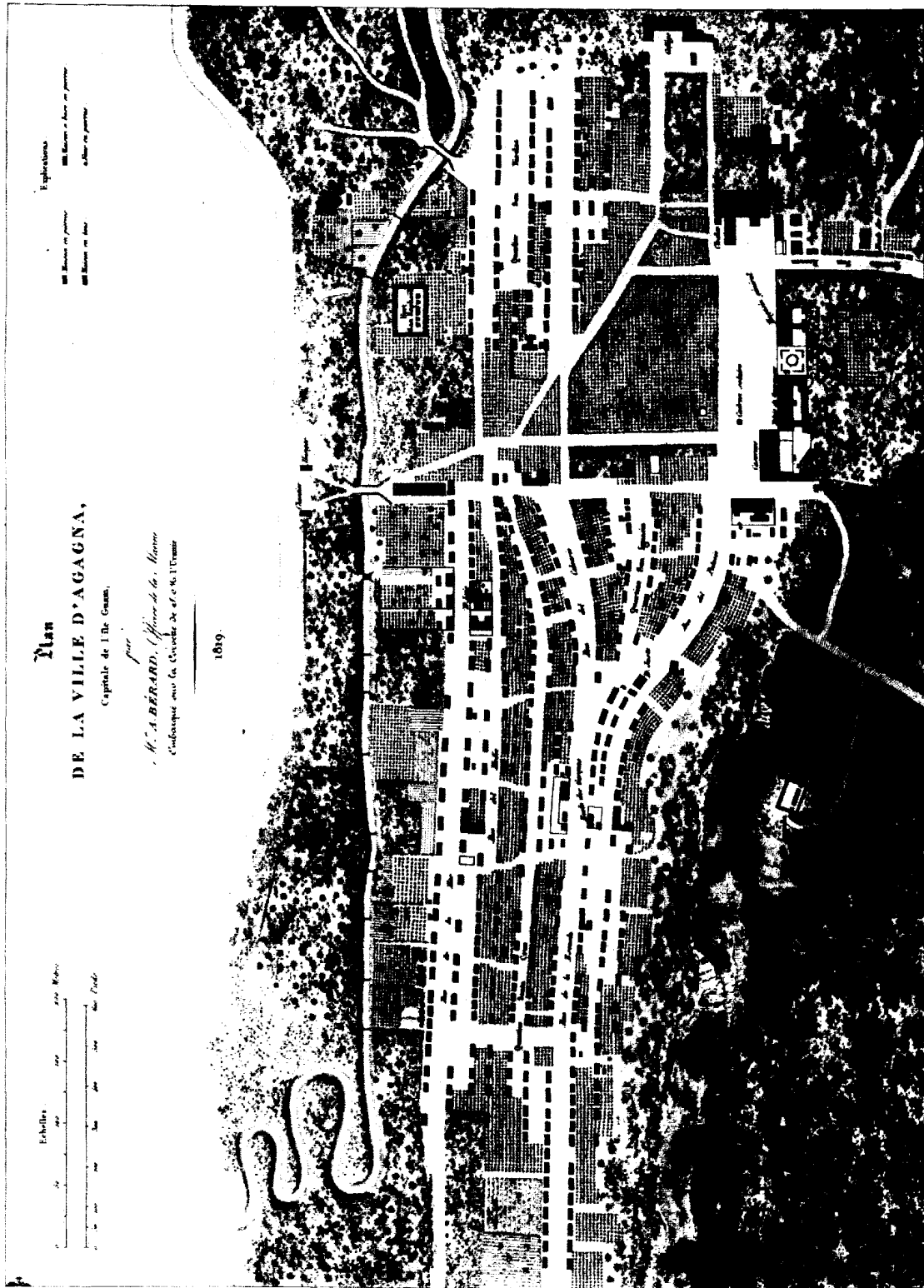


Plate 60. Map of Agaña in 1819.



Plancher's copy

ÎLES MARIANNES: GUAM.

1. 1. Stephanus, sup. et Candelus, inf. *Antiquitates Japonicae*. 2. 2. Maratima et Josephus, *Antiquitates Japonicae*. 3. 3. Maratima et Josephus, *Antiquitates Japonicae*. 4. 4. Maratima et Josephus, *Antiquitates Japonicae*.

Plancher's copy

Plate 61. Mariana Islands: Natives of Guam.



*Picture from S. Lévesque, *Guam, A History*, p. 110.*

Plate 62. Guam: ancient customs.



ÎLES MARIANNES: USAGES DES ANCIENS HABITANS. PÊCHE.

Plate 63. Mariana Islands: ancient customs: fishing.



Plate 64. Guam: Josefa Cortés.



J. Arago et A. Taunay delin.

Chouhard sculp.

ILE GUAM: FEMME ALLANT À L'ÉGLISE.

Plate 65. Guam: woman going to church.

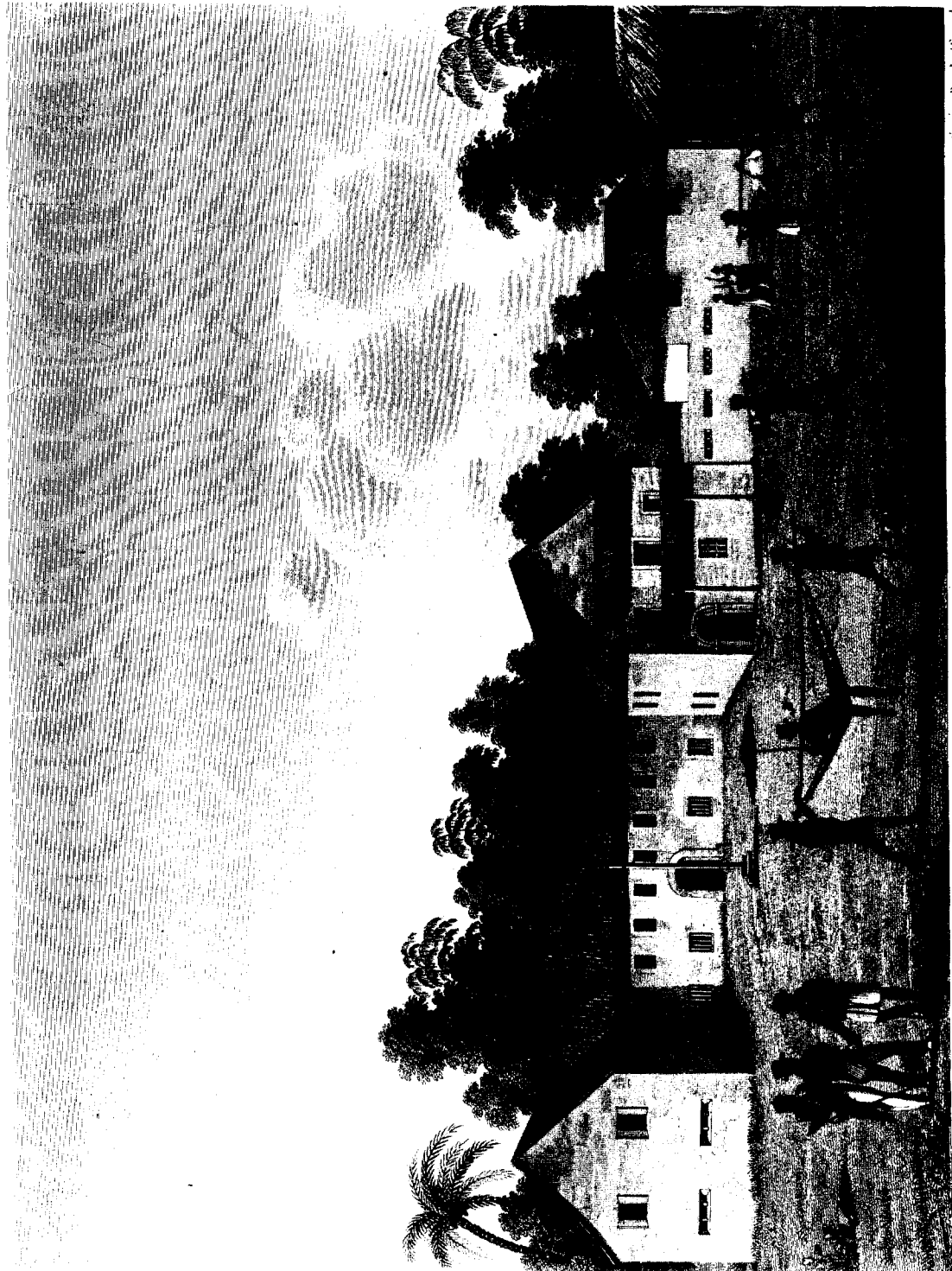


Plate 66. College of San Juan de Letrán, Agaña.

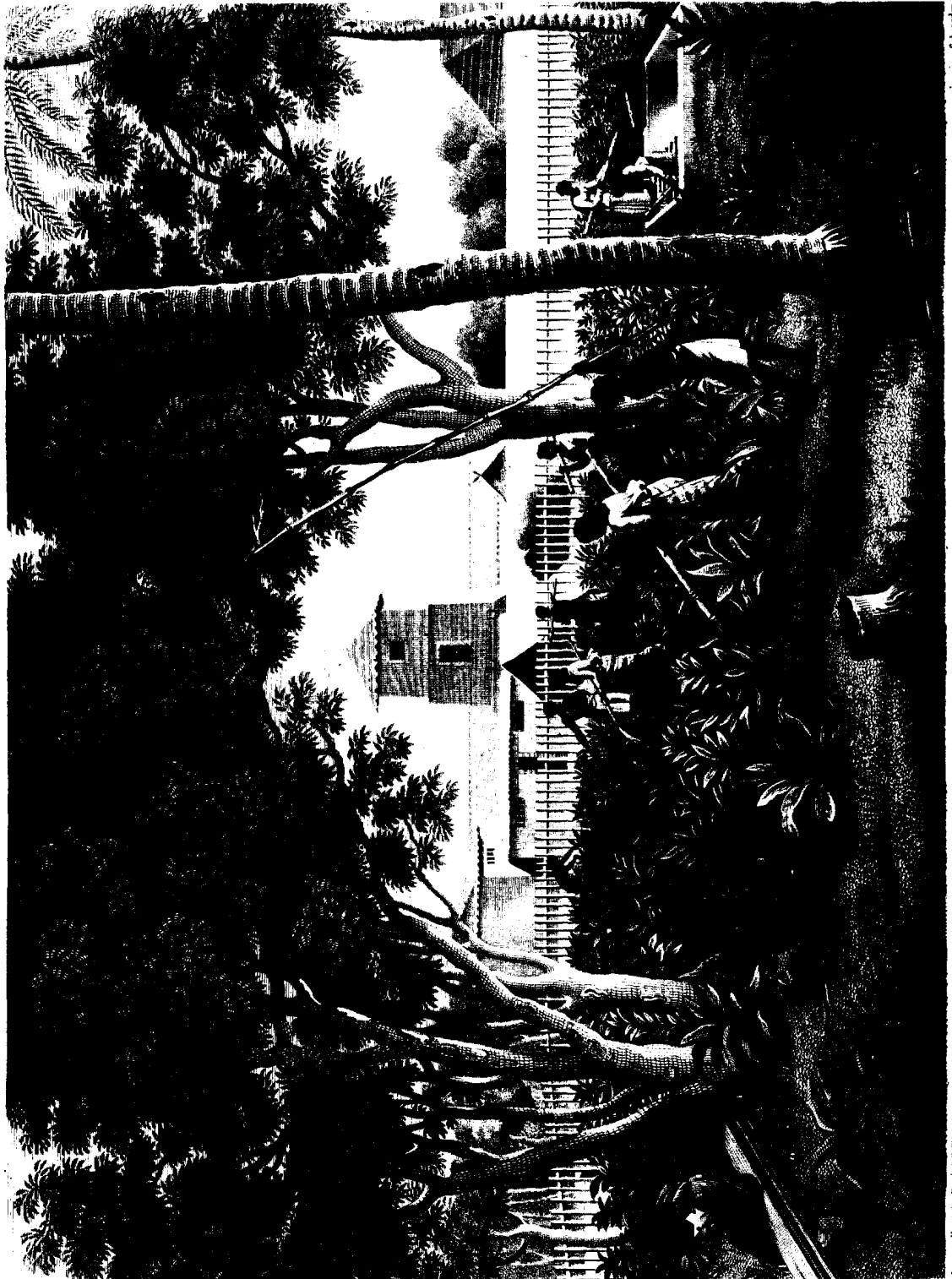


Plate 67. Guam: Governor's garden and palace.



Plate 68. Guam: distilling coconut brandy.



Plate 69. Guam: house-keeping activities.



reproduit par P. P. P.

reproduit par P. P. P.

ÎLE GUAM: TRAVAIL D'AGRICULTURE.

Plate 70. Guam: agricultural activities.



Plate 71. Guam: royal farm at Tachuña.



P. Vénizuela

Bogert sculp.

ILE DE GUAM: PRINCIPAL PERSONNAGE DES DANSES DE MONTÉZUMA.

Plate 72. Guam: main actor in a Mexican-style play.



RUINES DE COLONNES ANTIQUES, VUES SUR L'ÎLE TINIAN.

Plate 74a. Ruins of ancient building, Tinian #1.



Reville et Bonnet sculp.

J.S. Arago delin.

RUINES DE COLONNES ANTIQUES, VUES SUR L'ÎLE TINIAN.

Plate 74b. Ruins of ancient building, Tinian #2.



Forcier et Duparc sculp

J. A. Arago del.

RUINES DE COLONNES ANTIQUES, VUES SUR L'ÎLE TINIAN.

Plate 75a. Ruins of ancient building, Tinian #3.



RUINES DE COLONNES ANTIQUES, VUES SUR L'ÎLE TINIAN.

Plate 75b. Ruins of ancient buildings, Tinian #4.

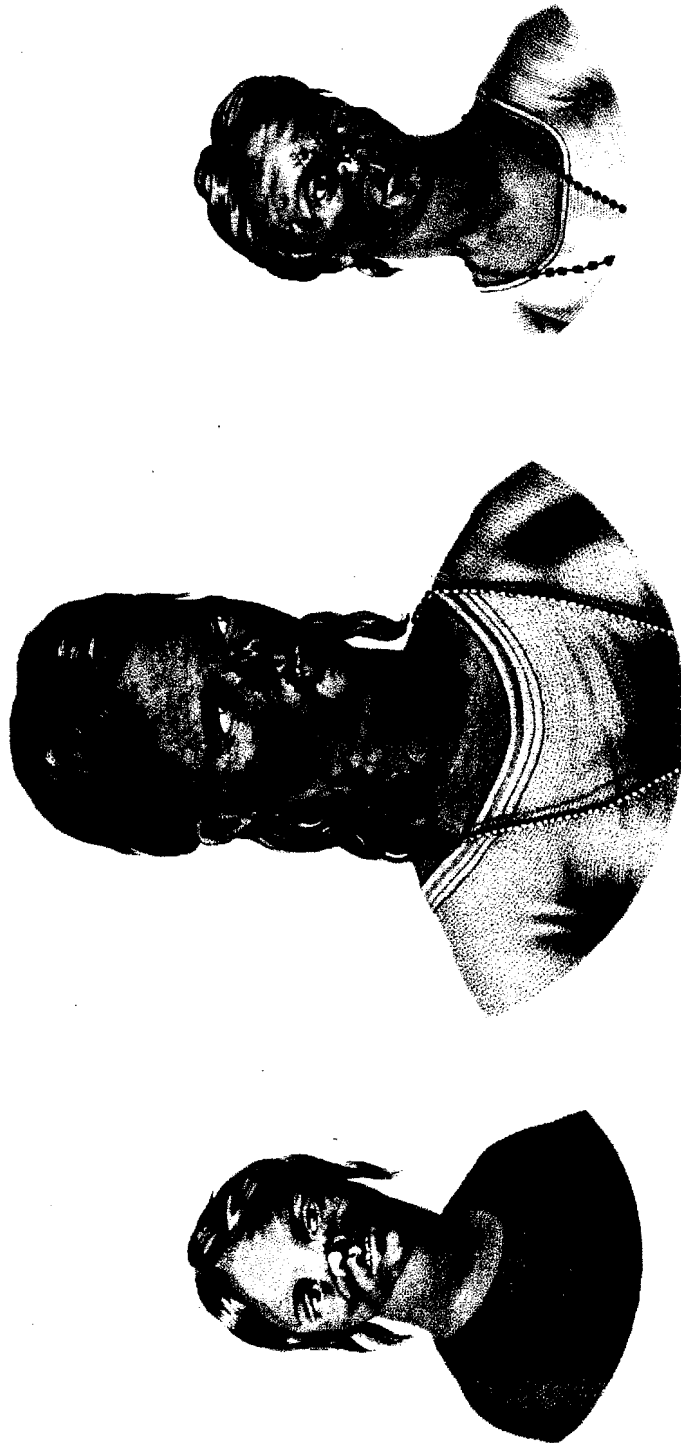


Plate 76. Guam: Leper women.



J. S. Arago del.

Chouard sculp.

ÎLE GUAM: ÉLÉPHANTIASIS.

Plate 77. Guam: elephantiasis.



ÎLES MARIANNES: LÈPRE TUBERCULEUSE.

Martin Kikane, né à File Rota.

Plate 78. Rota: tuberculous leper: Martin Kikane.

79.

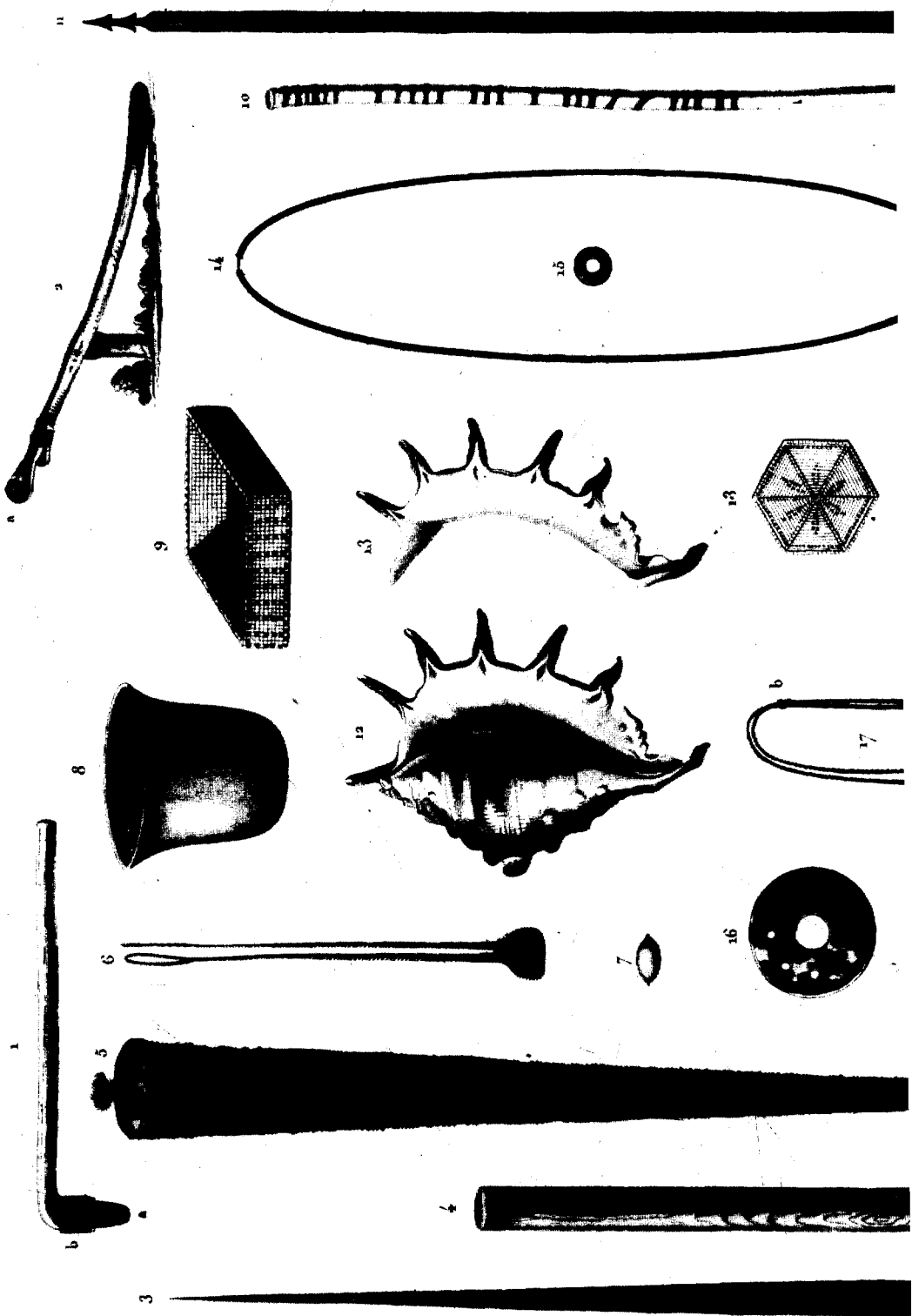
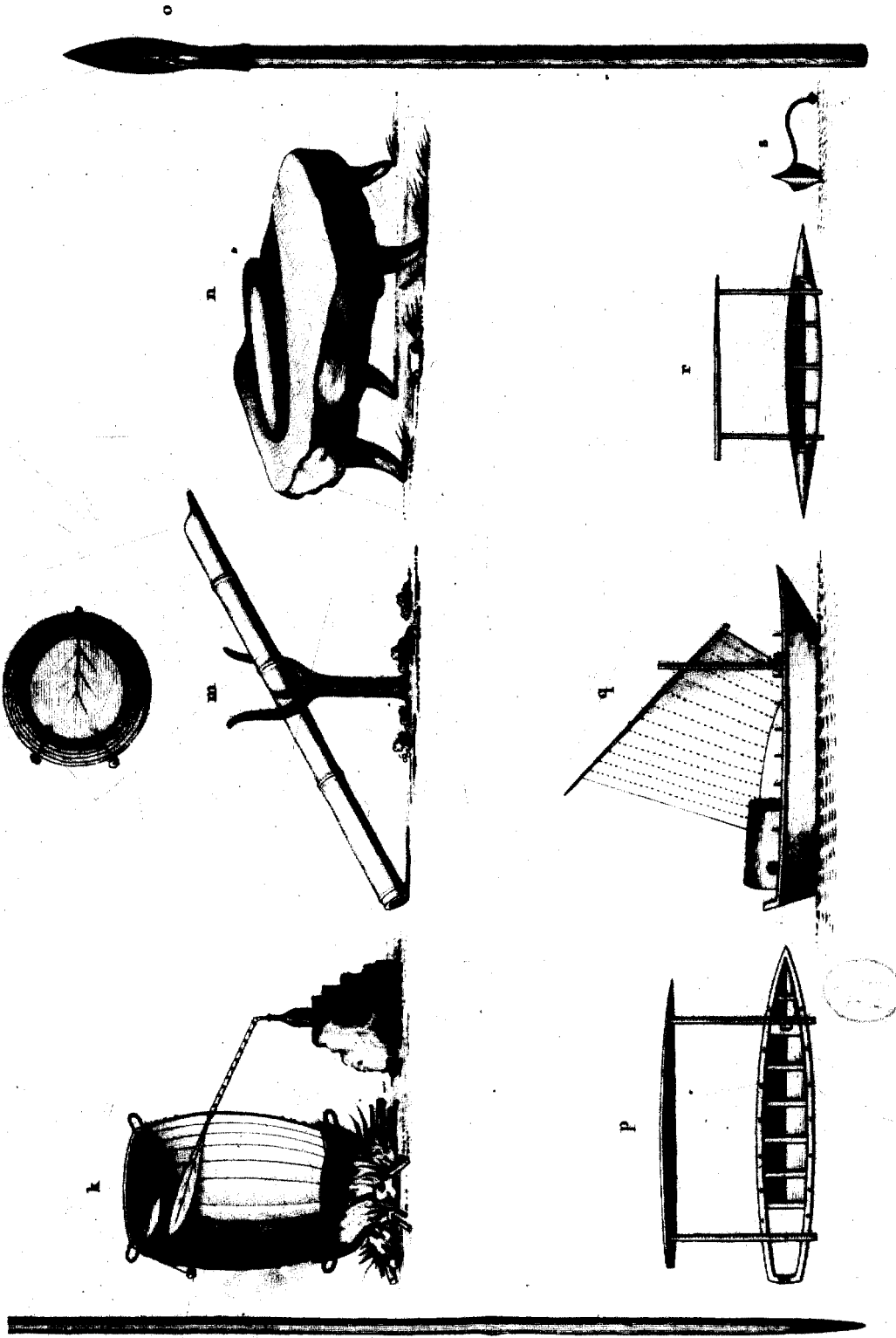


Plate 79. Marianas: Objects of the former inhabitants.



Plate 80. Marianas: Objects of the present inhabitants.

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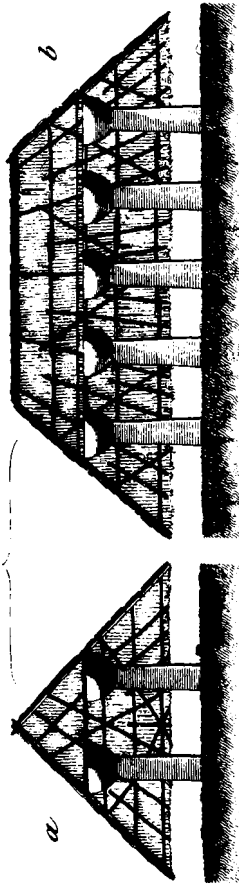
Dessiné par V. Plé.

Dessiné par Bevallet d'après Duperré et A. Ternay.

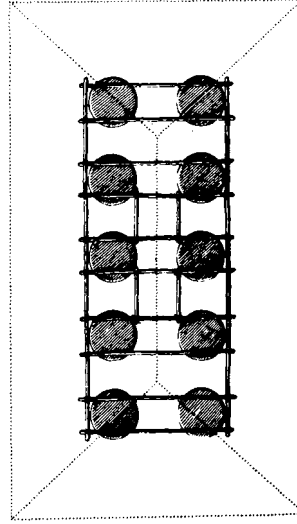
ÎLES MARIANNES: DIVERS OBJETS À L'USAGE DES HABITANS ACTUELS.

(Voyez l'explication des planches.)

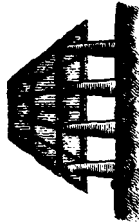
Pl. 81.



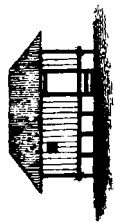
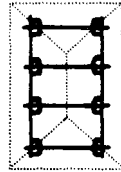
Maison d'un Chef puissant, des temps anciens.



c



Maison ordinaire, des temps anciens.



Maison ordinaire, moderne.

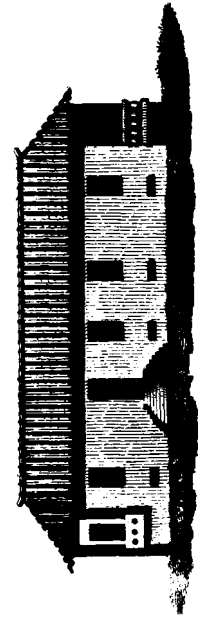
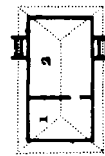
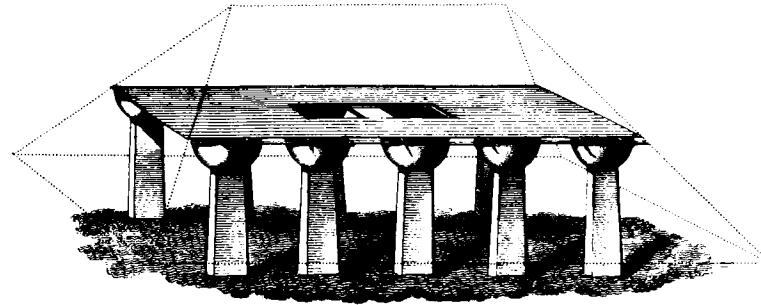
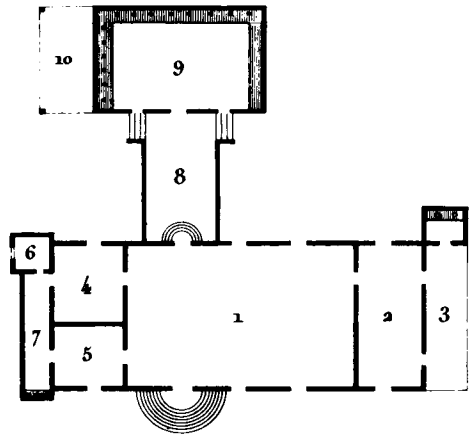


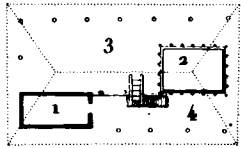
Plate 81. Marianas: ancient and modern architecture.



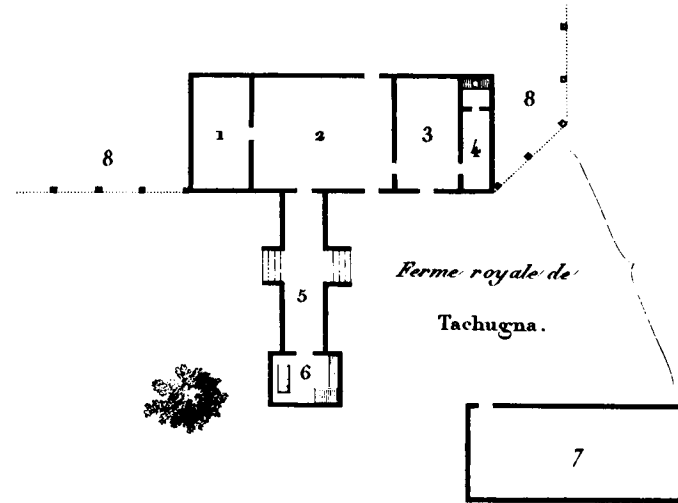
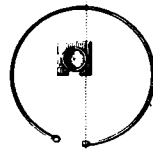
Vue perspective de l'intérieur de la maison ci-dessus.



Ferme particulière.



Fabrique de sel.



Ferme royale de Tachugna.

6 3 0 6 12 24 36 48 60 Pieds.

Dessiné par E. Olivier d'après divers croquis

Gravé par Adam.

ILES MARIANNES: ARCHITECTURE ANCIENNE ET MODERNE.

(Voyez l'explication des planches.)

CHAPTER XXII.

From Timor to the Mariana Islands.

Passage from Rawak to the Mariana Islands; Ayu Islands sighted; Anachorettes Islands; Admiralty Islands; Caroline Islands;

It was on 6 January that we left Rawak. We immediately made sail towards the Ayu Islands and we soon came in sight of them...

The beginning of our cruise was marred by a dismal occurrence that saddened us all, the death of Mr. Labiche. Having suffered for a long time of dysentery, he had seen his health go from bad to worse. Finally, on 9 January, at 9:15 in the evening, he died suddenly.

...
The burial of our unfortunate companion took place the next day; the staff and the crew said their last goodbye to him. Everyone felt some sadness, and sorrow was in all our hearts. After the usual prayers, his body was entrusted to the sea... His memory will forever be with us; he will remain forever dear to us.

However, this was not the beginning of our misfortune; and soon we noticed how wrong we had been when, upon leaving Rawak, none of us thought he had escaped being contaminated by any illness in such an unhealthy place. Three days after our departure, the fever appeared, firstly affecting five, then up to 30 individuals, including four cadet officers. As soon as some would recover, others would take their places, so that it can be affirmed that 40 people suffered from that illness. Mr. Quoy has described it as a malaria fever...

New difficulties soon appeared during this crossing, which the light winds and the strong currents contributed much to make it a long one. Soon we ran out of fresh food; our private reserves had been exhausted to alleviate the sick, although their condition kept getting worse. The fever, that still affected many persons, sometimes went away, but it was only to reappear with a vengeance a short time later. The humidity, the heat and boredom, that are always debilitating when they last too long, caused scurvy to appear in three individuals, among whom was included our chaplain, the respectable Abbé de Quélen. We applied hot sand treatments to counteract this secondary illness, but were less fortunate than other navigators, because we did not get the result that we had hoped for.

However, the rain showers that hit us from time to time had their usefulness; they supplied us with drinking water. Water was collected with tents that had been set up for that purpose, and was instantly poured into our casks. In two days alone we got about 5,000 litres of this precious liquid.

...
[After sighting the Anachorettes and the Admiralty Islands, on February 12th and 13th respectively.]

...

I ordered the heading to be changed to north, on the 25th [sic], as I intended to reach the Marianas, which were to be the theater of numerous and interesting observations for us.

On 12 [March], after we lost sight of the Admiralty Islands, the first land that we sighted bore the name of San Bartolomé on our charts. The natives called it Pulusuk, the name that we will keep. It belongs to the Carolines. At 2 p.m., as soon as we were within sight, many canoes left the shore and headed towards us; we counted 7 of them at first, then 9, and finally 12. Although they were sailing against the wind, they soon came alongside and most of them let themselves be towed behind us. Without any delay, an active but noisy trading with the men aboard the canoes began in earnest, but not one man accepted our invitation to come on deck.

We spent much time admiring the beauty of these men, the astonishing perfection of their canoes and the skill with which they maneuvered them—undeniable proof of their skill, of their intelligence; however, we did not see the incredible speed that Carolinian canoes, made so famous, are supposed to have. Pushed by a moderate wind and a very nice sea, we were making 3 knots, but most of these canoes could not keep up with us, unless they used their oars in addition to their sail. The canoes came in many sizes, but they were all made of the same pattern.

The natives invited us, by signs, to go closer to their island but, when they saw that we did not entertain such an idea, they were the first to suggest some trading. What they wanted above all was iron; they expressed this wish to us by constantly repeating *Iulu, Iulu*, a Mariano word which we did not at first understand, but soon understood from their signs. They offered us some mats made of banana fiber, very well woven. They gave more value to mats that were painted yellow. There were mats of all shapes and sizes, some conical hats made of palm leaves, wooden boxes and vessels, and, what had more value for us, some fresh fish, and a few coconuts that were as pleasing as they were useful to our sick, specially after such misery.

Much different from the peoples whom we had just visited, the Carolinians traded with great honesty; they never hesitated in sending aboard the objects that they were offering for sale first, and if, for a knife that we were offering them, we thought we had not received enough, they would immediately add something to it. We did not notice that any of them could have been a thief; so it was that a great order regulated all our exchanges. One of us having sent down into one of the canoes a flute, after he had been shown how to use it, the islander who received it managed to get a sound from it; he became so enchanted with it that he burst out laughing, and his countrymen lost no time in providing a background chorus.

Here is a fact that may prove their intelligence. When we had passed the latitude of Pulusuk, and although we were over one league from it, we sighted the bottom under the corvette, something that caused worry in some of us. A Carolinian having noticed this, and knowing the reason for it, first spoke in a lively manner, but, realizing that he had not made himself well understood, he pointed at the bottom of the sea, then made a negative sign to the effect that our ship had nothing to fear, by extending his arms,

then counting ten times ten on his fingers, to tell us that we had 20 fathoms water under our keel. Fearing that we might not yet have understood, he repeated the sign that meant one fathom, micmicked the action of pulling a rope out of the water, and again counted 20, by counting his 10 fingers and then his 10 toes. However, the sounding line at that moment indicated only 10 fathoms, but soon we had 20, then 25, and finally 30. The canoes, that had begun to leave us, stopped trading at this time and headed for the land.

On the 15th, we sighted many other islands belonging to the same archipelago: Puluhot, Alet, Tamatam, Ollap, Fanadik, and one other one in the distance whose name we did not learn. Soon we sighted on the horizon about 10 canoes, completely similar to those of the previous day, but only half of them reached us. Some tow ropes were given to them, and we towed them. Some of them, better sailers, followed us alongside; only one could sail faster than us and fooled around by cutting our bow and sailing from side to side.

Many of the natives climbed aboard with a surprising agility, and showed enough trust and gaiety to make us believe that they must have frequent contacts with Europeans. When they noticed a few cannon balls, that happened to be moved accidentally, those who saw them became frightened; one of those even went back to his canoe. Would they have been the victims of such projectiles?

Mr. Quoy writes:

“We were giving them a thousand trifles, and they accepted every thing we offered, but never took anything themselves: they liked to eat biscuit. One of them thought that a piece of tobacco being offered to him was something good to eat, but, when he had placed it in his mouth, he soon expelled it while making awful grimaces. Another began to dance (see Plate 54): first, he bent his body forward, stretched his arms, while making his hands vibrate. He appeared to be very concentrated, and murmured a few words in a low voice; then, increasing the movements of the hands, he beat his body, and twisted his hips a thousand times. Afterwards, they danced in groups of two and four; but their twosome dance pleased us the most, not only because of the group effect, but also because they were accompanying themselves with a very melodious song in a clear voice.”

“Upon seeing a mirror, one of these islanders was stricken by an extreme surprise; he let go a cry of surprise, and spoke vividly to his countrymen. They were speaking in a very loud voice and, without being too unbearable, they nevertheless kept bothering us. Their character is so flitting that it was with difficulty that we were able to get a few words of their vocabulary; they were easily distracted; and when we thought we had their attention, instead of answering us, they would begin to dance instead, or else would turn their backs to look at something entirely different, and forget about our question.”

“These islanders, so vigorous, so pleasant, so gay, and who seemed to be very healthy, are nevertheless not exempt from leprosy; two or three of them were covered by it. Another had a very important skin disease that seemed to bother him a lot; we tried to make him come on deck for the purpose of examining him; however, he resisted even

at the sight of a knife which usually has an irresistible effect. A Carolinian who was at our sides, and who had noticed that we tried to get by barter everything that attracted our attention, thought that we were trying to give a knife in exchange for the sickness that affected the poor man; this idea seemed so funny to him that he laughed so much that he began to cry while doing so.”

“At about this time, two canoes collided; the outrigger of one was pushed up and it capsized. This accident saddened us all, because we thought that the people on board her had lost all the objects that we had given them. As far as their personal safety was concerned, we had no such fear, because they are excellent swimmers. Soon we saw them on the top of the keel of their canoe and gathering the objects floating around them. It was with a remarkable skill that they turned their canoe over, bailed the water out, and re-installed the mast and sail. In fact, within half an hour the whole damage had been erased, and the canoe made seaworthy. It is true, and we were pleased by it, two other canoes that had been heading towards us with full sail and force of oars, intending to come quickly alongside, changed their course and went to the help of their companions.”

As we were getting away from their islands, the rest of the Carolinians who were aboard decided to leave us; they left, but not without giving us additional fish and coconuts that were much appreciated by our sick men who received their share. However, the condition of our unfortunate companions did not improve, and it was the reason why I had not stopped to study more carefully the islands that we had just left so rapidly. I therefore continued to steer for the Marianas, where we expected to find our salvation. Finally, on 17 March, 18 months after we had left France, we sighted these so-desired islands. Having come close to the east coast of Guam, we rounded its south side, and arrived promptly in sight of the anchorage of Umata, which we reached only by tacking.

We had hardly passed the small island of Daneono [sic], or Cocos Island (Plate 59) that we saw a boat leave the shore. Flying a Spanish flag, it soon was alongside. The officer in charge of it, sent by the governor, came to learn the objective of our expedition and the purpose of our visit. After I had answered his questions, I brought to his attention the condition of my crew, as well as the extreme need for fresh food. He left, but soon returned with an ample provision of refreshments of all kinds, much to my astonishment and gratitude. These were sent by the governor of these islands and they were our emergency supplies. The manna of the desert was not received by the Israelites with more joy and more gratitude; however, it was but the beginning of his generous assistance. The crew, during the whole of our stay here, did not stop blessing his bottomless kindness and obliging zeal; but it was as of this day that every one of us was able to forget the privations and the sufferings that he had endured, and could now feel free to hope, thanks to the abundant food. Our sick, formerly discouraged, became revitalized by the thought that they would soon recover. As for those who had been so far spared by the epidemic, we were glad to have escaped from this bad luck, and we

were happy at the thought that our own health would be further strengthened, as the long crossing had been also hard on us. A continual succession of troubles, that is the life of the sailor! But such dangers are no sooner avoided that they are forgotten; that is the type of men we are!

CHAPTER XXIII.

Information on the Caroline Islands.

Before stepping on the hospitable shore of the Marianas, let us mention, in this chapter, the small number of facts that are the result of our observations on the Carolinians and their islands. Most of them have been collected by us during our cruise; the rest, during our stay at Guam, where these intrepid islanders come today rather frequently. What we have not been able to see by ourselves has been taken from authentic documents.

Section I.

Historical notice on the Carolines, before 1820.

Given that I have the intention of discussing the facts that make up most of this notice, I thought I should start by giving a summary of them.¹ I will not, however, go into any technical discussion; suffice for me to say here that my opinion on the route followed and on the islands discovered by the old navigators in question, have been fixed only after a proper study of their navigation which took place at periods where navigational methods were less perfect than today and resulted in uncertain positions for the ships in question.

The Portuguese captain Diogo da Rocha must be credited for having been, in 1526, the first of many navigators to visit the Carolines.² The islands that he named Sequeira, seems to be no other than the Matelotas, situated ENE of the Palaos.³

While sailing from the Marianas to the Moluccas, Alvaro de Saavedra discovered, in 1527, in 11° lat. north, an archipelago that he named *Islas de los Reyes*, that are ob-

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- 1 My main sources have been: the Government archives, at Guam; the Lettres édifiantes [by Fr. Le Gobien]; the History of Navigation to the Austral Lands, by President De Brosse; the General History of the Philippines, by Fr. Juan de la Concepción; the Voyage to the West Indies, by François Coreal; the General History of Voyages, by Abbé Prévost; A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas, by J. Burney, etc.
 - 2 I do not count among the Carolines the Island of San Bartolomé discovered in 1526 by Loaysa; because he was in 17° of latitude north, and this is beyond the boundaries of this archipelago.
 - 3 Ed. note: Rather, they correspond with the Ulithi atoll. Matelotas then was Fais, but today this is but another name for Ngulu.

viously the Ego Islands, one of the most important groups in the Carolines.¹ After he has spent a short time at Tidore, and touched New Guinea,² Saavedra passed 250 leagues beyond this island, in 1528, and sighted other islands, in 7° latitude, where he saw some white-skinned and bearded inhabitants. This position, and the same characters that we have found once more among a small number of Carolinians, make us believe that one of these islands corresponds to Pulusuk.

Finding only contrary winds, and forced to return to the Moluccas, Saavedra, the following year, visited some new islands that he named *Los Pintados* and *Los Buenos Jardines*. We recognize the former as being a part of the Ralik Chain, and the latter as the northern extremity of the Radak Chain, which was explored much later by the Russian Captain Kotzebue.³

This neighborhood was not again visited until 1543, when Villalobos visited some islands already known and reported.⁴

Legaspi also sighted, in 1565, these same Buenos Jardines Islands, even the Pescadores, or the northern end of the Ralik Chain, as well as the Arrrecife Islands, situated further west.

In the *Lettres édifiantes*, Father Cantova presumes that the white mestizos found in the Carolines are descendants of Martin Lopez who, after he had tried to take over a Spanish ship that he piloted, was marooned, in 1566, along with 28 accomplices, on an inhabited island to the east of the Marianas. We cannot share this opinion, because they do not agree with the observations made by Saavedra.

Drake, when on his way back to Europe from the west coast of America, discovered, in 1579, the islands that he named Islands of Thieves, and that seem to be the islands to the south of Yap; he spent three days there.⁵

1 The islands appear on some old charts under the name of Garbanzos, that is, the Chick-pea Islands, probably because, according to their custom, the Carolinian pilots used some of those grains when 'drawing' a map of their islands. They are also known under the name of Falalep, the main island of the group. Ed. comment: They correspond also to the Ulithi atoll.

2 In 128° longitude East of Paris. New Guinea had been discovered by Loaysa the previous year.

3 In 1816 and 1817.

4 Notably the Buenos Jardines of Saavedra. The Spanish have attributed to Villalobos the discovery of the Caroline Islands that lie south of the Marianas, an opinion for which I have found proof in the Guam archives, one which, by the way, has been published. I have no doubt that this navigator did discover some of the Caroline Islands, but nothing is more incoherent than the published narratives of his voyage from New Spain to the Philippines.

5 They bear on Chart n° 7 of our Hydrographic Atlas, the name of Lamoliao-Ouru Islands. Yap Island is also named Eap by a few authors. Ed. comment: The Thieves' Islands of Drake correspond to Palau instead.

In 1595, Quirós, who followed Mendaña, discovered Hogoleu Island,¹ that was first called Quirosa by the Spanish, then Torres, after a captain of that nationality.

The Nassau Fleet, under the command of Admiral Schapenham, saw, in 1625, only two islands in the Egoy Group.²

The Spanish had been settled in the Marianas for many years when, in 1686, the Pilot Lascano, in charge of one of their ships, saw, to the south of the [galleon] track between New Spain and the Philippines, an island that was named by him Carolina, in honor of King Charles II; this name was later extended to all the other islands that were discovered in that neighborhood. This island is, without a doubt, Farroilep;³ a long search has since been made for it by the Mariano pilot Alonso Soon.⁴

Ten years after the voyage of Lascano, two canoes left, not from the Palaos, as one author said,⁵ but from the Lamursek [Lamotrek] Islands, situated to the south of the Marianas. They were pushed by a blast of wind, with the 29 persons of both sexes aboard her, to Samar Island, one of the Philippines. These poor people had set out, 39 in all, to go to a nearby island, but had been pushed to the high sea by a hurricane. At first, they fought the bad weather during 70 days, still hoping to make some known land, but it was in vain. Tormented by a frightful hunger, they were forced to abandon themselves to the winds that led them finally to the Philippines, where they were treated with humanity. Two women, who had been previously thrown on the same coast, were used as interpreters, and one of them found a relative of hers among these strangers. Five persons had died during the voyage; a sixth one died upon their arrival. Some interesting information about their native country was obtained from the others.

The existence of the Palaos had been known, many years before, firstly by smoke that had been seen from the eastern coast of Samar, but more specifically by the arrival of various canoes from these islands that the bad weather had forced to drift to Mindanao Island.

During that same year, the Pilot Juan Rodriguez ran aground on the Santa Rosa Bank, and from there saw Farroilep Island that Lascano had discovered, as well as the two small islands that lie near it.

The Mariana colonists had no success in the expedition that they sent, at about the same time, to search for and conquer the islands whose existence had just been made; they could not find Carolina, although its position was already known.

However, the narrative of the natives who had been thrown upon Samar Island the previous year had managed to excite the zeal of the Spanish; a new attempt was made, almost entirely financed by a few individuals, but the ship, forced to make sail during

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- 1 This island lies in about 6° of latitude north, and its estimated circumference is at least 25 leagues. Ed. comment: Hogoleu is Chuuk; however, the island discovered by Quirós was Pohnpei.
 - 2 Ed. note: Incorrect; they saw two islands in the Northern Marianas.
 - 3 Ed. note: Incorrect; Carolina corresponds to Yap.
 - 4 The years are not mentioned but it seems that this took place before 1700. Ed. comment: Look for his name in my Cumulative Index, HM20.
 - 5 At that time, the name Palaos was synonymous with the Carolines.

the absence of the captain, was carried off to the high sea; by 1697, still nothing had been heard of his fate. Fr. Clain, Jesuit, reported this accident to the general of his order, as well as the information that he had got from the 29 islanders from Lamursek. Persuaded that the conquest would be successful, the failure that had just occurred was considered only a nuisance. Pushed by this idea, Fathers Clain and Andrés Serrano were sent on a delegation to the Pope, to present a map, drawn by one of them from information provided by the Indians, and to interest him in favor of this new mission field for christendom. Clement XI approved the project of establishing a mission on this point, and he urged the king of Spain to provide to the missionaries the necessary vessels to this enterprise; the archbishops of Manila and Mexico were ordered to help this difficult and risky project with all their might, and King Louis XIV himself wrote to Madrid to push for its accomplishment.

As a consequence of these measures, a galliot left the Philippines, in 1708, with three religious missionaries and 25 soldiers on board. But their efforts were, if not so disastrous, at least as useless as those of their predecessors; after a long voyage during which nothing was discovered, they were forced by lack of food and water to return to Manila.

A Carolinian chief, who had left Feis Island,¹ had just been forced by strong winds to Palapag² with his wife and children. His name was Moac. Believing that they could be good guides, the Spanish Governor Zabalburis [sic] ordered the construction of a new vessel to continue the search. Unfortunately, some horrible storms and a cloudy sky prevented their finding anything, so that, by September they had to return to Palapag, whence they had left on 1 June.

Far from being discouraged by so many obstacles and unsuccessful work, a new governor, the Count of Lizarra [sic], had two ships made ready for the same purpose, but, by a sort of bad luck connected with the enterprise, one of them ran aground near Palapag, and was lost. So, Don Francisco Padilla, in command of the other vessel, departed with it, on 24 November 1710, with 86 people on board, including Moac and his family, as well as the religious Fathers Duberron [sic], Cortil and Baudin. On the 30th, he arrived before two islands that were named San Andrés, but whose native name is Soronsol [Sonsorol] and Kadocapué [sic].³ Pushed by their zeal, and moreover encouraged by the peaceful appearance of the natives, Fathers Duberron, Cortil, and 14 crew members boarded the launch, on 5 October, and went ashore, accompanied by Moac.

However, the vessel, unable to find either port or anchorage, could not drop anchor at this island and, for four days, was forced to fight against the currents that bore it away. A few islanders who came on deck pointed out the direction of the neighboring islands of Merieres and Pul.⁴ On the 11th, Panlog, or Babletoup, the capital of the Pa-

1 Island located to the east of the Egoy Islands.

2 A port of Samar Island.

3 These islands are SW of Palaos. The northernmost of the two, named Soronsol here, is also known under the names of Sonrol, Sonsorol, &c.

4 Since named Pulo, then abusively Pulo-Anna, or simply Anna.

laos, was sighted. A few islanders came on deck but they became so bothersome that a shot had to be fired at them. Two days later, the vessel headed back to Soronsol, in the hope of picking up the launch and the persons who had been left ashore there; it was in vain. Padilla, during many days, first tried to stay in the vicinity of the island, but finding no trace of his unfortunate companions, and not even receiving the usual visits of the islanders, must have been afflicted by the saddest of premonitions. Lacking a boat to go ashore, and moreover beginning to run short of water and food supplies, he was finally forced, on 21 December, to return to Manila. The only outcome of this expedition was his narrative of the discouraging voyage.

Padilla had not yet returned when Don Miguel Eloriaga in turn left to survey the Palaos; this voyage may not have been successful, as no narrative of it is extant.

Besides the conquest of the Carolines, the desire to rescue the Spanish abandoned at Soronsol became foremost. To reach this double objective, Fr. Serrano had a ship made ready at Manila. With a selected crew, carrying many missionaries, and commanded by Don Blas de Lesso, she set sail at the end of 1711. When she was but off the coast of Marinduque,¹ a terrible blast of wind hit the vessel, which soon became a total loss; only two sailors survived the shipwreck.

On 30 January of the following year, the vessel that was usually despatched to the Marianas, then commanded by Don Bernardo Egoy [rather Egui], was ordered to return by way of Soronsol to look for the men left there. This officer sighted, on 6 February, two small islands, and on the following days, many more, totalling 18. They were named after him, the Egoy Islands. From the natives he got the individual names of a few of them, for instance, Falalep and Mogmog, that are the main ones. Finally, on the 19th, he came in sight of Soronsol; but he was continuously pushed off them by contrary currents and winds; he went back to Manila, bringing with him only two Indians from the islands that he had discovered, and no news from the unfortunate missionaries and their companions.

All the voyages of discoveries made during a period of 10 years following the abandonment of Father Duberron and Cortil at Soronsol, had no greater success, because, if, in spite of what is read in a letter of Fr. Cazier, written from China, saying that the natives had admitted to have massacred the Spanish, at the instigation of Moac, it is positively stated, in another letter, dated Manila December 1721, that nothing had as yet been found out regarding their fate, but that there was no doubt that they had been the victims of the savages.

¹ One of the Philippines.

At this time, the hope of finding the Carolines was much diminished by so many failed attempts; however, one incident happened that revived this hope. Indeed, a canoe carrying many Indians, men, women and children, arrived at the Bay of Tarafoso, on the east coast of Guam, on 19 June 1721. Two days later, another canoe carrying six persons landed at Orote Point.¹ Having left Farroilep to go to Guliay,² they were pushed by a blast of wind to the coasts of the main island of the Marianas. The Spanish treated these islanders with kindness, and received from them much detailed information regarding the position and the number of their islands,³ the customs of the inhabitants, the religion, the government, etc.⁴ This was sufficient to excite the zeal of the missionaries. Fr. Cantova undertook to continue the projects that had failed so many times before. He set out on 1722 with the Carolinians whom have just been mentioned. In spite of so much help, he made an unsuccessful search for their islands, from 11 May to 6 June, but was finally forced to sail for Manila without sighting any.⁵

After returning to Guam, 9 years later, he obtained permission to undertake this voyage. He left Agaña⁶ on 11 February 1731, aboard a small vessel, with Fr. Victor Walter for a companion, 12 soldiers, 8 sailors and one shipwrecked Carolinian who had been baptized at Guam 6 years earlier. With more luck this time, Cantova reached Mogmog, on 2 March, and from there went on to Falalep, the largest of all the Ego Islands. He settled there, welcomed by the friendly natives, and began his missionary work. However, he had to separate from Fr. Walter, the companion of his first successes, and was never to see him again. The latter sailed from Falalep on 30 May, hoping to return to the Marianas, whence he would come back with the necessary help and food supplies for the new mission; however, the contrary winds forced him to sail to Manila. In spite of his impatience, he was unable to sail again until 12 November of the following year, aboard a vessel headed for Guam. He was not lucky this time either, because this ship, upon arrival, crashed upon the coast near the port of Merizo.

1 Ed. note: The western point of Guam Island.

2 Island whose name is also written Ulie, Olié, Uliá, Uée, and even Vlee. It is doubtful that these islanders were from Farroilep or Guliay themselves; what is certain is that the distance between these two islands is not great.

3 It was during this interrogation that the famous chart of the Carolines of Fr. Cantova was drawn up and later published in the *Lettres édifiantes*.

4 "This was not easy," wrote Cantova, "because their language was completely unknown to us, and we had no interpreters to make ourselves understood; however, as some of them were lodged in our residence, I managed, after many long interchanges and by pointing at various objects, to learn enough of their language, to be able, after two months, to translate into their language the Sign of the Cross, the Sunday prayer, the Creed of the Apostles, God's Commandments, and a Summary catechism. These islanders remained four months in the Island of Guam." (*Lettres édifiantes*).

5 Ed. note: It is not said here that the natives aboard his own canoe swam to a Carolinian canoe; thus Fr. Cantova was cheated and abandoned at sea, without a pilot, under cover of darkness; then the winds prevented his return to Guam.

6 Capital city of the Marianas.

Fighting resolutely against the most constant difficulties, Fr. Walter returned to the Philippines, to ask for another vessel to be made ready. With new missionaries, which finally left Manila for the Egoy Islands, carrying 44 men, sailors and soldiers. Falalep was sighted on 9 June. Fr. Walter, fearful for the fate of the companions whom he had left behind, but happy about their possible reunion and the joy they would have in receiving useful supplies, came close to the island. Many guns were fired, but—what a bad omen—no signal was made in return; not one man, Spanish or Indian, could be seen on the coast. The ship went closer in shore, but a sad scene came in sight: the cross, planted during the first expedition, no longer existed; the village nearby was but ashes; only the house of the good Father, and the storehouse of the mission, half ruined, presented a few remains that had escaped the fire. Such clues were too real; nevertheless, no-one wanted to believe the worst. Finally, a few canoes appeared carrying fruits, but they did not wish to come alongside; those on board them showed an obvious fear. Questions were made to them. Fr. Cantova and his companions, they said, had gone to the Island of Yap. Only one man took a chance and came on deck; he was seized and kept on board. He reported that Fr. Cantova had, ten days after the departure of the vessel, and at the urging of Digal, the Carolinian who acted as his interpreter, gone to Mogmog to baptize an adult there. The inhabitants of Mogmog killed him, as well as two soldiers accompanying him. under the pretext, they said, that the “the Spanish wished to change their customs.” Fearful of the consequences of this murder, they buried Fr. Cantova in the manner reserved for chiefs. When the news of this disaster reached Falalep, the natives attacked the Europeans who remained there; one by one they were killed until none of them was left. This narrative left no more hope; however, Fr. Walter, in the impossibility of dropping anchor at Falalep, made his way towards Yap. For four days, he looked for the island but did not find it. Then the ship headed for Manila where it arrived on 14 July 1731 [rather 1734].

Such was the last regular Spanish expedition to the Carolines. The sorrow they felt at so many unsuccessful outcomes, so many useless efforts and expenses, made them abandon the conquest of these islands, which they already considered to be very difficult.

From then on contacts with the Carolines were accidental in nature, and sometimes separated by long intervals. So it is that in 1756, one Carolinian was thrown upon the coast of the Marianas; another one came the following year, having first touched at the Philippines; both settled in Guam, where they became useful as interpreters.

During their voyages around the world, Captain Carteret, in 1767, saw the Soronol Islands, but did not stop there; Captain Wallis sighted the Pescadores Islands at the northern end of the Ralik Chain of islands; six years later, Don Felipe Tompson discovered the Passion [Ngatik] Islands, St. Augustine [Oroluk] Islands, etc.

The existence of the Palaos Islands¹ was still doubted in Europe, when the shipwreck of the English ship **Antelope** occurred on their coasts, in 1783, brought them into the

1 The English call these islands Pelew, but the name I retain is much older.

news again. Captain Wilson, who commanded her, and his crew remained three months ashore. Having managed to build a small ship, they went to China. The narrative of their adventure has been published.¹ It includes a summary description of the inhabitants and their customs.

At about the end of May 1787, three *tamors* or chiefs of Lamursek Island arrived at the Marianas, after 10 days of navigation, aboard two canoes manned by 13 men. The Spanish governor obtained from them many positive and curious information.

Many of these islanders, pleased with the welcome that they had been given, returned to Guam in 1788, but they were surprised by a hurricane and did not live to see their native land.

A large part of the Radak Chain was explored that same year by Captains Marshall and Gilbert; the former aboard the **Scarborough**, the latter aboard the **Charlotte**. Many of the groups that make it up received the names of Mulgraves, Arrowsmith, Pedder, Daniel, Ibbetson, Calvert and Chatham.

The charming narrative of the adventures of Captain Wilson at the Palaos, made Captain MacCluer think that happiness and virtue could be found there better than elsewhere. He left Bombay, in 1790, for a scientific mission. He stopped at these islands, for the purpose of delivering to the local chiefs gifts from the English East India Company. He remained at these islands for a while, to teach the natives how to cultivate, raise cattle and make use of the farm equipment that he had brought to them. He came back to the Palaos three years later, intending to settle there with his family, a plan he had developed over a long time. Fifteen months spent there did not make his golden dream come true. To the contrary, boredom became unbearable and he decided to effect a change. First, he went to China, came back a second time to the Palaos in 1794, whence he sent back his family to Bombay, and left to go back there himself aboard another vessel. Since nothing was ever heard from him, it is believed that he perished at sea.²

While the preceding adventures were taking place, many navigators sighted parts of the Caroline archipelago. In 1791, Captain Hunter saw a few islands in the neighborhood of Guliay and Yap. The next year, the **Royal William** discovered part of the Ralik Islands, to which they gave the name of Muskitto Group³ and Baring Islands.⁴ Two years later, the ship **Exeter** passed by the south end of Yap; the ship **Musgrave** by the Passion Islands, which they named Seven Islands, then Pulusuk, and a few others. The Passion Islands were again sighted by the **Britannia**, in 1794.

It was also the same year that Captain Butler discovered the Brown Range, in the west part of Ralik, and that more exact information was obtained about Guliay Group. A canoe, having left the main island of this group was attacked by a blast of wind that made it sail aimlessly for about two months, until it arrived in a most deplorable state

1 Under the title: *An Account of the Pelew Islands, &c.*, by G. Keate.

2 See the Supplement to the Account of the Pelew Islands, by John Pearce Hockin.

3 They are, I believe, those named Odia by the natives.

4 May be the same as the Namorik Islands.

on the coast of Inarahan (Plate 59), where the three men who were aboard it received from the Spanish all sorts of help. A chart of these islands, drawn up by the governor from the information given by the castaways has been kept since in the archives at Agaña.

Captain Mortlock, aboard the **Young William**, sighted, in 1715 [rather 1795] the Ruk [Chuuk] Islands, and passed by Polusuk and Puluhot. The following year, the **Cuffnell** sighted to the southwest of Yap, the Lamoliao-uru Islands, which he confused with the Matelotas, situated much further west.

We have already said that the existence of the Guliay Group was known in the Marianas; they were again sighted, in 1797, by the ship **Duff**,¹ and named the Thirteen Islands. The same ship also sighted other islands in their vicinity and near the Palaos.

Many groups in the Ralik Islands were explored under the names of Hunter Islands, Lanham Islands, Ross Islands, etc. and the next year, Captain Fearn passed near the Brown Range, already discovered by Butler.

The **Nautilus** visited, in 1799, the Odia Islands, in the Ralik Chain, and part of the Radak Islands. In the meantime, the Spanish Captain Ibargoitia passed by Pulusuk, an island which he saw again two years later, as well as another lying to the northward of it. The voyage of Lafita took him past the Passion Islands, already discovered by Tompson.

Don Luís de Torres, a respectable officer, born in the Marianas, whose character as a good observer and reputation as a learned man is well deserved, became worried about the long absence of the Carolinians from Lamursek and Guliay who, in 1787, had promised him to return [to Guam]. He took advantage of the visit of the ship **Maria of Boston**² to visit, in 1804, his old friends. It was only this way that the loss of the 1788 canoes was discovered; until then, their fate had been completely ignored. The natives had believed for a long time that the reason of the absence of their countrymen was that they had been massacred in the Marianas. Don Luís proved that the Spanish were not responsible and he invited them to continue to visit Guam. They promised they would, and, from then on until the time corresponding to the end of this notice, they have made their appearance there, at regular time, but in varying numbers.

The English ship **Ocean** visited that same year a few islands in the Ralik Chain, naming them Lydia and Margaret Islands.

In 1806, Monteverde discovered the Lugulos Islands, then San Rafael Island, while the frigate **La Pala** discovered another group of islands to the W.N.W. of them, to which was given later the name of Dunkin Island.

A canoe from Ruk [Chuuk] Island, having lost its way, in 1807, was pushed to Guam Island; it carried 15 persons, who were made welcome. However, when a few guns were

1 The ship **Duff**, under a Captain Wilson, was the first ship to bring English missionaries to the islands of Tahiti, Friendly and Marquesas Islands. It was while returning to Europe that it crossed the Caroline Archipelago.

2 The objective of the voyage of the **Maria** was to fish for bechd-de-mer, the trepang of the Malays and the biche-de-mer of the Spanish and Portuguese.

fired, during a feast that took place at that time, these timid islanders became frightened and sailed off into the night, with no provisions on board. Fortunately for them, they met with the yearly fleet coming from Lamursek that provided them with some; the king himself was part of this small fleet.

That same year, the ship **Hope** was first to report, S.W. of the Ralik Islands, the existence of Ualan [Kosrae] Island; at first, the island was given the name of this ship. The brig **Eliza** reported, two years later, the Elmore, Bonham and Patterson Islands, all belonging to the Ralik Chain. Then Captain MacAskill reported a group of islands South of the Arrecifes Islands; they were seen again, in 1811, by the ship **Providence**.¹

In 1813, a westerly wind pushed a canoe from the Guliay Islands as far as Aur Island, belonging to the Radak Chain. Kadu, one of the men aboard this canoe, met the Russian captain Kotzebue, in 1816, while he was on a voyage around the world; much curious information was obtained from him. The following year, the same officer completed his survey of the chain of islands that we have just mentioned. The charts that he has published offer, with that of the Palaos, the first truly acceptable charts that have ever been published about the Carolines.²

The fleet of canoes from Lamursek that came to Guam in 1814 consisted of 18 canoes. At the end of that year, Captain Manuel Dublon, from Manila, discovered, 50 leagues to the East of Puluhot but on the same latitude, a group of small islands, one of which was made remarkable by a rather high mountain on it.

Everything seems to point out that the population of the islands under the king of Lamursek has indeed increased to the point that the inhabitants had to look for food elsewhere. One hundred and sixteen canoes had left in 1816 to go to neighboring islands, but their expedition was so disastrous that 110 of these frail canoes, carrying 900 individuals, that is, about one-sixth of the population under the authority of that king, perished on account of strong contrary winds.

Although the loss was relatively great for such small islands, the need for further migration was still obvious. In 1818, one of their main princes, named Kautao, accompanied by six other *tamors*, a female cousin of the king,³ 6 children, and 98 persons in their retinues, was sent as an ambassador to Don Medinilla, to make sure that the offers that had been made to the king, his master, at various times, were sincere. This governor, having received the prince before his council, learned from him that they were ready, if their request for enough land to live on was granted, to live peacefully among the Spanish and the natives of their new country. As a guarantee of the good intentions of his king, Kautao proposed to leave behind as a hostage the relative of the king, her husband, their five children, and six servants, and he requested permission for them to settle in Saypan, an island then uninhabited, which they preferred to the others. Furthermore, he invited the governor, in his own behalf, to keep near his person, a num-

1 Ed. note: They were not the same islands. The Providence Islands correspond to Ujelang.

2 Ed. note: It is obvious by now that Freycinet considered the Marshalls as forming part of the Carolines.

3 See her portrait, Plate 57.

ber of his servants, two young islanders, one of whom was his cousin, and he begged forgiveness for not being able himself to stay as a hostage, given that he had to report back about his mission. Kautao had been ordered, in case his requests were not accepted, to insist for the Governor to send a ship with enough capacity to transport, from the Lamursek Islands to the Marianas, the women and children. Indeed, as a consequence of a catastrophe that had occurred in 1816, these islanders had but a few small canoes left, aboard which it would have been imprudent, and even cruel, to send weak beings, for such a long crossing, naked and without any clothing to protect them against the weather.

All of these proposals had been accepted by the governor, Kautao went immediately to Saypan to found the first bases of his settlement, that is, to select the lands, trace their boundaries, and finally to supervise the construction of necessary houses and storehouses for the new colony.

When the *Uranie* crossed the Carolines in 1819, as we have seen, only six islands were the object of our quick investigation; but during our stay at Guam, a few canoes from Lamursek, Satawal and Gulimarao [sic], came in, and we were able to make many interesting observations regarding their inhabitants.

Here ends our historical sketch, necessarily very incomplete, of this vast archipelago, and we go on to present a few general views on their physical and moral conditions.

Section II. Physical and geographical considerations.

The Caroline archipelago, formerly known by the name of Palaos, then by the name of New Philippines, cover an area extending from the 129° to the 171° of longitude East of Paris; and from 3° to 12° of latitude North. This is an area extending about one thousand leagues from East to West, and 250 leagues from North to South. These islands may be divided into many groups, which, to follow the example of Fr. Cantova, we will call by the name of *provinces*.

First province.—The first province is the easternmost region, and therefore comprises the Radak and Ralik Islands, which are themselves sub-divided into two large chains that are again sub-divided into many *atolls*. Its boundaries in longitude are from 171° to 164° E.

Second province.—It extends from the latter longitude as far as 150°, and includes Ualan Island, the Brown Range, the islands named Arrecifes, Casbobas, Feyoa, Passion, San Agustin, and Bajo Triste; the Lugulu or Monteverde Islands, Ruk Islands, Torres or Hogoleu Island, and a rather large number of other islands whose positions are more or less known.

Third province.—The 150° and the 140° of longitudes mark the boundaries of the third province, that is, at the level of 5° of latitude, but along the parallel of 12° it extends only as far as the meridian of 142° so as to exclude Fais Island which is attached to the Egoy [Ulithi] Islands, and belong to the next group. It is this third province that

the **Uranie** visited from South to North. The islands that are part of it are not well known and the position of a few others is still, and was then, very uncertain. Besides the islands that we sighted, we must also mention the Lamursek Islands which seem to form their own atoll, they say, made up of 10 islands, seven of which are rather small; Satawal, Mugarak, Ifeluk, Elato and Ulimarao, among others, as well as the Guliay that make up a separate atoll where 21 islands of various sizes can be counted, the main one giving its name to the whole group; some small vessels can anchor there. The Auripig Islands in the south, and Farroilep in the north, belong also to our third province.

Fourth province.—Within it we find the Egoy [Ulithi] Islands which, they say, are made up of two atolls, Fais Island which we have already mentioned, and a few others of lesser importance, all situated between 9° and 11° of latitude. The islands of this division have as a boundary the longitudes of 142° and 138°. Falalep and Mogmog both belong to the Egoy Island group, and are capital islands.

Fifth province.—It consists of Yap Island, to which is given no fewer than forty leagues of circumference; the Philip Islands, the Hunter Islands, and the Lamoliao-Uru Group, of which the main island appears to be Nolog [rather Ngulu]. Its boundaries in longitude are from 138° to 134°.

Sixth province.—The Palaos Islands (Pelew of the English), the Matelotas, Catri-tan, Johannes, Sonsorol, Cadocopue, etc. belong to the sixth and last province which is also the westernmost.

General constitution.—If we were permitted to make generalizations based on the small number of Caroline Islands that we have visited, we would say that they are all low-lying, uniform and rather fertile, although the vegetation is either pale, in comparison with the beautiful greenery of the Moluccas; besides, they are hard of access on account of the reefs that surround them. However, we know that they are not all like that; there are some high ones, and many have passes through the reefs that are suitable for use by ships. We will not go beyond these remarks, as they would exceed the limits that we have fixed ourselves.

Among the trees, the breadfruit tree and the coconut tree seem to be very common; these tall plants, plus the banana tree and certain starchy roots, are undoubtedly the most important sources of food for man. We cannot say more on the subject of land-based food products. The turtle, which is attracted by sandy beaches, the shell-fish, and a great variety of excellent fishes, are the only animals that seem to provide food sources. The domestic hen, naturalized on a few islands, is not very common. I was told that there are no quadrupeds of any kind on these islands; this remark may apply only to the islands of a small size. The holothurians, or trepang, are abundant, but the natives have no use for this type of food, so coveted by the Chinese.

Temperature.—The average temperature, during many days of thermometric observations taken between 9 and 15 March, and corrected for a latitude of 7°20' North, gave us 26.9° for air temperature, and 27.4° for sea temperature on the surface.

Winds.—There is no doubt that the Carolines are all located in the zone under the influence of the monsoons; the easterlies bring good weather, but the other monsoon

is accompanied by wind and rain storms. Their neighborhood is close enough to the Marianas for us to link them with the latter; we will return to this subject later, under the Marianas, as the winds that prevail there also affect the Carolines.

Section III. Man considered as an individual.

No matter what may be similar or different among the Carolinians whom we had observed and those of other provinces, what follows will specially refer to the inhabitants of the Islands of Pulusuk, Puluhot, Tamatam, Ollap, Fanadik, Satawal, Guliay, Gulimarao and Lamursek. We have no marked difference within this group.

Physical characteristics.—"The color of their skin," says Mr. Gaimard, "is rather difficult to determine well; one could say that it is intermediary between olive black and copper red. Generally, they have long, black, hair that is either smooth or fuzzy;¹ on many islands they wear it behind the neck; at other places, the hair falls loosely upon the shoulders and form some natural curls that the wind moves about. These islanders, whose height is above average, are muscular, strong and well formed; a few are tall, well made and very handsome men; their features are regular, the forehead high, the eyes bright, varying from grey to black; the nose is well shaped, although maybe a little too wide at the base; the mouth large, without being misshapen, and adorned with very white teeth; the ear lobes pierced with an opening that is so big that they almost reach the shoulders; finally, their facial expressions are interesting, intelligent and peaceful. The beard is not shapen the same way among individuals; some have it very dense and joined with the sideburns, while others, most of them, have but a tuft left on the chin. Some even wear moustaches, and in this case, it is rather long."

Tattoos.—"Their skin is adorned with various tattoos, generally blue, sometimes black, whose regularity and elegance are very astonishing (See Plates 53, 54, 55, and 57).. A few individuals have three stripes on each leg, which gives the appearance of striped stockings—like those formerly worn in France—to this part of their body. It is not rare that one can see, on their fore-arms, the same type of stripes, always separated by an equal space. Here is a man, wearing under each teat, a simple bar adorned below with small perpendicular lines, the whole giving the appearance of a comb; another has transversal lines on the front part of each shoulder; some others have the crude figures of some fish drawn upon their arms; or else they may have short horizontal lines on the inner sides of their limbs, and fewer longitudinal lines; one can be seen with hardly any tattoos, while another may have all the possible combinations of drawings on his body. We have concluded that the number of tattoos is proportional to the rank of the individual in question. This opinion is, however, contrary to that of Kotzebue,² who makes the statement that the nobles have no more tattoos than the common people. The Ca-

1 In one of the largest canoes, we saw one old man with white hair.

2 A Voyage of Discovery, in 1815-1818, Vol. III.

rolinian chief who was visited by our companions at Tinian had his body tattooed in such an admirable way" (See Plate 57).

The only Carolinian women whom we have seen have been sketched, one on Plate 53, the other on Plate 57. The latter, born at Lamursek, was then at Tinian, and was sketched while there; we have already mentioned the rank that she had. The former came to Guam aboard a canoe from Satawal, with her child, a young girl of six years of age whose face was interesting; but the facial characteristics of the mother, 25 years old, radiated softness and kindness; she had hands and feet of a perfect size. We gave her some clothes upon her arrival, because, except for a loin-cloth, she wore no clothes, like her countrymen. Her character was gay, lively and humorous. She amused us very much by her expressive pantomime. Judging by these two specimens, one could say that the women tattoo themselves less than the men, and that they prefer to have the drawings on their legs; on the shoulders of one of them, however, there were some light artificial spots. Their ear lobes were also pierced and just as stretched as those of the men.

White men.—The reader may remember that, during our stay at the land of the Papuans, we realized that there existed, among the brown race of these countries, a few individuals with a skin that was just as white as that of the Europeans. This particular anomaly was again observed by us when we crossed the Caroline Archipelago; there we saw one islander whose whiteness was also quite remarkable. Many navigators have made similar remarks about the same neighborhoods, and as far back as the earliest voyages. So far, this phenomenon has not been explained satisfactorily.

Dimensions of the body.—Mr. Gaimard took measurements of the different parts of the body of two Carolinians, and the details of this operation are recorded in the following table. One of these individuals, n° 1, was a tall and handsome man, strongly built, having a happy face bound by beautiful loose and curly hair and a magnificent tattoo that led us to call him by the name of *Beau tatoué* [Beautifully tattooed]. N° 2 was one of the smallest Carolinian whom we had seen, but still his body was well proportioned; he had protruding lips, his hair was black, long and flat, and his ear-lobes were very distended; he had one nail in one ear-lobe, and one fish-hook in the other.

Measures taken	Value of the measurements of each Carolinian	
	N° 1.	N° 2.
Height of the body	178.7 cm.	162.4 cm.
Height of the backbone	65.9	60.2
Large circumference of the head	73.5	71.1
Small circumference of the head	59.6	57.5
Circumference of the neck	"	35.2
Id. of the chest (level with the teats)	92.7	92.9
Id. of the chest (incl. the arms)	110.0	118.7
Id. of the belly (level of the navel)	"	79.4
Id. of the basin	"	88.2
Length of upper limb	71.5	67.7

Circumference of the arm	30.7	28.2
Id. of the fore-arm	29.8	25.7
Length of the lower limb	86.8	84.6
Circumference of the thigh	50.5	48.0
Id. of the knee	37.2	37.4
Id. of the calf	36.5	35.2
Id. of the ankle	22.6	22.8
Length of the foot	28.4	25.3
Width of the foot	12.2	11.3
Circumference at the heel	36.1	33.8

Agility.—The agility and suppleness of the Carolinians are very remarkable. They are excellent swimmers: every time we were under sail and they wished to come aboard the *Uranie*, they did not hesitate one moment to throw themselves into the sea to grab the rope that was thrown them from the ship; when they wished to return to their canoe, they climbed on the gunwale, and threw themselves into the water with no more fuss than if they had wanted to climb down a ladder. Mr. Quoy was astonished to notice that, while swimming, they kept their head under water, except when they needed to come up for air; such a procedure suits them better, as they are not then forced to support the weight of that part of their body. They also dive in a most remarkable manner. Many times, as Mr. Lamarche had the opportunity to observe, they were seen to dive down to 15 or 20 fathoms to reach the bottom and the rock or coral head to which they tie the rope that serves them to moor their canoe. When they are ready to sail, one of them dives again to fetch the mooring rope; and I believe that they prefer this procedure to the one that we use, as the use of anchors is a more lengthy and cumbersome procedure.

Moral character.—Nothing can be more pleasant than the character of our Carolinians; they always showed themselves to be lively, intelligent, fun-loving, trusting and honest. During our mutual exchanges, they never showed either the trickery, bad faith, or shameful rapacity so obvious and so shocking among the Guebeans [New Guinea]. While on board, it is true, their curiosity and distraction were extreme, but this must be attributed to the confusion that so many extraordinary objects, new to them, created in them, and maybe as much as their natural knavery. Their countenance showed confidence, rather than fear, but they were neither shy nor shameless; indeed, kindness could be read on their faces.

The inhabitants of Guliay (Uleay) have fun on their mind, says Cantova, they are circumspect in their language, and tend to be compassionate toward those who suffer infirmities and misfortune.

Kotzebue, according to Major Luís [Torres], reports that they are humane, affectionate, generous and grateful. They have the memory of the heart; for instance, if they receive a useful tool as a gift, this tool takes the name of the friend that gave it to them.

Although many individuals were affected by leprosy, as we have already mentioned, and that one of them had an ulcer of an extraordinary size, the glow of healthiness that

surrounded all the others would seem to prove that their islands are very salubrious. At Guam, we saw one of them suffering from elephantiasis. They do not use betel nut, and consequently have the most beautiful set of teeth.

[Native cures]

Their method of curing contusions and light wounds, is very worthy of being mentioned. The operator passes the flat side of his hand over the sick part, in a circular motion, and at some distance from it a large shell named *paĩ*, which has been adorned with ribbons from the coconut palm leaves. (See Plate 58, fig. 17.) This rotary movement is accompanied with modulated and mysterious words which he does not cease to sing, or rather to mutter between his teeth; from time to time, he stops this operation to take a stroll, then he returns to continue it until the patient is relieved. The cure is attributed to the magic power of the shell, as well as to the enchanting words. As far as an attentive observer is concerned, this practice may be considered as having the same value as the animal magnetism that Mesmer and his disciples have given to this word, I learned of this curious practice from a Satawal pilot.

When they have difficulty digesting something, they can be seen rubbing their belly with their hand with a circular motion. If this method does not make sense, it nevertheless is effective and may be considered as being in the same category as the preceding practice. It is probable that they use medicinal plants, but we were unable to obtain information about this subject.

Section IV. Man and his family.

According to these islanders themselves, when they are ashore their usual food consists of fruits, certain roots and fish. One may add turtles to this, plus shell-fish, birds from the bush and shore birds, and finally chickens, but it is said that they do not eat their eggs. When aboard their canoes, they eat mainly coconuts, and a small quantity of fish. Their drink is limited to rain water,¹ when they can collect some with their coconut shells or other vessels; otherwise, they certainly drink some sea-water.

While they are sailing, their sobriety is excessive; indeed, one coconut per day is sufficient for each man; on the other hand, when they are on their island, abundance returns, and they consume a large quantity of food. One could then apply to them this verse of Juvénal:²

*Et quibus et solo vivendi causa palato est.*³

In the next chapter we shall see examples of this voracity. When we met them with their canoes, they usually devoured all the food that we gave them, specially our sea-biscuit that seems to please them. If the substance offered was unknown to them, they would follow their animal instinct and smell it before tasting it; they would certainly have rejected it if they had not liked the smell of it.

The Carolinians easily get rid of any clothing. The clothing that they wear, when they show themselves in public, is a loin-cloth of woven stuff,⁴ which they placed around their waist, and in-between their legs; it is used by both sexes (See Plate 54). The chiefs stand out by wearing a sort of mantle almost exactly similar to the chasuble of our priests; it is a large piece, of the same cloth as the preceding one, with an opening in the middle to pass the head; its color is yellow, and seems to be exclusively used by the *tamors*. (Plates 53 and 55). We are told that the women of high rank sometimes wear, in addition to the loin-cloth, a skirt that covers the body from the waist to the knees, and from time to time also a small apron.

The hat, conical in shape, is made of pandanus leaves, as shown on our Plates 55 and 58. It is used without distinction by both men and women. As far as the ornaments used by each sex, they are various sorts of bracelets and necklaces, as well as flowers or aromatic plants that they insert in the wide holes pierced in their ear lobes, and in their nostrils. For necklaces, they either use simple ribbons or leaflets of palm leaves, or

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- 1 We have not heard anyone say that they load water in bamboo tubes, at departure, much less that they have bamboos growing on their islands. Perhaps they carry water in some coconut shells. We can only offer conjectures on this score.
 - 2 Ed. note: Juvenalis, Latin poet (born ca. 60, died ca. 140), and author of the Satires.
 - 3 "These people seems to live only to eat and drink." (Sat. XI.)
 - 4 Mr. Gaudichaud has observed that, among a few, this belt was made more simply still, from the bark of the fig tree.

flowers (Plate 58, fig. 3), or some small white and black disks, made of hard material and threaded on a cord (Plate 58, fig. 2). Sometimes also, the cord may have a series of knots between which are placed, at unequal intervals, the teeth of some animal,¹ or some small cylinders made of a hard red substance (Plate 55, fig. 1 and 4). The latter necklaces may be used as almanachs, as we will mention later.

Some strips of palm leaves also serve to adorn the hairdo and to make bracelets; wreaths can also be made of rings of tortoise-shell, or of an unknown substance that resembles grey amber but is not transparent.

Dwellings.

While we were sailing through the Carolines, we saw, through telescopes, a few of the houses that these islanders inhabit; they were built together or distributed here and there. Most of them are simple sheds; others are but miserable huts made of branches roughly put together and pointed at the top.² The door, the only opening they have, is sometimes so low that one must crawl on his hands and knees to get inside; the interior is just as neglected as the exterior. It is indeed surprising that these men use so much care in the construction of their canoes, and so little in that of their dwellings. However, according to a few Carolinians who came to Guam, their tamors have houses that have wooden structures and are adorned with paint. One could conclude that there are three types of houses in the Carolines: those of the chiefs, those of the common people, and the sheds destined either for use as work places or for general meetings.

Furniture and utensils.

We have very little information about their furniture and utensils, apart from the wooden vessels that we have obtained through barter. They are crafted and varnished with the same surprising degree of perfection found in their canoes; they seem to be used to prepare and store food (Plate 58, fig. 14 and 15). They have wooden boxes that have covers; they come in various sizes, from 6 inches to 3 feet in length, and more (Plate 58, fig. 19, 20 and 21), and they are used to store cloths, fishing lines, fish-hooks and other precious objects. Coconut shells are used as cups. Knives are made out of certain sea shells. It is quite probable that their domestic industry goes beyond the above.

1 Maybe the teeth of some rats. There is no lack of those!

2 Although the figure shown in our Plate 81 has to do with the Marianas, it may also give an exact idea of the huts in question.

Section V. Man in society.

We do not have approximate population statistics for the Carolines, except for the islands belonging to the King of Lamursek: here is the table that I copy directly from a document in the archives of Guam.¹ However, I have re-arranged the list by size.²

		[Comments]
Lamursek	2,000 souls	[Lamotrek, Car. 28 in Bryan's]
Elato	1,200	[Elato, Car. 29]
Ulimaray	530	[Lamolior, Car. 29-5]
Falalap	250	[Fallap, Car. 36-2]
Gulimarao	225	[Olimarao, Car. 30]
Ulor	180	[Ulor, Car. 29-7]
Puk	170	[Pugue, Car. 28-1]
Falati	130	[Falaite, Car. 28-3]
Paliao ³	125	[Paliau, Car. 37-2]
Raor	110	[Raur, Car. 37-3]
Tukuas	200	[Toas, Car. 29-6]
Mariog	90	[Mariaon, Car. 29-5]
Fagunlap	86	[Tagaulap, Car. 29-12]
Soliap	70	[Saliap, Car. 29-7]
Fallugla	50	[Faluelegalao, Car. 29-19]
Harradies	50	[Farailes, Car. 29-10]
Falulap	36	[Faluelepalap, Car. 29-18]
Hanarizaray	32	[Jalangigerei, Car. 29-11]
Falipti	25	[Falipi, Car. 29-4, or 30-2]
Lassagay	24	[Luisaga, Car. 29-15]
Kar	15	[Kar, Car. 29-3]
Ulatan	2	[Oletel, Car. 29-2]

Total:	5,500	

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- 1 These documents have been provided by the most skilled pilot of Lamursek, during the previously-mentioned embassy sent to Guam in 1818.
 - 2 Ed. note: In so doing, he has separated the islets and the groups to which they belong.
 - 3 One finds a Paliao Island among the Guliay Group, then also an Rahul Island, whose name is synonymous with Raor, in a country where the letters *l* and *r* are interchangeable in their pronunciation. We do not know if either of these islands, quoted herein, are, in fact, part of Guliay Atoll.

From a report that I received at Guam from a Satawal pilot, Lamotrek Island must also have 2,000 inhabitants; Satawal 900, Pulusuk 900 also; Puluhot 2,000, but this number may be too high; Tamatam 100; Fanadik, less than 100; Ifaluk 2,000; Guliay 3,000; Feis, only 50 souls.

We tried to deduce the population of Palaos, from the notes left by Captain Wilson. If we accept his contention that these islands can raise an army of 4,000 warriors, there would be at least 12,000 souls; however, as the number of enemy forces was not included in the above number, I believe that it would not be unreasonable to state that the whole population of the Palaos might be 16,000 men at least.¹

Cantova states² that in each town of Farroilep and of Guliay—and this custom may be common to other Carolinian islands—there exist houses reserved, one for the education of boys, and another for the education of girls. What is taught is limited to some vague notions of astronomy, a subject they have selected because of its usefulness in navigation. The teacher has a sort of sphere upon which is traced the main stars, and he teaches to his disciples the proper directions that have to be steered when they wish to go to certain islands.

The teaching that takes place in these schools is not the kind that is contained in books, but preserved in songs that are transmitted from one generation to the next, and contain notions of geography, astronomy, and sailing directions; such are the results of the experiences of their pilots, who are considered among them to be the most learned persons.

Such extraordinary annals are meant to perpetuate not only their scientific knowledge, but also the memory of the more remarkable historical events and the praise of extraordinary men who have lived among them or visited them.

Mr. Bérard learned from the above-mentioned Satawal pilot that, during the day, the course of the canoe is determined according to the sun, and at night, according to the stars.

[Footnote:] The height of the star in question above the horizon is estimated quite precisely, but more easily still at night than in the daytime. and gives the latitude, or rather the parallel upon which is situated such and such an island. A special attention is also given to the prevailing winds, as compared to those that were blowing, to determine their longitude, or rather the progress made in longitude as a result of the currents. One can easily imagine, therefore, that these intrepid navigators avoid being in the high sea during the periods when the sky cannot be observed. That is why they also avoid sailing during the hurricane season and during storms.

For example, to go from Satawal to Guam, said he, one must steer by the North Star. The length of each course, or watch, during the night, depends on the setting of various stars: one is followed until the setting of Aries; another until the setting of Orion, etc. “The question that I asked,” continues Mr. Bérard, “has led me to record the names

1 The population of Soronsol [sic] was estimated at 800 inhabitants at the time Fathers Duberron and Cortil landed there. (Ref. *Lettres édifiantes*).

2 In *Lettres édifiantes*.

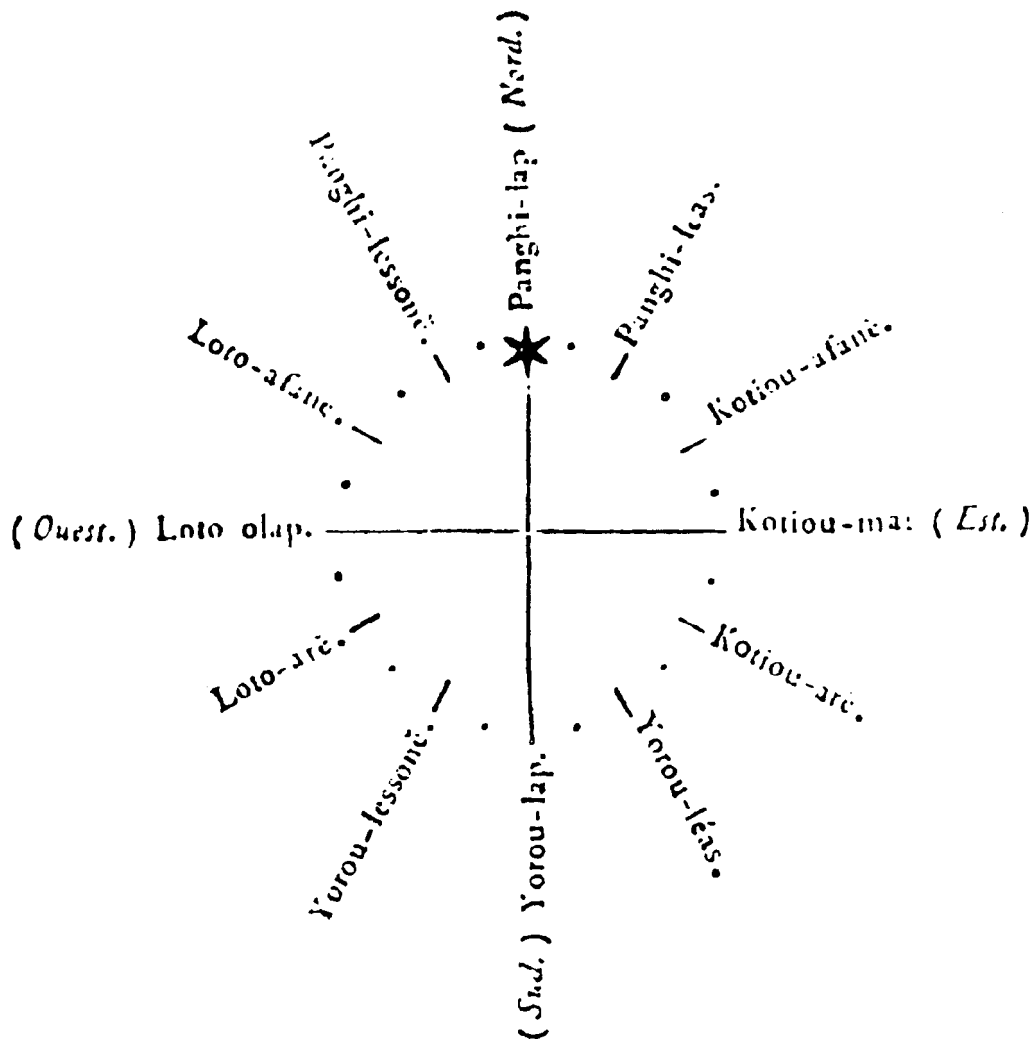
of most of the constellations that were then visible at night. Given that I had those names repeated to me many times, and on various occasions, I believe that the following list is free of errors:

		[Modern word, or spelling]
Polaris, or Alpha Ursæ Minoris	<i>Ule-hual.</i>	[Wolé]
The Big Dipper	<i>Ule-ga.</i>	[Wolé]
Beta Ursæ Minoris	<i>Mainap.</i>	[Mailapan]
Aries	<i>Maleghedi.</i>	[Ghúúw]
Lyra [i.e. Vega]	<i>Meul.</i>	[Méél]
Cygnus	<i>Sheppi.</i>	[Sápi]
Delphinus, also named	<i>Sheppi.</i>	[Sápi]
Corona	<i>Seuta.</i>	[Schoow]
Aquila [i.e. Altair]	<i>Mulap.</i>	[Mááilap]
Arcturus	<i>Aromoi.</i>	[Aremwoy]
Corvus	<i>Sharapol.</i>	[Sarobweíl]
Aldebaran	<i>Ul</i>	[Wuun]
Rigel, and all stars in its vicinity	<i>Taragariel.</i>	[Mwáárighár]
The Three Kings, or the Belt of Orion	<i>Eliel.</i>	[Elúwel]
Sirius	<i>Tululu.</i>	
Procyon	<i>Mall.</i>	[Maan]
Gemini (Castor and Pollux)	<i>Tainiman.</i>	
The Virgin	<i>Tumur.</i>	[Tumwur]
Antares, also bears the name of	<i>Tumur.</i>	[Tumwur]
Scorpio (its tail)	<i>Muieb.</i>	[Maserúw]
The Southern Cross	<i>Toatub.</i>	[Bwuubw]
The Moon	<i>Meram.</i>	[Maram]
The Sun	<i>Alet.</i>	[Alet]

“I was not able to find out if they make a difference between fixed stars and the planets; I was only able to find out the names they gave to Venus, *Fuzel*, and to Jupiter, *Apikur*. I was surprised that they look at constellations in groups, the way we do, and divide the Scorpio in two parts, the head and the tail. However, as can be expected, they only keep track of the brightest stars.”

From among a multitude of facts, I have chosen one to show the skill of the Carolinian sailors. One of them was coming back from Saipan aboard a schooner belonging to the Governor of Guam. The captain and his mate were sick; the second mate, not knowledgeable, was maneuvering wrongly. The Carolinian told him that they had just passed the parallel of Guam and that, if the direction was not changed, they would find themselves in the Carolines the next day. The second mate did not want to listen at first; the islander having insisted again and again, one sergeant on board ordered him to change direction, and the schooner arrived directly upon Guam. I met this Carolinian;

it was he who showed me the Carolinian compass, or rather the way his countrymen indicate the wind directions.



[Compass directions]

Firstly, the horizon is divided into four cardinal parts: North, South, East and West; then, each of these quarters is divided into three more parts. The result is a total of 12 wind directions, each denoted with one special name. Finally, each of these twelve parts are divided into two more sub-divisions, the middle of which takes its name from the two adjacent directions, by mentioning these, separated by the word *auleuile*, which means "middle."¹ Thus, *Yuru-lap* means South; *Yuru-leas* means S 1/3 E, or S30°E;

1 Ed. note: A modern dictionary says that 'middle' is now written *luugh*.

therefore, *Yuru-lap auleile yuru-leas* means S1/2S30°E, which is, of course, S15°E; such are their smallest sub-divisions. So it is that the whole horizon is divided into 24 equal parts, the same as for the Chinese compass:¹ a curious comparison which, I think, no-one has mentioned before.

As far as the Malay compass is concerned, it is traced according to another system, the same one that we use in Europe. Indeed, each of the cardinal quarters is divided by two, which gives eight different names around the horizon. Such sectors of 45° can be divided twice by two, and the small parts take their names from the adjacent names, separated by the word *sa-mata* which literally means 'eye' but here signifies a **point** between the adjacent names. For instance, since South is *sálatan*, and South-East *tággara*, the in-between direction is called *sálatan sa-mata tággara*, which corresponds to our S.S.E., or S22°30'E. However, the Malays also know about the Chinese compass which is divided into **three** parts.²

Here is a sketch of the Carolinian wind compass, where I indicate the names of the 12 main points; the other names can be easily derive from them.

Captain Duperrey insists that these islanders have collective names for each quarter, as follows:

- The Northern quarter *Puh-u*,
- The Southern [sic] quarter *Puh-ilong*,
- The Eastern [sic] quarter *Puh-itag*,
- The Western quarter *Puh-itog*.³

Hence, the three names *panghi-lessonë*, *panghi-lap* and *panghi-leas* belong to the northern quarter; and so on.

1 See *Syntagma dissertationum*, of Thomas Hyde, &c, vol. II.

2 See Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. I.

3 Ed. note: North, South, East, West are now written *Peighitá*, *Peighitiw*, *Peighilong*, *Peighúwow*. It becomes obvious to me that either Duperrey or Freycinet interchanged East for South.

What is certain, the compass directions that I show on my sketch, taken three at a time, always have one word in common; this name is *panghi* for northward; *kotiu* for eastward; *yoru* for southward; and *loto* for westward. Four other names, *leas*, *afanë*, *arë* and *lessonë*, serve to further specify the compass directions.

Division of the year.¹

According to the information that we collected at Guam,² the Carolinian year would have only 10 months, which are lumped into two groups [i.e. seasons], as follows:

— *Tungur, Mol, Mahelap, Sota, La*. These five months are subject to frequent storms, and their [common] name is *Hefang*.³ They must correspond to our months of June, July, August, September, October and November.⁴

— *Kuhu, Halimatu, Margar, Hiolihol, Mal*. During this division, named *Rag*, the winds blow moderately.⁵

Such nomenclature brings up many questions:

1) are each of these months a division of the solar year?
2) is the year divided into 10 lunar months, as it was for the Latins and for the Romans before the reform of Numa?

3) or else, is the information that I was given in error?

In this case, could the year be divided into either 12 or 13 lunar months, as in China and previously in the Marianas, as we will see later on?

The first of these three conjectures is not sustainable, because the word *maram*, among these islanders, means both 'month' and 'moon', and finally, each month has 30 days, each having its own name. The second conjecture does not fit with what we know of the astronomy of the Carolinians. As far as the third conjecture is concerned,

1 Ed. note: The Carolinian calendar is now known to have been sidereal, based on the constellations, but in 1819 this fact was not known for sure; hence the following discussion by Freycinet.

2 I could not get more explanation from the person who provided me with this note; it was, I believe, the mayor of the town of Agat. He knew nothing more about it, beyond what was on the note, whose origin is unknown to me.

3 Ed. note: Since *efang* is a synonym of North, this would be the Northern Season. In fact, the modern dictionary says that *leeyefang* means the dry season, with wind from the north [i.e. in Saipan].

4 Ed. note: The modern dictionary gives these lunar months as: *Tumwur, Schoow, Maasischigh, Maailap, Seeta*, and they correspond to Dec.-Jan., Jan., Feb. March, and April, instead.

5 Ed. note: There is confusion here, as the word *Rag* means Year, not the wet season; however, it may also have meant Season originally; the modern dictionary says that *lecragh* means the breadfruit season, and gives these lunar months as: *Ghuuw, Alimate, Wuun, Elúwel, Maan, Sarobwel, Aremwoy*, and they correspond to May, June, July-Aug., August, September, October, and November; the last two seems to be modern additions, to give 12 months per year. Also *Ghuuw* means Aries, and May marks its disappearance; similarly, *Alimate* is ... and June, *Wuun* is Aldebaran and July-August, *Elúwel* is Orion and August, *Maan* is Sirius and September, *Sarobwel* is Corvus and October, *Aremwoy* is Arcturus and November.

future research—deeper or luckier—may provide an answer to this puzzle some day. We completely ignore the time when their year begins; however, if we consult the Voyage of Captain Kotzebue,¹ it appears that “the inhabitants in question limit themselves to counting the days and the months, by dividing the year into seasons, according to the disappearance of certain constellations, whereas nobody counts the years: what is past is past.”

Nevertheless, would it be possible to believe that the Carolinians use two different ways to divide the time? The first one, by months or by moons, without taking the yearly cycle into account; the other, by seasons? This opinion seems to have merit, and may allow them a double system of accounting for past time. Indeed, it seems unreasonable to admit that for them “what is past, is past.” After all, they must have a way to compute their age. When counting by months, one can forget about counting the years. Please note also that counting in groups of 10 follows from their arithmetics based on the number 10.

Arithmetics.

That is not to say that I will present here the names for numbers as used by the Carolinians; such details will be given—as all others collected for other nations—in a special text reserved for languages. However, to anticipate that presentation, I must say at this time that it is an interesting fact that they use the decimal system, which probably came to them from India. They do not have unique words for 11, 12, 13, etc.; instead they say 10-1, 10-2, 10-3, etc.

Writing.

One will certainly get a good impression of the intelligence of these peoples, by looking at the letter addressed by one of their chiefs or *tamors* to Captain Martinez, whom Mr. Bérard met at Rota Island. (See Plate 58, fig. 8). It was originally written on a very bad piece of paper which the Carolinian in question had obtained at Guam; a sort of red color had been used instead of ink. The first drawing, showing a man with extended arms, roughly drawn, represents a greeting; on the left side are shown the number and type of shells sent by the Carolinian to Captain Martinez, i.e. five big ones, seven smaller ones, and three others of different shapes; on the right side, are indicated, on two lines, the objects desired in exchange, i.e. three big fish-hooks and four small ones, plus two axes and two pieces of iron. The line in the center, and other lines drawn here and there, serve to separate the various parts of the sentence. This document is, if one can say so, a true form of ideographic writing.

1 A Voyage of Discovery, in 1815-1818.

Religion.

It is also thanks to Major Luís de Torres that we owe the following details which he has himself collected,¹ regarding the religion of the inhabitants of the Guliay [Woleai] group; and apparently the same ideas are held on many of the other islands of the third province: I find proof of this assertion in what Don Luís says himself:

“Having asked,” says he, “the oldest and most respectable people at Guliay, if the inhabitants of the other islands which they know had other beliefs, they answered that what they had told me was believed by the whole world; that everything that exists depends on these gods, and that the world would end when it so pleased them. This information,” adds this respectable officer, “contains what these natives were able to give me as the most exact, and I vouch for it, because I checked it out, right on the spot, with other old people.”

“The inhabitants of the Carolines worship three divinities who, they say, reside in heaven, viz., *Aluhilap*, *Lugheling* and *Olifad*.² They tell the following story about their origin:”

“They believe that there exists a goddess who has lived for all eternity. Her name is *Ligopup*, and she is the Creator of the Universe. She bore a son named *Aluhilap*, the inventor of all the sciences and distributor of glory. His son is named *Lugheling*, but his mother and the way of his birth are not known. *Lugheling* had two wives: one, *Ila-mulong*, resides in heaven; the other, *Tariso*, is a simple mortal, but she possesses a rare beauty. She [the latter] bore a son only four days after the beginning of her pregnancy. It is said that her offspring got up and ran as soon as he was born. He was followed, to remove the blood that still covered him, but he refused to let anyone get near him. He answered to those who were following him that he would take care of that himself, and he rubbed himself against the coconut trees and other palm trees that he found along the way: that is why, they say, that the trunk of these palms are red. He cut his own umbilical cord with his teeth, pretending that he would cure himself by himself. Following the custom of those countries, which consists in giving coconut milk to the newborns, his mother *Tariso* gave him one of those fruits. Forced to raise his eyes heavenward, in order to drink, he saw his father *Lugheling* calling to him; he arose towards him, and so did his mother, and from then on, *Olifad* and *Tariso* left this world.”

“*Olifad*, upon entering heaven, met some children playing with a shark that they had tied by the tail; and, as this fish pretended to be crippled [sic],³ so as not to be recognized, the children were disdainful of him.⁴ The young god then asked them to let him have it; they all refused, except the child holding the cord. *Olifad* played with it for a while, then gave it back to him, while telling him not to fear, that the fish would not do

1 They have been translated [from Spanish into French] by Mr. Gabert.

2 Ed. note: *Lugh* is the generic term for a god; *Olifaat*, according to a modern dictionary, means So-and-so, a reference to a man not present, but known to be very individualistic.

3 In the Voyage of Kotzebue (vol. III of the English edition), the same passage, from the same source, says that he pretended to be a leper, instead.

4 In Kotzebue, it says that the children did not wish to touch him.

him any harm. He had just placed a curse on the shark, and this animal, from then on armed with terrible teeth, bit all the children, except the one who had shown kindness.”

“So it is that he put curses along the way on anyone who would refuse him any favor. No-one recognized him until he arrived in his father’s presence—as only his father could recognize him—but they tried a means by which to kill him.”

“Arriving in front of a house that was still under construction, Olifad asked for a tool to cut the coconut leaves for the roofing. His request was denied by all, except one man who gave him his tool; all the others were immediately changed into statues.”

“Lugheling and Aluhilap knew that Olifad was coming to heaven. When they were told about the metamorphosis that had affected the workers, they asked the man whose form had not been changed to tell them if he had met with anyone along the way. He answered that he had only seen a *kandura* (a type of bird whose form Olifad had adopted). He was ordered to call him; he obeyed, but the *kandura* became frightened at the sound of his voice and flew away. Lugheling told him to call it once again, but not to tell him to come over, as he had done previously; instead, he was to forbid it to come near, because his presence would bother the chiefs. The worker obeyed, and told the *kandura* not to go into the house of its superiors, and not to sit on their seats; however, it immediately did the opposite. As soon as he had sat down, Lugheling ordered one of his people to go and get the workers who had been changed into statues. They all came in, at the great astonishment of those who were present, because only Aluhilap and Lugheling knew that the child was Olifad.”

“The building of the house was continued. When it became time to dig holes in the ground for the *arighes* (tree trunks serving as supports), Olifad took care of it. This pleased the workers, because they still hoped to find a way to kill him, in revenge for the harm that he had already done and could still do. However, he guessed what they were up to and gathered up some red earth, some charcoal, and some coconut leaf ribs, which he hid before he began to dig the holes, making sure to dig a space on the side to be able to escape. When everything was finished, he told them that the holes were ready; they immediately threw one of the posts on top of him and covered it with dirt in order to choke him. Olifad sought refuge in the side hole that he had dug, and began to chew the red earth, which he spit out. His assassins thought that it was his blood. Then, when he spat out the charcoal that he had also chewed, they thought that it was his bile, and they concluded that he was dead. However, with the rib of a coconut leaf he pierced the post lengthwise, and having come out through that hole, he took his place at the top of it, without being noticed. From that time onward, the trees have a heart.”

“Once the work was completed, the workers assembled for a meal. Olifad ordered an ant to bring him a small piece of coconut; the ant brought him as big a piece as it could carry. By his own divine power, he changed this piece into a whole fruit, and then said in a loud voice: “Pay attention, I am going to share my coconut.” At these words, the others turned around and, surprised at not having killed him, thought that he could only be *A/us*, that is, the Devil. Nevertheless, they did not desist from trying to kill him, and asked him to take a meal to Thunder. Olifad left happily, but, as a precaution, took

along a cane. Upon entering in Thunder's house, he said: "Take this, I am tired of having brought this food for your misshapen mouth." Thunder tried to kill him, but he hid himself inside the cane, and saved himself. That is how he fulfilled his mission, without ill effect, at the great astonishment of his companions."

"They then sent him out again, this time with a meal for a fish called by the Spanish *botete de espinas*.¹ Olifad left, with only a shell for defence. Once he was inside the house of the fish, it grabbed the door and tried to prevent him from leaving, but when the night came, he placed his shell on the upper jaw of the animal and fled by stepping over the fish. That is why, say the Carolinians, that this fish has a depression at that spot."

"Finally, he was charged with a meal for a fish with a long mouth, locally called *fela*.² Not finding this fish at home, he left the meal with those whom he found there, and left. When the fela got home, he asked who had brought the meal, but his family said that they did not know who it was. So, he took a fish-hook with a long line and began to throw it in all the compass directions. Finally, he hooked Olifad who had been hiding in the North direction, and killed him."

"When the workers noticed that he was not returning, they began to rejoice at his loss. However, Lugheling began to look for his son, and, having found him lifeless and full of worms, he resuscitated him and asked him who had killed him. Olifad answered that he had not been killed, but that he had been sleeping. Nevertheless, Lugheling ordered fela in his presence and gave it a blow with a stick upon the upper jaw; that is why this fish has its upper jaw shorter than the other."

"From that time on, Aluelap, Lugheling, and Olifad passed into glory and busied themselves with applying justice to humankind."

"A few islanders, although they agree with the others about everything else, admit seven entities in the family of their deities, viz: *Ligopup*, *Kantal*, *Aluilap*, *Litefeo*, *Hulaguf*, *Lugheling* and *Olifad*."

"The custom of making offerings of coconuts, breadfruit, etc. to them is a general one. The offering is placed in the middle of a field or in any other place, and it pleases both the giver, and the one for whom it is meant."

Mr. Bérard, who had a chance to sail for a few days with islanders from Satawal, as we shall see in the next chapter, has noticed the frequency of the prayers that they made at sea to obtain some nice weather, to divert a storm, or a squall or a contrary wind.

"When the sky looks squally," says this officer, "and a black cloud appears on the horizon, the Carolinians, until the cloud has passed the zenith, pray in a low voice and a deep fervor and continuous gestures. Normally, only two men attend to this task, but if the squall seems threatening, all participate; even the man holding the sheet uses only one hand, in order to free the other to gesticulate. Under such circumstances, we have sometimes mimicked them; they then stopped, to laugh heartily at our lack of skill, and

1 Ed. note: In Chamorro it is *buteten tituka*, the *diodon hystrix* (family *diodontidæ*).

2 Ed. note: The half-beak (*Hemiramphus quoyi*).

they would mimick us in turn, by making signs of the cross. Then, as if nothing had happened, they continued their songs and gestures. In spite of the stubbornness we applied to the tasks of getting explanations for the meaning of the words they used; in spite of the care we took to guess the object of their singular practices, we could not make ourselves understood, or understand their answers. It was only after many requests that I was able to transcribe one of their prayers which, according to them, is the most successful for avoiding bad weather. I give it here, with as much correctness as our alphabet allows:

*Lega-shedegas legas sheldi,
Lega-shedegas lega-shedegas legas sheldi;
Lega-shedegas lega-shedegas mottu.
Ogheurenkenni sheri-pei-pei,
Ogheurenkenni sheri-pei-pei.¹*

“We met with no more success later on when we tried to get the meaning of this prayer, with the help of an interpreter; none of the islanders was able to explain it; they would just tell us that they did not know what it meant, that such prayers had been transmitted to them by their ancestors, and that only a few old priests could still understand their meaning. Let us not be surprised that these men address to heaven prayers whose meaning is unknown to them; it is a custom that is not rare among more civilized peoples.”

This comparison is not unjust, and brings to mind the peculiarity of some practice that is seen ridiculous at first.² However, the man who recites a prayer without understanding its literal meaning, knows nevertheless that it contains the expression of his wishes; moreover, can we not believe that the one who knows what is in the hearts of men can also judge their intentions rather than their words? We ourselves were able to realize that those Carolinians wished to escape from the fury of the storm, and that, by repeating the words that they had been told were effective, they hoped to receive the assistance of the supreme being, although they were far from knowing his attributes as much as we do, disfigured by their ignorance, but still recognizable to an attentive observer.”

“They sing almost the whole day,” continues Mr. Bérard. “At sunset, they all get together, and carry on a religious chorus that lasts at least one hour. Ashore, the crew of the canoes perform this prayer together. In all these songs, there are a huge quantity of vowels; the vowels *a* and *o* are those that are heard most often.”

1 Ed. note: Perhaps an invocation to the rock fish *lighaasseragh*, which is still taboo for some clans. *Mottu* means to sit down, *scheeri* means to chase away, and *filiilil* is the breeze, unless *-pei* refers to *feyi*, the protective ray, or skate (see below).

2 “In the Pyrenees, according to Marchangy, the women, during the burial ceremonies, sing some rhyming elegies which nobody understands.” (*Tristan le Voyageur*, vol. VI).

Many superstitions are mixed in with their beliefs. For instance, they think that, when they have the tail of a certain ray-fish in their canoe, they cannot lose their way while navigating. If a contrary wind prevents them from making progress in a chosen direction, they make use of a particular tool (See Plate 58, fig. 16) to make a sort of conjuration: this tool, named *ossolifei*, consists in a stick at the end of which is fixed, by means of a mastic, the end of the tail of one or two rays, and which they decorate with leaves of a palm tree, cut into strips.¹ One of them shakes this magic wand in the air, while the crew is praying, and they believe that they can make the weather more favorable this way.

One of the firm belief is that their navigation can not be successful, if there be some bananas aboard their canoe. The influence of this fruit seems to them to be so fatal that, if they eat some before boarding, they will die during the crossing.

In Guam, we saw some Carolinians try to foretell the future before their departure, to find out what the weather would be like during the crossing. "This ceremony is very complex, and much resembles what we do when we draw cards, except that here they use strips from coconut leaves, folded in various ways." (Mr. Quoy).

Kotzebue (*op. cit.*) has described this operation thus: "They lift two leaflets, on from each side [of the rib] of a coconut leaf, while repeating many times the words *pue vue pue*.² Then they rapidly make knots in these leaflets while they express their wish in a clear and loud voice. The first strip is placed between the little finger and the ring finger, with four knots inside the hand; the second strip, with a decreasing number of knots, is placed between the middle finger and the index finger and between it and the thumb. Depending on the number of knots on the outside of the hand corresponds, or not, to the number of the fingers, by one, two, three, or four, the outcome will be lucky or unlucky."

The inhabitants of the Palaos Islands have a similar practice. "They undertake nothing," says the author of the Narrative of the Pelew Islands, "without first splitting the leaves of a certain plant that resembles the reed of our swamps, and comparing the length of its pieces with their middle finger, to know if their enterprise will succeed or not."

"When the natives of Farroilep go fishing, they do not take along any food aboard their canoe," says Cantova.³ Their *tamors* gather in a house during the month of February, and there they foretell the future, to find out if their navigation and fishing will be successful. To find out the outcome, they make knots in palm leaves, count them one after the other, and their number, even or odd, foretells either good or bad luck in the enterprise."

To go back to our Carolinian pilots, the knots they made having told them that, if they stayed ashore any longer, they might have bad weather, they immediately set sail,

1 Ed. note: *Aschepe-feyi* means tail of the ray.

2 Ed. note: Probably for *welbwu*, or good luck.

3 *Lettres édifiantes*.

without waiting for two other canoes that had gone to Rota. However, as there were there some canoes from various islands under the command of different chiefs, there was instant disagreement between them; I even believe that two of these canoes had decided to stay. However, when they saw that their most famous pilot had set sail, they all left.

Lieutenant Lamarche has observed that these islanders believe in bad omens, in the influence of the stars, in lucky and unlucky days. "The least foreboding," says he, "makes them change their mind. During their absence, their relatives refrain from eating bananas or other fruits, in order to predispose the divinity in favor of their loved ones who are travelling."

Father Cantova¹ narrates, without major differences, what we have just said about the very imperfect ideas that inhabitants of the islands of this same third² province regarding religion. "They nevertheless recognize" says this famous missionary, "some good and some bad spirits; but, by this materialistic way of thinking, they ascribe a body, and two or three wives, to these supposed spirits. They are, they say, made up of celestial material, different from those here on earth."

"Here is, in summary, the ridiculous system that their ancestors have transmitted to them in their tradition. The oldest of these spirits is *Sabukur*, and his wife *Halmelul*. This couple bore a son whom they named *Eliulep*³ which means "big spirit," and a daughter named *Ligobund*.⁴ The former married *Leteuhieul*, born in the island of Guliay; Cantova says Ulée, a word that is synonymous with Guliay, as we said earlier. She died while still young, and at once her soul flew to the abode of the other gods. It was with her that Eliulep had begotten *Lugheileng*,⁵ which means "the middle of heaven."⁶ He is venerated as a prince of the celestial kingdom, which he will supposedly inherit."

"However, Eliulep, little satisfied of the fact that he had begotten only one child, adopted, to gain more esteem and respect in the neighboring islands, *Reschahuileng*, a very accomplished young man from Lamursek Island."

"Ligobund, sister of Eliulep, who had become pregnant in the ethereal regions, came down to earth and bore three children. Surprised to find only arid and infertile soil, she immediately covered it, by the effect of her powerful voice, with grass, flowers, fruit trees; she enriched it with all sorts of greenery and reasonable men."

"In those early days, death was unknown; it was a short and peaceful rest: the men left this life on the last day of the waning of the moon, but as soon as it reappeared above the horizon, they resuscitated as if they had just woken up after a peaceful sleep.

1 *Lettres édifiantes*.

2 The second province of Cantova.

3 He is obviously the same as the Aliulap of Don Luis de Torres. It seems that the syllables *lep* and *lap* are perfectly synonymous, and that either one means 'big'. By the way, the pronunciation of the Carolinians is something very irregular.

4 It is the Ligopud of Don Luis.

5 It is the Lugheling of Don Luis.

6 Ed. note: Actually *Luugheilang*, center of the sky, literally.

However, *Erigerigers*, the evil spirit, for whom the happiness of humankind was unbearable, struck it with a new type of death, an eternal death. That is why they call him *Elus-malabut*, bad spirit, evil spirit, in contrast with *Elus-malafirs*, good spirits, benevolent spirits. They give the same status as Erigiregers to *Morogrog*, who was chased out of heaven for his rough and uncivilized manners; he brought fire, previously unknown, with him. This fable resembles that of Prometheus quite closely.”

“Longheileng, son of Eliulep, had two wives. One had a divine nature and bore him two children, *Karer* and *Meliliau*. The other, born on Falalu, in the province of Hogleu,¹ and he had with her a son named *Ulefat*.² As soon as this young god learned who was his father, he became impatient to meet him and flew to heaven, like a new Icarus; however, he had hardly reached space that he fell back to the earth. In despair, he shed tears over his unhappy fate, but did not give up his original intention for all that. He lit a great fire and, with the help of the smoke, was borne a second time aloft,³ until he was in the embrace of his heavenly father.”

“The same Indians⁴ have told me that, in Falalu Island, there exists a small pond of drinking water where the gods came to take a bath, and that, out of respect for this sacred place, no islander dares to go near it, for fear of arousing the anger of those gods. This belief reminds one of the fable of Acteon who desecrated the bath of Diana by his looks. They ascribe a reasonable soul to the sun, the moon and the stars, which they believe are the abodes of a large nation of genii.”

“Such is the doctrine of the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands, which they hold on to, although they appear not to be too fond of it; indeed, although they recognize all of these fabulous gods, they nevertheless have no temples, no idols, no sacrifices, no offerings, nor any other external cult;⁵ they render a superstitious cult only to their deceased.

[Footnote: It is probable that this doctrine extends at least in our second, third and fourth provinces. According to Cantova, the inhabitants of the Island of Yap have a cruder and more barbarous cult still, since a crocodile would be the object of their veneration. We have even less knowledge of the religion that prevails in the Palaos Islands. As far as the religion of the first province, that is, in the Radak and Ralik Islands, it would seem, according to Kotzebue, that it has much in common with the religion of the Carolinians living at Guliay. (See Kotzebue, *op. cit.*).

Burials.

“Their custom is to get rid of dead bodies as far away as possible in the sea, to serve as food for the sharks and the whales. However, when someone of a high rank or dear

1 It is our second province, and the first of Cantova.

2 He is obviously the same as the Ulifad of Don Luis.

3 Mongolfier had a similar idea that led him to the invention of balloons.

4 The inhabitants of Faroilep.

5 The ceremonies observed by Mr. Bérard, and those observed by Don Luis in person, appear to contradict Cantova, at least regarding offerings and external cult.

to them dies, the funeral rites take place with ceremonies and great demonstrations of sorrow.”

“As soon as the sick person dies, his body is immediately painted yellow. His relatives and friends assemble about his remains to deplore the common loss together. Their sorrow expresses itself in loud cries, until nothing but groans and moans are heard. A deep silence then follows these cries, and one woman, with a loud voice, interrupted by tears and sighs, pronounces the funeral eulogy. She used the most exaggerated terms to relate the beauty and nobility of the departed, his agility in dancing, his skill in fishing, and all the other virtues that made him remarkable. Those who wish to mark their affliction in a special manner cut their own hair and beard,¹ and threw them on the corpse. On the day in question, they observe a strict fast, but compensate by overeating the following night.”

“A few of them lay the body of the deceased under a small stone building which they keep inside their own houses.² Other people prefer to bury the dead far from their homes, and they surround the burial site with a stone wall. Near it, they place various foods in the belief that the soul of the departed will feed on them.”³

“They believe in the existence of a paradise where those who behave well are rewarded, and a hell where those who behave badly are punished. They say that the souls that go to heaven return to the earth on the fourth day and remain invisible among their relatives.”

Priests.

“There are among them some priests who pretend that they have contact with the souls of the dead. They are the ones who, on their own authority, declare those who go to heaven, or those who go to hell; the former are honored as good spirits and given the name of *Tahutups*, which means holy patrons.⁴ Each family has their Tahutup, whom they address in case of need; if a member of the family gets sick, if they begin a voyage, if they go fishing, if they work the soil, they invoke their Tahutup: they make him presents which they hang in the house of their *tamor*,⁵ either out of interest, to ob-

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- 1 The Bible recommends the same practice also (See Isaiah, XV.; Ezechiel, V and VII; Job, I). According to Chardin, the Mingrelians shave off their beard and even their eyebrows when they are in mourning (See Chardin, Voyage in Persia). This custom of cutting one's hair under similar circumstances, existed among almost of the peoples of antiquity. In Homer, Achilles placed his blond hair on the tomb of Patrocle, and, following his exemple, all his other friends imitated him with their own. (Iliad, chapter XXIII.)
 - 2 Don Luis has confirmed this fact for us. Sometimes, according to the same author, the body is placed inside a canoe which is then placed inside the mortuary building.
 - 3 This belief can also be found in the religion of the Chinese, with which one notices some similarity here. Don Luis thought that they were making offerings to God in favor of the deceased, but I think that the opinion of Cantova in this respect is the more exact and more probable.
 - 4 Or else tutelar spirits, which can be found all over China.
 - 5 There is no difference here between *tamor*, *tamol*, and *tamur*.

tain from him the favors that they ask, or out of gratitude, to thank him for the favors received from his liberal hand.”

Marriages.

“The plurality of wives is not only permitted to all of these islanders, but it is also a mark of honor and distinction. They say that the tamor of Hogoleu Island has nine wives. They abhor adultery as a great crime; however, he who is guilty of it can easily get absolution for it; all he has to do is make rich gifts to the husband of the woman with whom he had illicit sex.”

“The husband can repudiate his wife if she has violated the conjugal trust, and the wife can also repudiate her husband when he ceases to please her: in such a case, certain laws have been established to distribute the dowry. When either one dies without posterity, the widow marries the brother of her dead husband.”

“When, at Guliay, a friend seeks the hospitality of his friend,” says Kotzebue,¹ “he must yield his wife to him as long as his visit lasts. This is something that does not happen at Feis and at the islands further west.”

According to Captain Duperrey, the kiss, or greeting between two persons who meet, consists in sniffing each other’s hand or nose; this custom is very common, not only throughout Polynesia, but also in the great archipelago of Asia.

“The islanders of Guliay and Farroilep have the custom of taking a bath three times a day, in the morning, at noon, and in the evening.² They go to bed right after sunset, and get up at daybreak. The chief or tamor of the island goes to sleep only at the sound of a concert by a troop of young people assembled around his house; they sing in their fashion certain poetical compositions, until they are told to stop.”

“During the night, in the moonlight, they gather from time to time to sing and dance before the house of their tamor. The sound of the voice alone—as they have no musical instrument—regulates their dance, whose beauty consists in the exact uniformity of the movements of the body. The men, separated from the women, face one another; then they move the head, the arms, the hands and the feet rhythmically. The ornaments that they have put on, give, according to them, an additional interest to the exercise: their heads are covered with feathers or flowers; some aromatic herbs hang from their nostrils; and their ear lobes contain palm leaves artistically arranged; the arms, hands and feet have also their own type of adornment.”

“As for the women, they take part in a play that is more suitable to their sex. They sit facing one another, and begin a pathetic and mellow song, and accompany the sound of their voices with rhythmic movements of their arms and heads; this song is called in their language *tanger ifaifil*, i.e. the women’s chant.”

“At the end of the dance, the tamor, when he feels generous, raises a piece of cloth in the air; it becomes a prize for one of the dancers who can grab it first.”

1 *Op. cit.*, vol. III.

2 Cantova, *Lettres édifiantes*.

“They have many other kinds of games in which they gave proofs of their skill and their strength, for instance, in handling the spear, throwing stones or balls in the air. Each season has its type of particular game associated with it.”

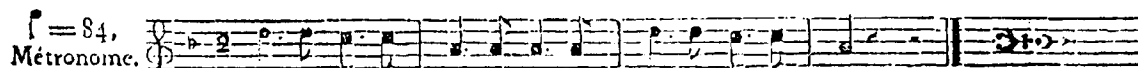
“We have witnessed Carolinian dances many times. I have already mentioned the one they executed for us when we were sailing by their islands; however, it is above all in the Marianas that we saw more varied dances that were very pleasing. In one of those dances, the actors, in a rather large number, take their places in two rows, facing one another; everyone is armed with a stick similar to the one sketched in Plate 58, fig. 13. A general shout is heard: immediately, each dancer strikes with his stick that of the person in front of him, then, by jumping while making a quarter turn, that of a neighbor in the same row, either on his right or on his left. Soon they trade places, intermix while forming various complicated figures, but always keeping the rhythm by striking someone else’s stick. It should be mentioned that it is not with the middle of the stick that they strike, but with its end, and they must each time hit one of its ends one end of the stick of another dancer. Our Plate 55 will give an idea of this type of exercise, although only two combinations could be shown therein, in spite of the fact that they are in reality very diverse. A general chant regulates all of these movements, which are pleasing by the precision and the grace of their execution. Here are the words of one of those songs that Mr. Gaimard has transcribed; the dancers were from Satawal Island; its tune was not very harmonious.

*Tuka pui atta lala uake,
Tuka pui atta lala uake,
Tuka pui, etc.*

We were unable to get explanations as to the meaning of this mumbo-jumbo. On another occasion, having questioned the person who acted as our interpreter regarding this question, he told us that he could not even give us a translation of the words in question, but he said that the theme usually has to do with someone missing the absence of someone else, a woman whose husband is at sea, etc.

Not all dances have the same nature; oftentimes, the dancers form just one line and slap their thighs with their hands, then raise their arms, and repeat this monotonous game, while singing. At some other times, they form a circle and they grab their neighbor’s wrist while they jump on one leg, the left one, with their right leg resting on the thigh of their neighbor (Plate 56); finally, they may form a circle, with one man in the center who makes all kinds of contortions that the others have to imitate. We have, in France, a similar dance, known under the name of *branle des capucins* [the swing of the Capuchins]. In the Carolines, as at home, all of these crazy games excite a lively fun.

The music has almost always the monotony of the dance; one may judge the effect by the following sample:



Section VI. Industry.

“The main occupation of the men,” says Cantova,¹ “is to build canoes, go fishing and work the soil. The work of the women is to cook, help their husbands when they sow the fields, and take advantage of a type of wild plant² and a tree named *balibago*,³ to weave cloth with them.

[Footnote:] The fibers used to weave cloth are not twisted or spun. They are fibers of abaca or balibago that have been separated, and are about 1 mm. in width. The largest pieces of cloth that I have seen were about 2 feet in width and 6 feet in length; some are dyed yellow, others have woven edges, black in color, something that makes a pleasing contrast with the main part. The color yellow, among the Carolinians as among the Chinese, is the color that is reserved for the chiefs. Some cords are also made with the balibago; however, cords made with coir, i.e. coconut husk, are preferred. We have obtained many such cords; all of them had been carefully twisted and were made of three strands. Generally, they were from 1 inch to 15 lines in diameter, and from 20 to 50 fathoms in length.

As there is a shortage of iron, they use adzes and axes made of stone to cut wood. If perchance a foreign ship leaves a few pieces of iron at their island, they rightfully belong to the tamors; they have some tools made with them, and then take advantage of them by renting them out at a considerable rate.”

Fishing.

Fishing, on account of its importance as a food source for the Carolinians, is carried out with much success; they normally use a line and fish-hook.

Mr. Lamarche says: “As far as I was able to understand it, they fish for flying-fish with a line, baited with pieces of others that they have previously caught; what is beyond doubt, every fish they sold us had had a small strip removed from its back, and exactly the same as the pieces that we take out to be used as bait. Their fish-hooks are made of fish bones, mother-of-pearl, turtle shell, and even coconut shell; many of those can be seen in our Plate 58 (Fig. 9, 10, 11 and 12). A few, instead of being curved like our own, are forked and fastened to the line the way we fasten our *épigneux* which they resemble perfectly, except for the fork itself.”

At other times they use a sort of fish-net, or even a scoop-net. The mesh of those we have seen were about 5 lines in width; its thread seemed to us to be made of abaca, and very strong. The knot of this netting was the same as that of our seines.

1 *Lettres édifiantes*.

2 It is the *abaca* or wild banana tree.

3 It is called *ilifa* at Lamursck, *balibago* at Manila, and *pago* in the Marianas; it is the *hibiscus tiliaceus* of the botanists.

They even dare to hunt whales [sic];¹ the hunt itself is a lively exercise for these peoples. "Ten to twelve of their islands form a circle," says Cantova, "something like a port where the water is always calm. When a whale [sic] appears within this gulf, the islanders immediately take to their canoes and cut the animals off on the sea side; they then go forward, pushing them towards shoaly water near the shore. Then, the most skilled among them jump into the water, spear the animals with their spears and the others tie them up with big cables whose ends are made secure ashore. All at once the spectators which the hunt has attracted begin shouting. The whale [sic] is dragged ashore and a big feast ensues."

[Carolinian canoes]

However the industry in which the Carolinians involve their efforts and skills is undoubtedly the building of canoes, or *proas*. One will agree, after examining our Plate 50, that it is difficult to give them a more pleasing outline; all, or almost all, of them are designed along the exact same model, and are different only in their size. The biggest that we have seen were 35 feet in length;² others do not exceed 21 feet. The canoe that Mr. Bérard has measured (see below) was of an intermediate size.

Mr. Bérard says: "Based on the examination of a large number of proas that we saw in the Caroline Islands and in the Marianas, it could be easily noticed that one of their sides was a false side, that is, that one of the sides was flat, and the other curved; however, there are some with symmetrical sides."

In a country where iron is such a rare and exotic product, one must not be surprised to find out that it is not used in ship-building. Nevertheless, the canoes, except for many of the smaller ones that do not leave the coast, are built up of several pieces whose joints offer a special characteristic. Indeed, they are not joined with wooden pegs or by interior bindings, as they are at Guebe and at Timor, but by simple stitches of braided coir rope. This method of fastening is singular and—what is even more surprising—it is very solid; in fact, this solidity is due mostly to a very strong putty that covers the joints, the holes through which the braided rope is passed, and the rope itself, because, without this treatment, it would be quickly destroyed by friction from the waves.

A varnish, red in a few parts, black in others, covers the whole of the canoe, as can be seen in the above-mentioned plate; it is both shiny, solid, and shows intelligence and taste on the part of the islanders in the way it is applied.

Mr. Bérard has studied the names given to the various parts that constitute a proa, and the maneuvers and other objects involved in navigation.

1 The authors of the Voyage of Kotzebue think that they could be dolphins, not whales. Ed. comment: I agree; the idea originated with Cantova, about Uleai.

2 I believe that some exist that are almost twice that size.

The Carolinians of the third province call *pulo-lua* the piece that is at the bottom of the boat and serves as a keel¹ (See n° 1 of Fig. 8 and 9 in our Plates 51 and 52). *Papalua*² is the name given to the other pieces forming the sides n° 2, and *meshaliba* the two symmetrical end pieces n° 3,³ that rise above the hull at each end of the canoe. Figure 13 shows the *meshaliba* in greater details, and the manner in which it is joined with the rest of the proa.

*Elegesha*⁴ is the name given to the first piece of the gunwale n° 5, which supports the two outrigger poles. The two other pieces of the gunwale, that go from the *elegesha* to the *meshaliba* are named *palebalissia*. *Feranbai*, n° 6, is the gunwale of the *peraf*.⁵ *Malua*, n° 7, is a thwart near each of the ends of the canoe, that has a socket to receive the tip of the yard, when the canoe is under sail.⁶ N° 8 shows the sort of peg, called *fadelububu*, which serves, on side *a* to fix the rudder, and on side *b* to moor the *sheldegghel*. The first thwart, or bench, n° 9, is called *tiutatib*, the second one, n° 10, *atitim*, and the third one, n° 11, *shadaghio*; they are the seats used by the rowers, when the oar, or *fadjeal*,⁷ is used. The *peraf*, n° 12, consisting either of one or two pieces, is the platform upon which the crew normally sit. *Apung*, n° 13, is the floor board of the canoe, and *folap*, n° 14, the bottom itself, that is, the lowest part where the water leaking in collects. Two upper seats, n° 15, are called *maraghai*, and their supports are *olibon*, n° 16 (fig. 6 and 7). The rail, n° 17 (fig. 2) is a *laganu*. Piece n° 18, where the sheet is moored, is a *wotimel*. The central portion of the outrigger platform, n° 19, is a *tinemai*. Then, the outrigger poles, n° 20, at the ends of which is tied the float, are the *ghia*.⁸

Figure 3 shows the manner in which the float, or *tam*, n° 21, is fastened to the outrigger; two holes, n° 22, *shosho*, are made to pass the ropes that solidify this construction; n° 23, *eam*, are the forks of the float; n° 24, *uedjeu*, is the cross-tie of these forks.

With reference to figures 1 and 2, we see, in n° 25, the stays supporting the outrigger; they are called *metaveram*. Figures 2 and 5, n° 26, show the arrangement of two sorts of baskets or cages, *aimeb*,⁹ serving to store the freight, or even as shelter for some of the crew; one of these baskets is placed on the outrigger platform, and the other on its own supports, whose platform, *yepéb*,¹⁰ n° 27 (Fig. 1), is supported by two cross-pieces, named *shuwa*, n° 28, to which are fastened, cross-wise, three other pieces, named *walian*.¹¹

1 Ed. note: That is, *pulol-wa*. A modern dictionary has this written as *schuul ghaap*.

2 Ed. note: Now written *leeparasal-waa*.

3 Ed. note: Now written *mesal-waa*.

4 Ed. note: Perhaps now written *leepatchul*.

5 Ed. note: The *peraf* is the outrigger platform.

6 Ed. note: Now called *sóól ffó*.

7 Ed. note: Now written *fatil*.

8 Ed. note: Now written *ghiyó*.

9 Ed. note: Now written *aimweimw*.

10 Ed. note: Now written *epeep*.

11 Ed. note: Now written *waaliyang*.

Between the central part of the outrigger platform (Fig. 1 and 2) and the lateral stays that support it, can be found a sort of wooden treillis, or lattice work, upon which are often spread some coconut-leaf mats (Fig. 2), to help with navigation.

The rudder (Fig. 12), named *fadelububu*, as well as the bars against which it is held, consists of two pieces, the main one of which, n° 30, has a small notch that must lean against peg *a* (Fig. 11), mentioned earlier; the other is like a tail linked to the first by rope stitches: it is, in fact, the bar of the rudder. The head of the rudder is fastened by rope *i-b* to one of the thwarts of the canoe; its lower extremity is maintained by the foot of the steersman, as shown in Fig. 10; this man is seated upon a stick *c-b-m* (Fig. 11) that protrudes from the hull.

The Carolinians call their proas or canoes by the name of *wa* or *shakeman*. A mast is an *ahur*,¹ its details are shown in Fig. 4. Its upper part has an additional piece, *d-g*, that is fitted at *g* with either a hole, or a fork, where the halyard passes. On the edge, and not in the center of the hull, the foot *h* of the mast fits into socket *c* (Fig. 1 and 2), but it is not deeply stepped; the sort of bulge that is left on the mast (Fig. 4) above this socket serves to moor the end of the halyard when the sail has been raised.

The sail, *wa*,² is made up of various strips of palm-leaf mats and is stretched upon a yard, *shede*, n° 41 (Fig. 6 and 7), hanging from the mast from a point 1/3 of its length from its top end, and upon a boom, named *limm*, n° 40, at which point the halyard is fixed.

Many lines, *amai*, make up the rigging of these small vessels; the *hennelap* (Fig. 5) is the shroud that, from its point of origin B comes down to be fastened at *b* upon the float; the *sheldegghel*, n° 32 (Fig. 5, 6 and 7), is the stay to windward of the mast, while the *taugeshe*, n° 33, is the stay on the lee side. The halyard, *sheal*,³ n° 36 (Fig. 6), passes in the eyelet, n° 35, of the mast, and comes down to be moored in *z*, as we were already said, above its footing. N° 37 (Fig. 6 and 7) are the two sheets, *mwel*.⁴ N° 38, the sheets, *sheallisserak*; both use *m* as an anchor point but one passes in L through a loop and goes to join the other near the anchor point of the halyard, whence they come down to the foot of the mast. While under sail, with the wind astern, the control lines, *rhoro*, n° 39 (Fig. 7), are used, as they are fastened to the yard.

There are two sorts of bailers; one is a hand scoop, named *ammat* (Pl. 58, Fig. 5), and the other a sort of spoon made of woven palm leaves, with a long handle (same plate, Fig. 6).

1 Ed. note: Now written *ayú*.

2 Ed. note: Now written *úúw*.

3 Ed. note: Now written *salil*.

4 Ed. note: Now written *mweel*. They are tied to the boom, to adjust the set of the sail.

Dimensions of the main parts of a [Carolinian] canoe, as measured by Mr. Bérard.

	Feet, inches.	Meters.
Overall length, from head to head	29. 0. =	9.120
Maximum width [at center]	2. 6. =	0.812
Width at a point 1/4 from each end	2. 1. =	0.677
Depth	3. 6. =	1.137
Length of the <i>peraf</i>	13. 6. =	4.385
Distance from the end of the <i>peraf</i> to end of canoe	7. 9. =	2.518
Width of the <i>peraf</i>	3. 0. =	0.975
Difference in curvature between sides	0. 6. =	0.162
Protruding length of the <i>showa</i> ¹	4. 0. =	1.299
Total length of the outrigger booms	11. 0. =	3.573
Length of the float	13. 0. =	4.223
Equal length of the yard and boom	26. 0. =	8.446
Length of the mast	21. 0. =	6.822
Height of <i>meshalibas</i> [head pieces] above gunwales	2. 6. =	0.812
Length of the bolrope, between the yard and the boom, when the sail is taut	24. 0. =	7.796

Report of Mr. Bérard.

“The great cages, *aimeb*, have a cover made of pandanus leaves; some cocoanut-leaf mats are used to protect the wooden parts of the canoe from the sun rays and, when anchored, are used to wrap the anchor line, to prevent it from chafing the gunwale.”

“When a canoe is sailing close to the wind, its mast is leaning forward (Fig. 6 and 7, Plate 52), and is held in that position by the *sheldeghel*, a line that is tied with many turns around the *fadelububu*; then, the yard rests upon the *malua*, and supports, along with the mast, the whole weight of the sail, which is very heavy. The yard and the boom are joined at *x* (Fig. 6 and 7, Pl. 52), but in such a way that a little slack remains; the boom, or lower yard, is always to leeward of the other, at the junction.”

“These canoes never veer to tack, and the outrigger is always to windward; the result is that any one end, upon tacking, serves alternately as bow and stern. If the Carolinians wish to run close to the wind on the other tack—this corresponds to our tacking—they let go the sheet at once, to reduce the area [of the sail]; two men go quickly to end D of the proa (Fig. 6 and 7, Pl. 52), where one of them lets go the *sheldeghel*; then, by raising the yard, they take it of the *malua*, and push it towards end E. The mast, during this movement, first becomes vertical and then leans in the opposite direction, until the end of the yard is fitted into the *malua* at end E. Two men, placed at that end, help with the maneuver by pulling upon the *sheldeghel* and the *taugheshe* (N° 32 and 33, Fig. 7) anchored at B. Those who are at D loosen the corresponding

¹ Ed. note: Now written *suwa*, the braces that support the lee platform.

lines with the same numbers, and accompany the [sail] system, so that it will not fall too hard upon *malua* B. In this operation, the yards must always pass on the leeward side of the mast, and the mast must be able to rotate easily without coming out of its socket; the sheets and the shroud, or *hennelap*, remain fixed. As soon as the yard has reached end E of the proa, the *shedeghel* is made taut, the sail is loosened, and the rudder turned to sail close to the wind.”

“It is easy to see that, when the mast is perpendicular, and even as soon as the *shedeghel* has been let go, the whole sail system is only supported laterally and on just one side by the *hennelap*, which goes from the mast to the end of the float; therefore, at that moment, if the wind should suddenly shift, the boat would capsize. This tacking maneuver, always extremely tricky, becomes very difficult when the sea is running high, because the men must go from one end of the canoe to the other without a rail to hang on to.”

“When they are running before a gale-force wind, the area of the sail is diminished by means of the two sheets *sheallisserak*, which are hauled more or less, as needed. We have seen many proas, with the wind blowing astern, loosen their sheets but tightening their control lines n° 39, to make the yard more secure; I do not think that these two lines have another purpose. Besides, the Carolinians rarely navigate in this way; they prefer to sail at an angle with the wind, and to keep it on the side of their outrigger.”

“These types of craft, being very narrow and relatively very long, besides being very deep, have the natural tendency to align themselves close to the wind, with no need for the rudder to force them to that position. As they offer a great lateral resistance to the water, they drift very little; everything is therefore favorable for them to luff successfully. Indeed, the navigation of a few days that I have made on board these proas, has always shown me that they make good progress up wind, in spite of contrary currents.”

“They sail very well when the sea is beautiful, but when the swell is deep, they are stressed much, and I am astonished that they can, under this circumstance, make a long crossing. It is difficult to imagine how difficult it must be then to suffer the rolling; often we have been thrown from the seats (*araghai*), although we had a rail to hang on to. The outrigger receives violent shocks, but it is above all when the breeze blows astern and the swell comes abreast that the passenger receives the roughest shocks, because the bottom of the wave, being then below the level of the float, the latter falls, only to be hit by the next wave that hits it so hard that one is ready to believe that the vessel will break. One must not forget that these canoes have no frame and that their sides are made up only of pieces of wood sewn together; besides, the outrigger system, which is huge, must exercise a powerful lever action that tends to tear the hull apart. Well then, in spite of all of these causes of [possible] destruction, we have never seen them take on water through the joints. True it is that, after every cruise, the islanders repair all those that have become loose, and place putty into the least crack. Moreover, although these proas do not leak in this way, it is true that the shock of the waves cause enough water to come in to keep one man constantly busy with the bailer.”

“When the force of the wind makes it necessary, two men watch the sheet, which is then made a double line, and it is by this means only that they steer: loosening and tightening it is sufficient to make the boat turn away or luff. They take care to keep the sail always full, so that the craft will produce a good wake. They run their tacks in straight line, with an astonishing precision, and do not drift much, even without the use of the rudder, which they rarely use, as we shall soon explain.”

“When they sail along the coasts of some island where the force and the direction of the breeze are often variable, they pay particular attention to the arrival and the duration of each squall. As soon as the wind abates, the proa is aligned with the wind immediately; they then make the sail flat and, letting go a little, get ready to receive the next squall. Indeed, they would be in danger of capsizing, if they wind hit the sail from the front. Sometimes the hull is pushed by the wind with such force that two or three men are required at the poop, to use oars, to prevent the sail from fluttering.”¹

“When two proas come alongside of each other or sail in close vicinity, it becomes necessary to steer more accurately, and the steering oar is used for this purpose, by one man at the poop. However, ordinarily, and during crossings, they only use the sheet. As far as the so-called rudder is concerned—which may have been a modern addition borrowed from Europeans—they use it only when running before the wind; however, they do not use it very efficiently. Indeed, they have a hard time to keep it in place, and its action is therefore not very effective. I saw them throw it away once, as they had become so frustrated with it, and could not make it produce the effect they desired; three of them immediately took to their oars then, to keep the boat sailing in the direction they wanted. But what a tiresome maneuver! When there is a great wake, at least three men are required to keep on the desired run, whereas only one man at the rudder would otherwise suffice in all cases.”

“We have talked about the position of the steersman who, to fulfill his role, must be sitting outside of the hull, upon a thwart only three inches in width; he must also hang on to the *meshaliba*. Every crew member must take turn at this difficult post. At such times, the sheet is no longer being maneuvered, although there is always one or two men busy holding it. We saw a Carolinian remain six hours at the rudder, constantly sitting in this tiresome position; the sea was running high, and one of his legs was almost constantly in the water, but he did not fear being attacked by a shark, though one could certainly have caught him.”

“When a proa capsizes, her crew alone is sufficient in all cases to turn her right side up again. To achieve this, some of the men place themselves on the outrigger and, by their weight, make it roll about half a turn; the others grab the *shuas* and in this way complete the rotation. But firstly, they had been swimming around, had unstepped the mast, and made a sort of package of all the flotsam. As soon as it has been turned over,

1 Ed. note: I beg leave of the reader, as this translation may not be entirely accurate at this point.

they empty it quickly with the bailers, then replace the emast and the rest of the equipment.”¹

“The Carolinian proas are good for sailing between the tropics, where the sea does not normally run high and the winds are not as violent as in our climates. Many improvements could be made to their design, specially in the layout. but this would be considered superfluous to men accustomed to sleep in the open, receive the rain upon their naked bodies, and finally men who take on just enough provisions not to die of hunger.”

“Although our own boats are built more strongly and are less subject to damages, there is no doubt that they too have some imperfections. I am convinced that it would have taken us twice the time to go with them, rather than with proas, from Guam to Rota.”

We have, however, noticed that the speed of the Carolinian canoes is much less than the incredible speed ascribed to them by certain travellers, who had given them—as well as to the Mariana canoes which are similar in all respects—the name of *lying proas*. Captain Kotzebue thinks that they rarely cover more than 40 miles in one day of navigation; as for us, our direct experience has shown us that they can, with a fresh breeze and a beautiful sea, run at a maximum speed of 6 knots, which would mean a distance covered of 155 miles in one day, but we have no proof that some of them can sail faster. While forgetting about the narrative of [Abbé] Raynal or that of the Voyage of Anson, nevertheless, we believe we must cite that of Captain Dampier, whose exactitude and truthfulness are so well known: “I did here for my own satisfaction, try the swiftness of one of them; sailing by our Log, we had 12 Knots on our Reel, and she run it all out before the half Minute-Glass was half out; which, if it had been no more, is after the rate of 12 Miles an hour; but I do believe she would have run 24 Miles an hour.”² We will add no comments to these descriptions.

When many Carolinian canoes sail as a fleet, one pilot, or *palug*,³ is in charge of the whole little squadron; the pilots of the other boats are called *tarag* and have a secondary role and must follow the directions of the former.⁴ During the daytime, it is easy to maintain these canoes in sight of one another, but when the weather is foggy, or at night, they are forced to signal one another with conch-shell trumpets, whose sound carries far. It has a hole pierced on the side of it (See Plate 58, Fig. 7).

1 Ed. note: Bérard does not mention the swinging back and forth of the canoe, to slush out some of the water, before using the bailers.

2 Ed. note: See HM 8:547.

3 Ed. note: Now written *paliw*.

4 Ed. note: As the word *tarag* cannot be found in a modern dictionary, perhaps it is a misprint for *serag*, which may simply mean “sailors”, or it may be have been due to a misunderstanding, or else it is a misprint for *retag*, i.e. *rcemctaw*, deep-water sailors.

Section VII. Government.

The information that we have received at Guam tells us that the government of Lamursek and that of Guliay is monarchical and that the king has many ranks of chiefs under him. This constitutional state of affairs appears to exist in the whole archipelago, from the Palaos to Radak. Here is how Fr. Cantova has described it:¹

“In the midst of roughness and barbarity in which these islanders live, one can find among them a certain civilization that shows them to be more reasonable than other Indians who are humans only in appearance. The authority of the government is shared among many noble families, whose chiefs are called *tamors*. Moreover, there is in each province a paramount tamor who rule over all the others.”

“These tamors let their beard grow very long, in order to inspire respect. They give imperious orders, speak few words and adopt a grave and serious countenance. When one of these personalities gives an audience, he is seated on a raised platform; his vassals bow down deeply when they appear before him; from a great distance away they already walk in a bending position with their head between their knees, until they are in his presence, then they sit on the floor and, their eyes being lowered, they receive his orders with the most absolute submission.”

“When he gives them leave, they retire with the same curved posture as when they arrived, until they are out of his sight. His words are like oracles that are venerated, and his orders are obeyed with blind obedience; finally, anyone begging for a favor must kiss his hands and feet first.”²

“The Carolinian high chiefs,” says Kotzebue, “enjoy a great authority, and exercise penal justice in accordance with the strictest law of retaliation: *an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.*” According to Cantova, criminals are not punished either by imprisonment or by painful sufferings; they are exiled to another island.

At Guliay, the right of succession, at the death of the parents, first passes to the brothers, then to the male children of the oldest son.

The inhabitants of the third province, and specially those of the Guliay and Lamursek groups, are rather peaceful, and war is rare among them. Here is what Fr. Cantova said about this:

“When disputes arise between individuals,” says he, “some gifts are generally sufficient to appease them; however, when they are public and between one village and another, only war can settle the issue. Their only weapons are stones and spears tipped with fish-bones. Their way of waging war is one involving many singular combats, each man fighting only with the enemy facing him.”

1 In the *Lettres édifiantes*.

2 While at Guam, Mr. Quoy received the visit of a Carolinian who, wishing to get some fish-hooks from him, bent down on his knees before him, bent his head to the ground, took one of his feet, raised it and placed it on top of his own head.

“When two enemy villages have decided to end their conflict once and for all, they gather in an open field, and, as soon as the two troops are facing one another, they each form a squad three rows deep: the young men occupy the first row, the adult males the second, and the old men the third. The first skirmish involves the first rows on both sides, with every man attacking one adversary with stones and spears. As soon as one combatant becomes wounded and is no longer able to fight, he is immediately replaced by another man from the second row, and he in turn is replaced by one from the third row. At the end of the war, that is, after one side submits or is defeated, the victors insult the vanquished by shouting victory cries.”

CHAPTER XXIV.

Stay at the Mariana Islands. Excursion to Rota and Tinian.

This chapter, as well as its title indicates, relates the continuation of our adventures, not only at the main island of the Marianas, but also at Rota and Tinian, islands that were visited by our observers during a special mission.

Section I.
Stay at Guam.

It was on 17 March 1819, at 5:45 p.m., that we dropped anchor before Umata Bay.¹ Immediately after, I sent my first lieutenant, Mr. Lamarche, ashore to thank the governor for his kind attentions toward us, to arrange for a salute, and to announce that, the next day at noon, I would have the honor to pay him a visit ashore and to present the staff officers of the *Uranie*.

On the 18th, at sunrise, we saluted the Spanish flag with 21 guns, a salute which was answered in the same way exactly; however, at our great astonishment, when we were about to go ashore, Governor Medinilla y Pineda himself came aboard, accompanied by Major Luís de Torres, a sort of lieutenant governor.

They asked about our situation with sincerity, and the first authority promised to provide all our needs, as much as the poverty of the island allowed and his own lack of resources permitted, but he assured us that everything he had was at our disposal. A short time after the departure of these gentlemen, at which I had seven guns fired, I went with my staff to pay them a visit. I first busied myself with finding a suitable place to receive the sick members of the crew. For this purpose we visited a former Jesuit convent, which had been occupied later by Augustinian discalzed friars, but was now completely available. Our surgeons having found it very suitable to the establishment of a temporary hospital, it was decided that our sick would be transported there the next day.

Mr. Medinilla had invited all of us to dine with him. From now on, he had said very graciously, we were to do away with ceremony and consider his house as our own. We therefore went to his house at a suitable time, and we found his table covered with light pastries and fruits, in the center of which were placed two large punch bowls. At the sight of this layout, many among us may have imagined that it was a day of fast in the country; in fact, what may have added to their mortification, was that this repast, which we thought was dinner, had to be enjoyed while standing. However, we had to accept the local customs as they were, and we turned our attention to satisfying the good appetite we had by eating what was offered. Soon, however, we were even more surprised

¹ Ed. note: Freycinet, in a long footnote, basically says that he has transcribed Chamorro words using Spanish sounds, e.g. the letter *u* sounds like *oo* in English.

when the table was cleared, and then covered with all sorts of viands prepared in a thousand ways, a real dinner. The lunch that had preceded it is called *refresco*, and is meant only to sharpen one's appetite; it is a custom that has come from Manila, or from Mexico. It would have been a good idea to have been so informed beforehand.

Among the persons with whom we had dinner, could be found officers and passengers from the Spanish ship **Paz**, anchored, like ourselves, in the roads of Umata. This ship had left Manila and was bound to Acapulco, but had been forced to stop at Guam because of a serious leakage problem that was then being repaired.

The room destined to receive our sick had been arranged so quickly that, on the 19th, we were able to transport them there. This maneuver was carried out with all the precautions that their condition made necessary; the sick list had 20 people on it, including Abbé de Quélen, our chaplain, and Messieurs Fabré, Ferrand and Dubos, naval cadets. The former was accommodated in the house of the governor who insisted to have him there and promised to give him special care.

To celebrate the departure of the ship **Paz**, which had been fixed for the 21st, and the arrival of the **Uranie**, Mr. Medinilla had us all come together at his house, in addition to the leading citizens of the island; all in all, we were fifty guests. What was served was beyond anyone's expectations: what a feast! We might have exclaimed, as certain travellers, the following verses:

*Toi qui présides aux repas,
O muse! sois-moi favorable;
Décris avec nous tous les plats
Qui parurent sur cette table.¹*

Thou, O Muse! who presides over feasts,
Be favorable to us and help us
To describe all the dishes
That appeared upon this table.

However, the description would be a long one, because one of us pretends that he counted as many as 44 dishes of viands at each service. and there were three complete services in all. The same observer affirms that two cows and three large pigs were slaughtered for this, not to mention the smaller animals from the forest, the farmyard, and the sea. Such a butchery had not been seen, ever since the wedding feast of Gamache.² Our good host no doubt believed that people who had suffered for a long time the privations of a sea voyage had to be treated with profusion. The dessert that followed had as much abundance and variety, and was itself followed by tea, coffee, cream,

1 Ed. note: A loose translation, by yours truly, follows.

2 Ed. note: A reference to the wedding feast of Camacho, a chapter in the Adventures of Don Quixote.

and liquors of all kinds. Given that the *refresco* had already been served one hour before, according to custom, one can easily admit that the most discerning gastronomist would only have deplored the fact that his stomach was too small.

The Governor's birthday celebration,¹ the next day, saw us gathered once again at his house as a crowd. During each of these gatherings, music could be heard, coming mostly from basses and violins, but from time to time, the symphony was interrupted by songs from young children whose voice was properly in tune.

Such pleasures and common feasts did not prevent us from thinking about the principal objective of our mission: besides various excursions in the name of natural history, many sketches were made; some instruments having been taken ashore, some observations with the magnetic needle were made. The detailed geography of the coasts of Guam was undertaken by Mr. Duperrey, thanks to the permission that the good governor gave us. Those on board were not idle either; the men were busy taking on water, which is found to be of better quality and more accessible at Umata than at the port of San Luís, where I wanted to go, in order to be closer to the town of Agaña, the capital of the island and the normal residence of the governor. The choice of that station was not a trifling matter; it was easy to predict that the recovery of our sick would require a longer stay at the Marianas than at the other places where we had stopped before. Also, by being closer to the local authorities, it would be easier for us to obtain more precise and complete information about the country. Mr. Medinilla had extended the sincerest of invitations to me and, besides the pleasure that I hoped to enjoy in the company of such a kind man, my expedition had everything to gain by the good offices that he was ready to favor us with; reality exceeded all our hopes.

On the 23rd, which was the 22nd in Guam,² the ship **Paz** set sail for Acapulco, and her captain, Don Antonio Rocha, accepted to take charge of the mail I was despatching to France.

On the 28th, I myself left Umata, after all the sick had been taken back on board, and headed for Port San Luís, at the entrance of which I anchored in the evening of the same day, close to Orote Point. As a very fresh breeze was blowing, I could not sail into the harbor, and we had to warp our way in.

This maneuver, with a crew as tired as mine was, was very tiring and very slow; however, the governor, who always foresaw what we needed, sent on board, on the 1st of April, a group of healthy men who helped us to finally reach the bottom of the harbor. We had been towed in over a distance of at least three miles. We had no sooner dropped anchor that we saw, at our great surprise, the ship **Paz** re-appear and take over our place near Orote Point: the return of this vessel had been made necessary by a considerable leakage that had recently started. She was also towed to the bottom of the harbor. Later on, her captain begged me to lend him a few tradesmen from the corvette to re-

1 Ed. note: Actually, the feast-day of his patron saint, St. Joseph (see below).

2 Ed. note: Until 1845, Guam and Manila were on American time; that is why the Governor celebrated the day of his patron saint, St. Joseph, on the 19th, local time.

pair his damage; I consented very readily, specially since I was very happy to oblige, after such a long absence from our country, a ship from a friendly nation that had met with such a sad situation.

As the **Uranie** was safe in this port, we discussed the possibility of going to live at Agaña, a place that is six miles farther.

On the 2nd of April, part of the sick were placed aboard my boat, the remainder aboard a Spanish launch, while all the instruments for astronomy and physics were placed aboard the launch of the **Uranie**. We left later that morning and passed between the mainland and Apapa Island. The latter island had no sooner been passed that a boat came alongside; it was manned by excellent rowers whom Mr. Medinilla had sent. They begged me to come aboard their boat which would certainly reach Agaña before mine, on account of my men being so weak. I immediately moved to it with my companions and left the rest of my small expedition under the command of vigilant and experienced officers.

We were making good progress until we reached Tepungan (Pl. 59); however, at that point, our progress was impeded by the winds and the tide. We had to make a landing at the village of Asan, to avoid a fastidious run that would have delayed us so much as to prevent us from reaching Agaña before nightfall. Upon disembarking, we were happily surprised to find there the worthy governor, who had foreseen our setback and had come to Asan with horses, which he offered to those of us who were healthy, and with hammocks to carry those who were sick. I thanked him profusely for his kindness, but, being seduced by the pleasure, so new for us, of being able to walk on flat ground, under some tall trees which did not impede our view of the scenery, we preferred to walk to town, and it was indeed a pleasant walk. The heat of the day had passed, and we had no need to hurry; so, although we had but two miles to cover, we reached Agaña only after nightfall. A gun salute had been prepared in our honor, but as the bells announcing the *Angelus* had already been rung, it did not take place.

While crossing the pretty village of Anigua, located along our route, I saw an old man who was standing at the door of his house, waiting for the governor to pass in order to greet him; this venerable islander, surrounded by his children, grand-children and great-grandchildren, reminded me of those patriarchal figures inhabiting the grandiose and charming stories of our Holy Scriptures.

The boat carrying our other sick men followed almost the same route we did; indeed, they were unable to round Acahi-Fanihi Point, between Tepungan and Asan, and was forced to land at Tepungan. From there, those whom our skilled surgeon, Mr. Gaimard, judged able to walk the rest of the way did so at a slow pace until they reached the town, where they arrived in the evening; the others remained in their bed-frames and spent the night aboard the boat, but sheltered by a tent that was put up for that purpose.

Warned of their situation, I begged the governor to please issue orders to have them brought to Agaña overland, which was carried out with such an extreme speed that, at daybreak on the 3rd of April, I had the satisfaction of seeing that none of my men had

suffered from the little setback that I had been able to predict. They were immediately accommodated in the hospital at the barracks, a very clean place, well laid out, but perhaps needing a little more ventilation. The staff officers were lodged in a big house, rather elegant in style, that is the residence of the Governor of the Marianas when, after the arrival of his successor, he cannot soon leave for Manila. As for myself, Mr. Medinilla did not wish to let me occupy any other place than his own palace; I was joined there by Abbé de Quélen, as well as Lieutenants Lamarche and Duperrey, whenever they were in town.

The palace was also where the observatory was set up; the location had all the desirable advantages, including isolation and tranquillity. We began by regulating the chronometers; the experiments on magnetic dip followed, then those of the pendulum and terrestrial magnetism. A tidal measuring stick was also set up at Fort Santa Cruz, near our anchorage. Finally, Mr. Duperrey, after many successive runs, completed the map of the coasts of Guam.

While we were taking care of these scientific observations, and that our untiring surgeons, acting as naturalists, were busy collecting specimens, while our portfolios were being filled with precious sketches and our logbooks filled with curious notes, those on board were doing repairs to the vessel, under the supervision of Mr. Requin, our supercargo, always aware of what was needed by way of provisions.

Soon the activities of Holy Week came to slow down our work; they were celebrated with all the solemnity that a pious population usually shows. Fr. Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo, the curate of Agaña, was officiating with as much dignity as he could manage. The processions were followed by the Governor, the staff of the *Uranie* and *I*, and by a numerous population. At mass on Holy Thursday, Mr. Medinilla insisted on letting me have the honor, normally reserved for him, of carrying around my neck the key to the tabernacle, after the offering had taken place, and to hold the image of Christ during the evening's procession. Abbé de Quélen, still suffering and hardly able to walk, could not attend these ceremonies; nevertheless, he wished to take part in those of Easter Sunday, and appeared there dressed with his uniform of Canon of the Chapter of St. Denis. The procession, which he accompanied with a bare head under a hot sun, made him very tired.

In the afternoon, we witnessed a cock-fight, a spectacle laid out for the people every Sunday and holiday; it lasted from 5 p.m. to the Angelus. It is a revolting thing to watch the manner in which these poor animals are prepared for the fight. Not considering their natural weapons good enough, their legs are equipped with sharp steel blades. Before they are let go, they are confronted while being held by their bodies, and forcing them to attack each other with their beaks—something that irritates them and makes them eager to fight; then, they are let go and face each other, their feathers up in the air. The fight begins, and is soon over when one of the adversaries dies, and sometimes, both of them.

*With wrath his ruffled plumes he rears,
The foe with ruffled plumes appears;
Threat answer'd threat, his fury grew,
Headlong to meet the war he flew.¹*

The main interest in this game are the wagers that are taken on the combatants; as far as I am concerned, I was disgusted by this spectacle.

More happily, that evening, we were entertained by a more pleasant presentation of dances that were formerly in use in Mexico; indeed, we were told that all the figures presented alluded to some historical personalities of that country. The actors were students of the college of Agaña; their costumes, of silk, richly decorated, were brought in from New Apain by Jesuits, and are preciousy preserved. These dances, that had some similarity with our pantomimic ballets, were carried out in front of the governor's palace in a square (Pl. 60) illuminated with torches and with lamps made with resin-filled glasses. Emperor Montezuma, with a crown upon his head, a feather fan or a palm branch held in his hand (See Pl. 72), following by two pages richly clothed, is the main personality. Next, there came twelve dancers, their foreheads adorned with a diadem and similarly clothed with rich vestments. The emperor joined them from time to time; during their maneuvers, they form successive arrangements, a small number of which are shown below:²

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The dancers hold in their hands either a feather fan or one or two castanets.

For Act II the twelve dancers, separated two by two, were holding the tips of a half-circular hoop, very large, adorned with with brighly-colored silks. They executed various gracious figures, alone or with the emperor and his two pages who always assume a picturesque position, as the hoops themselves successively took the shape of garlands, cradles, etc. The last two acts of this drama—which has five acts—consisted of war dances. Some clowns entertained the crowd during the intermissions and even during the spectacle, by gamboling and making a thousand foolish poses that made the children and the people laugh. These clowns, wearing masks and ridiculous costumes, had a wooden sword in hand, which they pointed right and left; their mask, which was white,

1 From Gay's Fables.

2 Ed. note: The # sign represents the emperor and his pages, I guess.

was so elongated that its nose corresponded to the level of the wearer's chin; the eyes were shapeless, unequal and oversized. The spectator should have been informed of all the details of the unfortunate life of Montezuma to have appreciated the various scenes, or else he should have been given a [written] programme. Without trying to criticize the origin of these dances, I found them to resemble strongly what in Provence is called *lés olivettos*,¹ which were popular well before the conquest of Mexico.

After the dances of Montezuma, there followed that which in Spain is called *el palo vestido y desnudo* [the pole, dressed and undressed], which the people in Provence know under the name of *déis cordelos* [the ribbons]. A mast is planted and at the top of it are fixed the ends of 8 to 10 wide and long ribbons, some red, others yellow or blue; the number of colors depends on the number of dancers. Each dancer holds the other end of one of these ribbons, and must revolve around the mast, while passing alternately behind the person on his right, then in front of the following person; however, the dancers given an even number turn in one direction, and those with odd numbers turn in the other direction.² The result of such passes and counter-passes around the mast is a network whose beauty comes from its colors and the regularity of the design. To undress the pole, the dancers must intermix once more, but in a contrary way, and with sufficient skill so as not to mix up all the ribbons. Most of the time, there are two leaders, one for the even numbers, one for the odd ones. This dance, though very simple, first appears to be complex, because of the colors of so many ribbons criss-crossing one another so rapidly do not give enough time for the spectator to grasp the patterns and the movements.

Once this game was over, the same students who had been actors in the previous scenes came back, some dressed as women. All together they began to perform European dances which they did rather well.

Three Carolinian canoes from Satawal Island arrived on the 15th at Umata and soon continued to Agaña, where they were beached on the 17th.

Our respectable governor, who constantly tried to find pleasant entertainments for us, arranged for the newcomers to give us an example of one of these dances with sticks that we have described, which was executed with a perfect precision. One of them, affected by elephantiasis, was pushed asides by his countrymen, on account of his handicap; however, he objected strongly to this exclusion, which he regarded as an insult. Soon, he began to dance by himself and in such a lively manner and with such whirling around that every spectator burst out laughing.

I was also eager to learn something about the dances of the ancient Mariano people. As usual, Mr. Medinilla was ready to satisfy my curiosity and arranged for such a curious representation, which I will describe in another chapter.

1 Ed. note: Provence is southern France; it has its own dialect of French. *Olivettes* are grapes whose shape resembles that of olives.

2 Generally, one set of dancers are girls, and the other boys.

I was interested, in order for us to do a thorough study of the Marianas, to be able to visit two of the islands of this archipelago that are the most important after Guam, that is, Rota and Tinian. The governor consented in authorizing me to send a few observers. Thinking that such a trip would be doubly interesting for them, if it were carried out aboard Carolinian canoes, he contacted their first pilot, for him to guide them there; this idea was readily accepted by these good islanders and with joy and gratitude by ourselves. I entrusted Messieurs Bérard, Gaudichaud and Arago of this mission, which began on the 22nd of April and lasted 11 days. It produced an abundant harvest of facts. I will reproduce the report of Mr. Bérard in the following section.

Already, during the night of 12-13 April, we had been shaken by an earth tremor that lasted two seconds, but was accompanied by a low whistling sound. On the 25th, in the daytime, a stronger tremor was felt.

Three new canoes, from Lamursek Island, arrived on the 19th at Guam, after they had touched at Rota; the men who had been aboard them lost no time in visiting the governor, to tell him that their king had sent him a present, which consisted in a rather large quantity of abaca stuff, some varnished vessels, chests, shells and ropes of different diameters. These objects were turned over to him the next day and he in turn decided to offer them all to me.

On the 30th, in the evening, the governor and some of us went out for a walk to the village of Mongmong, located in the vicinity on a plain, fertile but little cultivated. Many inhabitants whom we met along the way were returning to the town with packages containing a sort of yam and some firewood; that is how, every day or every two days, they go to their fields to collect, without much labor involved, what their family needs.

Our arrival was a complete surprise for the mayor of Mongmong, but when he recognized Mr. Medinilla, he became confused and did not know how best to receive him and entertain him as his rank required; however, to begin with something, he ran to his house to get the cane with golden pommel, his mark of distinction, then he made use of all the polite words he knew to make him welcome. His wife, whom we could see through the cracks of the badly-joined boards of his house, was smoking a cigar in the middle of her children. They were all looking at us with intense attention, although they tried not to be seen themselves. Night was approaching and we were about to return to Agaña, when the kind mayor and his son offered to accompany us while holding torches made of dried reeds; however, we preferred to follow the beach, and to pursue our excursion while enjoying a most pleasant breeze.

On 1 May, the ship **Paz**, whose repairs were completed, finally sailed after a stay of one month in Port San Luís.

My conversations with Mr. Medinilla provided me with a large number of interesting notes on the colony entrusted to his benevolent care. Often-times, when I asked him questions regarding the ancient inhabitants of these countries, he would refer me to Major Luís de Torres who, born locally, has made a life-long study of this subject. Possessing a good judgment, a faithful memory, and a talent for observation, he has

acquired a vast knowledge which he enjoys transmitting. His untiring willingness to do that was only equalled by my curiosity to ask more questions and record his answers.

On 4 May, a large group of us made an outing to the pretty village of Sinahaña, located at least half a league from Agaña; to get there, one must climb a hill whence one can see not only the town but also the port and the countryside.

The Carolinian canoes were making ready to return to their islands. The governor ordered some gifts to be prepared for the king of Lamursek, among others, some large earthenware pots and some iron tools. Most of the latter objects were manufactured by the local smith, following the directions of Wametau, the first pilot.¹ He would himself show the most desirable shapes for such tools; it appears that our ideas on the subject were not known to Carolinians. These good islanders inspected the work in progress very intensely. The governor wanted to add a small forge to his list of gifts; by this, we surely recognized how kind-hearted he was.

A violent earthquake hit, on the 7th, at 1:30 p.m. We witnessed, with a surprise mixed with fear, the earth undulating from north to south during about 30 seconds. All parts of the house were creaking, the roof tiles clattering against one another, and we feared that the whole building would come crashing upon our heads. All the inhabitants fled from their houses, some to the streets, other to their gardens; however, no great damage occurred. Nevertheless, the commotion was felt by the sea, which caused great swells to hit our ship at anchor.

On the 11th, a canoe from Gulimarao Island, a neighbor of Lamursek, arrived alone at Agaña, and sailed soon after with the rest of the Carolinian fleet.

The kindness of the governor, the skill of our surgeons, the purity of the air that we breathed, accelerated the recovery of our sick, and their number was already reduced very much. Thus freed from his main duty, our senior surgeon, Mr. Quoy, was able to occupy himself more steadily with the natural history of the island. He undertook excursions inland and along the shores of the island to study the geology and local products. His first excursion took place on 15 May, and his fourth and last one took place on the 28th. Our master gunner, Roland, an excellent man and skilful hunter, accompanied him during the first three excursions, and Mr. Pellion in the last excursion whose purpose was to examine Mount Ilikiu, which dominates the town of Umata.²

More than three weeks had elapsed since Mr. Medinilla had offered to lead us to the site made famous, in 1672, by the death of Fr. Sanvitores, one of the first missionaries and the true apostle of the Marianas. An altar has been built in Tumon Bay, on the site of the martyrdom, which serves as a place of pilgrimage for many a devout Mariano. As the governor was no longer speaking of this project, he seemed to have forgotten it; as far as we were concerned, as long as we were busy with our work we did not wish to bring the subject up; besides, Abbé de Quélen, who had to take part, was still recover-

1 Ed. note: This name simply means "deep-sea canoe;" *waa-metaw*.

2 Ed. note: Or Ilichu; it was later renamed Mount Schroeder by the Americans.

ing. Nevertheless, on 18 May, Mr. Medinilla spoke of Fr. Sanvitores once again, and our excursion was planned for the next day.

We set out in late morning for this trip of two leagues. Some went on horseback; as for me, I preferred to accompany the governor in his boat. As he did not pretend that devotion included a fast, a second boat came behind us with his servants and his kitchen. The weather was superb, and our small expedition was very successful. The seashore offered to our sight many pleasing and picturesque sights. The exceedingly large number of *cycas*¹ that we noticed, specially in the vicinity of Taynaneso Point (Pl. 59), surprised us; however, what was just as surprising for us was to see the enormous clouds of bats flying in broad daylight, and very high, like swallows.

Upon our arrival at Tumon, the silence that Mr. Medinilla had kept for a while was explained. This place is uninhabited, but, following his orders, the ground had been levelled, and many pretty thatch huts had been erected for our use. One was to be used as a dining room, another as a living room; both of these were good shelters from the sun. Some others were for the kitchen; finally, many provisions had been brought in, in large quantity; nothing more could be desired.

After the revered sites had been visited and we had heard the narratives of the traditions regarding this apostolic death which were disbelieved by many listeners, we crossed the woods and a very rough trail led us to the small village of Guaton, beyond which we sighted the point called *Dos Amantes* [Two-Lovers Point], famous in Guam; its story will be told later, when we describe the customs of the ancient Marianos, of which it is a part.² It was with great interest that we were able to see how the *cycas* is prepared; its fruit loses its poison by being macerated. The rich and fertile soil could easily provide great comfort, and healthy food for the inhabitants, by means of a little work, but laziness keeps them in misery. It is true that the marvelous abundance of the federico palm all over Guam explains, but does not justify, this extreme indifference.³

When we got back to our small campsite, dinner was served; it reflected the usual magnificence of our host and the appetite that our walk had given us. We had hardly finished our meal when a delegation from neighboring villages came to present their respects to the governor, in a rustic manner. Everyone had a gift: some brought chickens, others some eggs. The leader of this troop was a mayor who was very lively. When he called to a man carrying a bad violin, who had remained behind: "Music! Music!" at the same time as a farmer carrying a sucking pig made a jerky movement, the poor beast answered the mayor with loud shrieks. The whole company burst out laughing at this lucky coincidence, but the village people did not understand for a while what it was all about. The governor received them with kindness; far from accepting their gifts, he gave

1 A sort of palm tree, already mentioned in Chapter XXI. The Spanish call it. *federico*, as at Manila, but the Marianos call it *fadang*.

2 Ed. note: It appears they went further north along the beach, to a place still called Ñaton, and the crag beyond it.

3 Ed. note: It was not until a century later that modern science discovered that the federico fruit was the cause of a great degenerative disease which is still a factor in depopulation.

them a few pesos instead, and gave orders for the rest of the feast to be served to them. While these were being prepared, they gave us a sample of their own dances: firstly, many of them danced in a circle, while making a thousand contortions and a thousand gestures, at the sound of a rather slow tune; then, two of them filled a sort of intermission with improvised songs.

Among those taking part in the general dance, we noticed the presence of two very pretty girls, about 14 and 17 years old respectively, but they were both extremely shy. The older one would blush every time she thought that we were looking at her—something very unusual in someone with darker skin. Soon, when they sighted a mat on the ground, which had been laid out with many dishes, the dancing stopped and these good people squatted around it and, without any timidity, partook of this repast; above all, they simply drank too much, because we soon recognized its effects, in an old lady, formerly very quiet, who was now chattering happily.

After the departure of these hosts, the governor took us to a coconut grove where we were shown how the sap of the coconut trees is extracted, and how, according to various preparations, they get brandy, vinager or sugar from it.

From there we went to the seashore to watch how they fish for *mañahak*, a small fish with an excellent taste, which the Marianos consume in large numbers. At a certain time of the year, the *mañahak* is sure to show up, and the inhabitants then rush as a crowd to the seashore to gather a supply of them (Pl. 63). Among the fishermen, we noticed that some people were the same as those who had come to pay their respects to Mr. Medinilla. By looking for our two pretty girls, we saw them in the water up to their waist, busy, like the others, with this precious harvest; they had removed their blouse, and had tied it around their neck; their skirt was pulled up and did not cover them any more than a loin-cloth would have done—which left them almost naked. That is why, when they got out of the water, they seemed to become extremely awkward with their bodies; then, the most comical thing happened: while hastening to cover themselves, they did the opposite of what a chaste Venus would have done, and covered their back first.

It was only after nightfall that we began our journey back to Agaña, the same way that we had come, except that we had one boat precede us, and some big torches being held aloft, to help the boat steerer avoid the reefs more easily. Light from them enabled us to distinguish, better than in broad daylight, the bottom of the sea, and many of us amused themselves by watching the great quantity of fishes, immobile and sleeping among the corals.

Amid the distractions of a day so well employed, nothing pleased us more than the satisfaction shown by the governor. To please was his passion; indeed, he would smile whenever he thought that one of us had found something interesting; one can say that he found pleasure in other people's pleasure.

Nevertheless, the time when we had terminated our stay at Guam was approaching and I was eager, to obtain certain information, to visit the royal hacienda at Tachoña, in the center of the island, in one of the more fertile, salubrious and picturesque places.

Messieurs Lamarche, Pellion and I made this trip on horseback, on the 22nd. It was a small excursion and we had time to push farther to Pago, a village on the east coast of the island.

The first village we came to was that of Sinahaña, which we already knew (Pl. 59); then, that of Agame, where only ruins can be seen. Most of the time we were surrounded by woods but going over land that was very suitable for agriculture. Here and there we could see signs of the presence of springs, which could certainly be made use of, in a country where water is so often lacking. The farm of Tachoña was founded a long time ago by Jesuits and was an important agricultural establishment; a village bearing the same name was next to the farm buildings, built on a rise of land. All around can be seen valleys where vegetation is vigorous; each one of those represent the sources of the fish-bearing Cascas River. This river, later joined by the the Sigua River, flows as far as the small town of Pago, where it is known by that name at its mouth.

Once upon a time, a hurricane destroyed this farm, which was then very large. It was rebuilt in the form that can be seen today (Pl. 71 and 81). Near the houses can be seen traces of what were ploughed fields; however, the rich cultures have disappeared; the only industry that still continues is the breeding of cattle for the needs of the colonial government.

Major Luís, and one of his daughters—as kind as she was beautiful—were waiting for us at that residence. We remained there but a short time in order to take advantage of the freshness of the morning to make our way to Pago. Most of the time, we had to follow a narrow and nearly abandoned trail through the forest. Fortunately, the good governor had foreseen this problem also, and had sent people ahead of us to cut the branches that would otherwise have bothered our passage. At every step of the way, we were running into ruined villages which, independently of all historical documents, were giving us an idea of the population previous to the Spanish conquest. The most extensive ruins belonged to the former villages of Fagua, Tagun, Pumud, Tinaka and Aguan. A continuous forest of pandanus trees extended from the latter place all the way to Pago.

There, new honors awaited us. We passed under a festive arch adorned with leafy branches, at the sound of the church bells, and we were soon inside the palace of the governor, where Major Luís' wife awaited us with the kindness that is the essence of her character.

As soon as the heat of the day had passed its peak, we visited the town and its vicinity. We recognized old ruins that indicate how rich and useful were the former institutions of this charming place. Next to the church was the former Jesuit convent, today very much in ruins, and at a short distance from it the school for boys.

While returning to Agaña, we followed the morning's route as far as Tagun, then we diverted to the right to pass by the ruins of the village of Pomhud¹, then back to Afame and Sinahaña; it was already evening when we reached the capital.

1 Ed. note: Same as Pumud above.

The long recovery of our sick has extended the length of our stay much beyond the date that I had fixed; we now had to think seriously about our departure. Consequently, on the 25th, I gave the order to transport on board the men who remained in the hospital, the instruments of our observatory, as well as the numerous objects of natural history, and the other treasures that the staff of the *Uranie* had collected during our long stay. All the food supplies that we needed for our next cruise were on board. As far as those required for my own mess, Mr. Medinilla had taken care himself to provide for it, so that nothing was missing. It was difficult to imagine that he could have been more gracious or shown more care.

On the 31st, or on the 30th if one refers to the time as counted at Guam, two holidays were celebrated together: that of Whit Sunday, and the birthday of the King of Spain, Ferdinand VII. The whole town was happy; the governor gathered at a dinner, in honor of his sovereign, the officers of his nationality and ours—a total of 50 persons. At one of the galleries of the palace, facing the square, a portrait of His Majesty had been exposed; some soldiers stood guard next to it. The *Uranie* took part in this ceremony: the portrait was bedecked with flags and the customary guns were fired.

Something that was much more extraordinary and rarer than all the feasts in the world was the conduct of the Governor of Guam toward us. Not only did he refuse to accept our thanks for a stay of over two months at his house, for the care and conveniences of all sorts with which he had supported our work, but, when we tried to settle accounts with him for the daily supplies provided to the crew of the corvette since our arrival, and to pay him back for all the provisions taken on board our ship, he refused to discuss the matter. When our supercargo, Mr. Requin, went to see him to settle our debts, as was the custom, he came back to me and told me about this unheard-of generosity. It was in vain that I wrote to Mr. Medinilla a letter to express our deep gratitude and our astonishment; this peerless man answered by a touching letter, in which he was excusing himself for the scarcity of food supplies, caused by a drought that had affected the island for six months, and prevented him to be as generous as he wished to be. He added kind words regarding our expedition for which, he said, he found interesting, adding that he had a special esteem for me, and he finished by thanking me humbly for the promise that I had made to inform our Minister of the Navy about such a generous conduct on his part, and so useful to the expedition of the *Uranie*. To anticipate, His Excellency the Minister did inform the Spanish Government about it.¹ It is for me a question of duty to state here that I am very thankful, and to repeat to this kind man the deep feelings of affection that I vowed to hold toward him forever. Indeed, the reader will agree with me that it was worthwhile to go around the world, just to find a Mr. Smith and a Mr. Medinilla.

1 The *Uranie* is not the only French warship to have benefitted from the generosity of Mr. Medinilla, after our visit. Such a noble behavior was brought to the attention of His Majesty and he awarded him the decoration of the *Légion d'honneur*, as an official testimony of our gratitude.

On 4 June, all our belongings were already on board. I went there aboard the governor's boat. He was also there, along with Major Luis, the curate of Agaña and Don Justo de la Cruz, the director of the college. It was 2:30 p.m. when we went on board the ship. I had arranged for a dinner for this whole company, plus the staff of the corvette, also invited. It was my turn to treat them, something which I did very willingly; the toasts and the gun salutes, which were answered by the guns of the local fort, went hand in hand. The pleasure we enjoyed in being all together made us forget that time was passing; indeed, we left the table too late for my guests to leave the ship. They spent the night on board, except for Don Luís who, being near his farm at Sumay, near the anchorage, went there to spend the night.

The next day, we were under sail by 9:30 a.m.. We planned to appear the same day before Agaña, in order to let the governor and his retinue go ashore; he had kept one boat for that purpose. However, on account of contrary winds, this did not happen until the 6th in the morning. The hour of our parting had come, and it was not without a deep emotion that we took leave of such a lovable man who had shown so many marks of kindness toward us. I was too deeply moved to be able to express all the feelings I had in my heart for him, but the tears that I had in my eyes must have been more eloquent than words, to show my emotion and sorrow.

After we had saluted the departure of this worthy governor with nine guns, I immediately ordered all sails set, the better to make progress northward, in order to complete our exploration of the archipelago of Mariana Islands.

Section II. Excursions to the islands of Rota and Tinian.

I have reserved this section of the narrative of the small expedition that Messieurs Bérard, Gaudichaud and Arago made, aboard Carolinian canoes, in order to obtain more detailed information regarding what Rota and Tinian Islands had that was unique. We will follow the report of Mr. Bérard about it.

[Report of Mr. Bérard]

“It was, as I have said, in the morning of the 22nd of April that we set sail from the port of Agaña. Our small fleet consisted of 8 canoes, 3 of which were manned by inhabitants of the Carolines, and 5 by others belonging to the Marianas. The latter had left earlier and were sailing close to the wind one behind the other. Our canoes followed them but we soon recognized that they were much better sailers; it was for this reason that the governor had preferred to have us board them. Mr. Arago and I were on board the canoe guided by Pilot Wametau, and Mr. Gaudichaud was in the larger of the other two canoes. We had no sooner departed that we had the opportunity of noticing the skill of our islanders in swimming and navigation. Their fish-trap fell overboard; they immediately tacked back, one man dove in with a line and, as soon as he had grabbed that contraption, his companions pulled it up with force. The diver had kept his head and body almost continually under water. Then, the canoe resumed its course. These various maneuvers took little time and they were carried out with ease and a precision that showed their great experience.”

“We were sailing close to the wind and made 5 knots; however, there was nobody at the rudder; a single man, holding the sheet, navigated the canoe and sailed at an angle of *five quarters* with respect to the wind, with a full sail. The abrupt and continuous movements of the canoe, and the little height of the place where we were over the surface of the water, made the taking of astronomical observations difficult. I even tried, unsuccessfully, to determine our latitude. The curiosity of our Carolinians was excited to the highest degree when they saw my reflective circle; they spoke about it for a long time and ended up by concluding that I was the pilot of the *Uranie*. Wametau, much more intelligent, realized that I was trying to observe the sun at the zenith and he asked me if my instrument indicated that specific time. We had already passed all the other canoes; the sea was beginning to run high and the wind decreasing in a noticeable fashion; it became necessary to tack to go towards the land. Then the whole fleet began to luff to reach the next anchorage, a place west of Ritidian (Pl. 59). All of our tacks were good ones, and I believe that the best way to sail this type of canoes is close to the wind.”

“During this time, I was trying to shoot a few birds, and was lucky enough to kill four of them, something that surprised our Carolinians to the utmost degree; they looked at my rifle with so much attention that it seemed that they had never seen any with two barrels before. They gave it the name of *pak*, and gave me the name of *Birar-*

pak, a name that I kept during the whole voyage.¹ As soon as I had shot a bird, they let go the sheet, a man would throw himself overboard with a line in one hand, and they maneuvered as I said before. They are such skilful swimmers that they do not care if their head is above or under water; the sea seems to be their element, although it may threaten them with frequent dangers. They were about to recover a bird when all of a sudden a shark appeared; they watched him until he was far enough to have nothing more to fear from him, then one of them threw himself in and came back on board as if everything was normal, while all the others were laughing of joy at our good luck in hunting. I let them have the birds and they prepared themselves a great meal out of them.”

“At 3 p.m., we reached the anchorage with the other Carolinian canoes, which were all kept anchored outside the reef by the procedure that I have already mentioned; the Mariana canoes came up later, but they went in farther ashore and pushed themselves onto the coral flat.”

“We went ashore to spend the night. Already many of our men had gone over by swimming and, after they had built a shelter, had opened more than 50 coconuts, built a big fire, and were ready to cook their sea-birds. To do that, they only removed the largest feathers and, after they had skewered them with a stick, the beak first, they turned them, time and time again, near the fire, until they were completely cooked. Once this operation was completed, they ate them with a great voracity; however, they had been polite enough to offer us some first. We spent the night inside the hut of a man named Francisco, perhaps the only hunchback in the Mariana Islands.”

“On the 23rd, at daybreak, the Mariano pilot told us that the wind was contrary to his departure. We went to consult Wametau; he told us that he would sail; indeed, at 7 a.m. we set sail once again, leaving the other canoes on the beach. The winds were strong, and the sea high enough to splash us constantly. The weather being squally, the Carolinians, as soon as a black cloud appeared on the horizon, would begin the prayers that we have described earlier, and continued them, as well as the gestures, until the cloud had passed overhead.”

“Before setting out, I had killed two crows; our islanders did not touch them. At first, we thought that a sort of superstition was involved, but they explained to us that they hated this bird, because it visited their cemeteries and ate human flesh. This was enough to make them fast, because, during this day, they were ready to eat at any time. They even started a fire on board in order to cook a booby that I had killed. They did not cease asking us to multiply our meals, knowing full well that we would always give them a few morsels of chicken and above all bread, which they were very fond of. Their whole stock of provisions consisted of mature coconuts, which they like very much and which make up their usual food. They kept singing all day; ashore, the crew of the three canoes would get together to make long prayers, equally psalmodic in tone.”

1 Ed. note: Literally Mr. “Farting with a gun,” from *bwir* and *pákk*.

“We anchored at Rota only late in the evening. Because of the darkness, our canoes would maintain themselves together only by means of mutual signals made with the conch-shell, an instrument which the Carolinians always have on hand in their canoes, and which can be heard far away.”

“As it was impossible to distinguish anything around us, and that we did not know the position of the pass, it would have been foolhardy to try to get ashore. I fired my rifle once, hoping that a fire would be lit on shore, or that some craft would come and help us cross the pass. Indeed, we soon were able to see a big flame ashore, as well as an outrigger canoe that came near us in identify us, but did not dare come alongside. We hailed it many times and finally it decided to come nearer. It was so small that I decided not to go ashore aboard it. Mr. Arago, who suffered from sea-sickness, took his chances; however, the canoe had hardly moved off seven or eight fathoms that it capsized. Our Carolinians jumped into the water immediately and brought back the shipwrecked men on board. Another, larger, boat soon came alongside and, after it had made three successive trips, all three of us found ourselves in the Mayor’s house. He received us very cordially; however, his politeness became excessive when he had read the Governor’s letters that we had brought him.”

“The shot from my rifle had spread the alarm all over the island: the women had fled to the mountains, and the men had armed themselves as best they could. I may add that a few people had even uttered the opinion that they had better give themselves up, because they could not resist invaders armed with rifles! Such fears were not entirely unfounded; in fact, before our arrival, letters had been received from Guam, saying more or less what follows: “The corvette presently anchored in Port San Luís is not French, as they would have us believe, but she is manned by insurgents from Spanish America. She is waiting for a second ship to arrive, in order to take over Guam; all the inhabitants are convinced of that. Only the governor thinks that these people are honest people. While they wait, their commander will send three officers to the northern islands, and you will see them at Rota.””

“The day after our arrival, we made several trips over the island, and visited a few ruins of ancient villages (Pl. 73). The various observations that we have collected will be revealed below, under the heading of general description, a separate chapter of this narrative.”

“One of the most extraordinary facts which we have witnessed in the village of So-sahaya, is the disease of a certain Kikane. Mr. Arago has made some exact sketches of this man, whose body is entirely covered with a multitude of ulcers, some of an exceptional size (See Pl. 78). We will again mention him further on.”

“There is no priest residing at Rota; however, the natives do not forget their duty to go to church at regular times to say their prayers. When one of them dies, the body is wrapped in a mat and thus carried to his burial place, preceded by the cross, while one inhabitant, following the procession, sings the prayer of the dead. There are few places on earth where the lack of a priest is so felt by women; they cannot get married until the curate of Agaña makes his visit—something that is very rare nowadays, because his

whole time does not suffice to take care of the people of the island where he resides. That is why they sometimes choose to take the risk of boarding some frail canoes to get to Agaña to have their union blessed in the church there, or to satisfy some religious obligation. These obstacles are, moreover, a source of disorder, which create a change of morality. Indeed, some persons, for whom religion is not a necessity, were trying to avoid public shame, by destroying the fruit of their illicit union. The penalty of bastinado and that of forced labor, by which this crime is punished, is of no consequence, because it is so difficult to convince the guilty parties.”

“On 26 April, at 7 a.m., we left our hosts, and sailed for Tinian, an island that is not very far, but we carried as many provisions as if we were headed for Manila. We left behind at Rota only four of the Mariano canoes, the only ones that had dared to follow us.”

“During this crossing, we had an example of the irregular behavior of the Carolinians. The Mayor whom we had just left had given them a roasted piglet, a basket full of corn biscuits, 150 baked breadfruits, about 50 yams and coconuts aplenty; they did not stop eating all day long, and sometimes they would pass their hands over their bellies, as if they wished to press the food inside; finally, before sunset, there was nothing left, except a few breadfruits and the coconuts; on top of that, we had given them two chickens, two breads, two watermelons, a dozen yams and some oranges. The next day, every one of them ate nothing but one coconut; they told that one coconut was all they got as a daily ration during their crossings from Guam to Satawal, and vice versa. It is difficult to accept this idea respecting their sobriety, after we saw them devour, rather gobble up an enormous quantity of food. Generally, they pay no attention to the future and abuse any eventual abundance, persuaded as they are that soon enough their ration will be reduced to one coconut per day.”

“We luffed during the whole day of the 26th, with a fine breeze and a very high sea. On the 27th, at 5 a.m., we sighted Aguijan, still at a great distance, Soon after we could see the land of Tinian and the peak of Saipan. At noon, I was able to observe the latitude. The contrary currents and winds were such that we could not reach the anchorage at the latter island before 10 p.m. Our canoes were beached in front of the Mayor’s house. This man, in view of the letters that we had brought him, endeavored to please us.”

“The next day, the Carolinians pushed their canoes afloat and left for Saipan. As far as we were concerned, we rested only for a short time, as we were eager to visit the famous island where we were. Its description, our remarks on fishing, hunting, agriculture and the fertility of the soil, the products that are found there, and the ruins of ancient columns, so admirable and so astonishing, occupied our attention in turn. These details will be placed after those we have collected about Rota.”

“On the 30th, at 2 p.m., the Carolinian canoes came back from Saipan, where they had gone to visit their countrymen already settled on that island. They were accompanied by the *tamor*, or chief, of this new colony, as well as his wife whose figure is very

pleasing. The tabor himself is a very handsome man, with beautiful tattoos. Mr. Arago, after he had drawn the former, made a sketch of these magnificent tattoos (Pl. 57)."

"We left Tinian that same day, at 3:30 p.m., with a new passenger, Mayor Francisco de la Cruz, who left his family in tears, to go to Guam to see his friends. We were not sorry to leave behind the dry plains of this island, which, from the first day, reminded us of the deplorable landscape of Eendracht Land. Things must have changed a lot since the visit of Lord Anson, who had found here a paradise on earth, or else our own sense of observation and understanding were diametrically opposed to his."

"We were under sail when, at 5 p.m., a very black cloud was spotted on the horizon. It soon arose and, passing overhead, gave us a strong rain shower. Our three canoes were sailing very close together, and we witnessed a very curious scene, when our companions began to pray in a loud voice, and made gestures all together. The weather was soon fine once again."

"At about 8 p.m., we met the four Mariana canoes which we had left at Rota; they probably made it to Tinian the next day, that is, four days after us. During the day we amused ourselves by narrating a story to the Carolinians, by means of gestures and a few words that we had learned; we told them about a ship that had arrived at an island inhabited by cannibals, where one of the sailors had been made prisoner, killed and eaten by the local people. They were squirming out of horror, would explain the facts to one another, and would turn their heads to look away, as if they could not bear the narrative of such an atrocity. Their countenance was sufficient to show to what extent these good people abhorred a crime. That is why, when we finally told them that the crew of the ship had fired upon the savages and had killed a large number of them, they applauded. Then, their forehead lost their wrinkles completely; they asked us if these barbarians had all been killed."

"That is how we entertained ourselves during a boring crossing, and spent some of our time studying this interesting people, and derived certain particularities that only circumstance could reveal to us. This is how I was able to observe their manner of maneuvering their canoes, and find out how they used the stars to navigate, with the sagacity and precision that we have mentioned earlier."

"On 1 May, at daybreak, we sighted the beaches of Rota for the second time, and there we took on board the collection of natural history that we had not dared carry with us to Tinian. The Mayor, Mr. Juan de Rivera, had added many curious articles to this collection of ours. After thanking him, and his family, for their kind welcome, we set sail again at noon, and were back at Agaña on the 2nd, among our friends, after an absence of 11 days."

CHAPTER XXV.

A brief history of the Marianas, before 1820.

The history of the Mariana Islands is naturally divided into three periods, which, though linked chronologically, has each its own character.

The first period includes the events that took place between 1521 and 1668. The islands were pulled from the obscurity of their primeval state, to undergo a second creation, so to speak, that gave them a place in the universe at large. At first, their links with the outside world were fragile and continually interrupted, due to the vicissitudes of navigation, the unsteady winds, a few expeditions inspired by curiosity; such were the only causes which little by little saw contacts being renewed with them. Soon, such contacts became more regular, as the ship plying the route between Mexico and the Philippines felt the need to visit the Marianas. Such contacts eventually inspired the Spanish to make the religious conquest of these islands, and then to make them a part of their colonial empire.

This double conquest of the Marianas in the name of civilization and Spanish dominion, is the subject of the second period, which extends from 1668 to 1699. It was when the islanders successively made a show of force, heroism and cunning, in order to defend their customs and their independence: twenty times defeated, and twenty times in rebellion, before they were finally decimated by warfare and by diseases heretofore unknown to them. Still, they did not stop offering a useless resistance in light of powerful weapons from civilized Europe. A forced emigration followed this succession of disasters, as the remaining population was concentrated at Guam, at Saipan and at Rota, most of them thus abandoning their cities [sic] and their native islands. So it was that they came to live within range of the cannon, sole guarantor of their submission.

The third division, from 1699 to the departure of the *Uranic* [1819], is the history of the Marianas under Spanish rule. The greatest number of natives deeply regret their ancient freedom, though they keep silent about it. Despair can still push a few of them to commit suicide, or destroy the children born of their union, at childbirth.¹ Nevertheless, all of them live a submissive and quiet life. If some troubles occur, as they do now and then, they are likely to take place among the Spaniards themselves. The name and deeds of the governors make up most of the historical facts available during this period.

In order to write this history, I have consulted a rather large number of books and official documents. The *Archives of Guam*, which I had the opportunity to study, have revealed to me some new facts, or provided me with the means to verify some already known. My conversations with Don Luis de Torres have been an important source for me, on both counts. Finally, I learned about a large number of events from the following books:

1 Ed. note: Freycinet has already mentioned this in connection with Rota.

- Historia de Filipinas*, by Father Murillo Velarde;
- Historia general de Filipinas*, by Fr. Juan de la Concepción;
- Histoire des îles Mariannes*, by Fr. Le Gobien;
- Lettres édifiantes*,
- Histoire des navigations aux Terres australes*, by President de Brosses;
- Histoire générale des voyages*, by Abbé Prévost;
- A Chronological History, &c.*, by J. Burney,

also a rather large number of narratives of voyages. Having had the advantage of discussing, at Guam, most of what can be considered important in the above-mentioned books, I feel that I have not committed a serious error in what follows.

Section I.

From the discovery of the Marianas by Magellan, until the arrival of Father Sanvitores (1421-1668).

Magellan, tasked with the commission of finding out if there were a communication by sea between the west coast of America and the Atlantic Ocean, was the first man to sail through the strait that bears his name. On 6 March 1521, he discovered, after a long and perilous navigation, the Mariana Island group, which he first named the *Islas de las velas latinas* [Islands of the Lateen Sails], then renamed them the *Islas de los ladrones* [Islands of Thieves], while their present name is much more modern.

One of the companions of this great navigator, Pigafetta, has written the narrative of the voyage; the details that he gave lead me to believe that they only sighted Saipan, Tinian and AgUijan.¹

The admiral wished to spend a few days at the first [sic] of these islands, in order to take on fresh food supplies, but he gave up this idea, because of the pestering of the islanders who, having come on board, stole everything they could lay their hands on, tried to furl the sails to force the ship[s] ashore, and finally became so numerous on deck that force had to be used to drive off such bothersome visitors. Angered by this treatment, the Indians attacked the Spaniards with stones and spears; they were fired upon and some of them were killed. Nevertheless, Magellan's ships continued to tack in the neighborhood. The natives, in spite of what had happened, came alongside to trade, but they also managed to steal the ship's boat, that was being towed behind one of the ships. The commander, angered by this knavery, stepped ashore with a few armed men and set fire to the houses and canoes which he found near the beach; seven islanders were also killed. The ship's boat was recovered and soon Magellan's ships sailed away. Upon their departure, the islanders followed them with more than 100 canoes

¹ Ed. note: Wrong, of course, as the logbook mentions the right latitudes for Guam and Rota, and Magellan's latitudes were quite exact. The three islands seen were Rota (seen as two islands, the Taipingot Peninsula being one of them) and Guam.

for at least one league. They would sail close to the ships, show some fish while making signs that they would like to give them away, but upon coming closer, they would throw stones at the crews, before fleeing. To get rid of them once and for all, the ships under full sail tried to run them down, but the natives would very skilfully turn over their [capsized] canoes.

Fr. Le Gobien, in his *History of the Marianas*, affirms that these islanders had no knowledge of fire at that time. Never, says he, were they so surprised as when they saw it for the first time when Magellan landed on their island and burned about 50 houses. "They looked upon the fire," he adds, "as if it were an animal that attacks wood and eats it. Having been burned, they refrained from going near it, for fear of being bitten or wounded by the fiery breath of this terrible animal." [Abbé] Raynal¹ has, without criticism, adopted this fabulous anecdote, which can be found in his book. The author of the *General History of Voyages* ascribes this same story to Pigafetta who, however, said nothing of the kind.

One needs not spend much time reflecting upon this to conclude that such a story has to be false. Indeed, in spite of what Raynal says, there can be found in the Marianas many active volcanoes; so, how can it be said of men who could frequently sail between these islands, that they had never seen fire, when modern navigators passing by them can clearly see flames and smoke rising from their craters? However, that is not all; the islanders, who, we are told, did not know about fire, have in their languages words such as: *fire, to burn, charcoal, cinders, oven, to broil, to boil, etc.*, and they manufactured in their islands, before the arrival of the Europeans, some pottery, with obvious traces of fire upon them. Such circumstances militate rather strongly, I think, against the assertion of Fr. Le Gobien^{197a} a reasonable man otherwise—who must have been misled; in any case, his was not an eyewitness report.

It was only six years after their discovery that the Marianas were visited a second time.² Indeed, Loaysa, a Spaniard, appeared before them on 4 September 1526. He had not yet anchored when the islanders approached with their canoes, offering water in gourds, some fish and fruits, in exchange for which they only wanted some iron. During these exchanges, the Spanish were very surprised to see coming towards them, from an island which the narrative calls Borta [sic] and is an island located towards the northern end of the group, one of their countrymen, named Gonzalo de Vigo. This man told them that he, along with two other sailors had left the ship **Santa Trinidad**, when Espinosa, one of Magellan's captains, was returning to the Moluccas after he had vainly tried to reach New Spain, and had stopped at one of the northernmost islands of the Mariana archipelago; that, a short time later, his companions had been killed by the natives, and he had himself escaped death by fleeing. Yielding to his prayers, he was received on board and was pardoned for his desertion.

1 In his book *Histoire philosophique et politique*.

2 Ed. note: Incorrect, the ship **Trinidad** re-visited the Northern Marianas, not once, but twice, before, in 1522 (see below).

Loaysa remained at the Marianas until the 10th of September, and took on some food provisions there. The natives, whom the author of Magellan's Voyage had described in much unfavorable terms, showed only friendly dispositions at this time. The Spaniards did not, however, act accordingly, because, just before leaving, they attracted on board eleven islanders, and carried them off, planning to use them to work the pumps. The crew and the ships were, it is true, in a deplorable situation; however, this motive was not strong enough to justify such an act of barbarism.

Alvaro de Saavedra departed New Spain, two years later. He was soon separated by the winds, from the two ships that were sailing in company with him. He arrived at Guam on 6 January 1528, where he took possession of the whole archipelago in the name of the King of Spain. However, it was not until 25 January 1565, that a more formal act of possession was taken by Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, while on his voyage from Acapulco [sic]¹ to the Philippines. Legaspi's ships had not yet come within two leagues of the Marianas when the natives came to meet him aboard their canoes, while frequently repeating the name of Gonzalo, the man who had deserted Magellan's fleet and been picked up by Loaysa 40 years earlier. However, they remained a stone's throw away, although the bravest among them would swim over to pick up knives, chisels and other objects placed upon a board which had been lowered from the ship. The repeated invitations of the islanders were for the Spanish to come closer to the land. Some food items were offered them in exchange for iron which these Indians preferred above anything else; however, many thefts which occurred later on came to confirm the description of them given by Magellan.

During a council held among the religious passengers and the main officers on board, Fr. Urdaneta offered the advice that a settlement should be made at these islands; indeed, they appeared to have in abundance everything necessary to maintain life, and yearly relations with New Spain could be more easily maintained with them, than with Luzon Island.² Legaspi rejected this advice as being against the King's orders, which said that he was to sail directly to the Philippines.

In spite of a formal order of the commander not to touch any tree or crop, not to go ashore, nor even barter with the islanders without permission, many quarrels could not be avoided between them and the sailors. The ships were ready to sail when, upon the return of a boat that had gone ashore to get water, it was noticed that one sailor was missing. Some men were immediately sent back to get him, but they only found his corpse. At once, 100 armed men were sent ashore to avenge this murder. The Spanish advanced towards a village located one league from the shore; the houses being found deserted, they turned back, set a few canoes on fire, then boarded their boats, as if to go away, but, having left a group of men ashore in ambush among the trees. Falling for this trick, the inhabitants came down from the hills but were soon forced to flee, to get away from the fire of the Spanish muskets. "They were thus unable," says the narrator,

1 Ed. note: The point of departure was Barra de Navidad.

2 Ed. note: Luzon was not yet known to the Spaniards.

“to obtain full satisfaction, although many natives were killed or wounded by the arquebus, and others were made prisoners, and the fact that, on the scene of the murder, three islanders who had been mortally wounded were hanged.” The commander ordered all the houses and all the canoes that could be found on the neighboring beaches to be burned.

Seventeen years after this expedition by Legaspi [1582] Francisco Gali, who had departed Acapulco to go to the Philippines, stopped at the Marianas.

Thomas Cavendish approached them himself in January 1588. Some canoes came off Guam loaded with vegetables and fruits, and traded with him for a few pieces of iron. The islanders followed his ships far away from shore and the greed they showed did not please the commander; so, to get rid of them, he had a few guns fired at them.

Mendaña also came in sight of these islands, in 1596, and got a few fish and some fruits from the natives.

Four years later, the Dutch admiral Olivier van Noort stopped for two days near Guam, where he took on some coconuts, rice and other refreshments; however, as all the Europeans who had preceded him, he also recognized that the inhabitants had a surprising knack for stealing anything that attracted their curiosity.

That same year, the **Santa Margarita**, a Spanish ship that had lost her captain and part of her crew, came to anchor at Rota Island, the Mariana island that is closest to Guam. Immediately the natives flocked on board and, seeing her distress, took possession of her after killing many sailors; the remainder were distributed among the islanders and were not harmed. As far as the booty was concerned, it became the property of the thieves, who distributed it among themselves. Among the effects that were on board there could be found a rather large quantity of gold and silver coins, part of which was hung from trees, and the rest worn around the necks of the barbarians, because they did not think they could be used otherwise.

In the month of May 1601, the **San Tomás**, a Spanish galleon, touched at the same islands, having on board Don Antonio de Ribera Maldonado, recently named judge at Manilla, where he was going. Five men belonging to the crew of the **Santa Margarita** having come on board with a few islanders, the latter promised that, if only the ship could remain anchored for just two days, all the Spaniards, numbering 26 persons, part of whom were then on other islands, would be brought over. However, Maldonado, being in a hurry to assume his post, and fearing that the winds would soon become contrary, insisted that the ships continue their course without delay, thus abandoning a large number of his countrymen to the whims of a wild population. A good friar, who was also on board, touched by the deplorable fate of his unlucky countrymen, went to join them aboard a canoe, determined as he was to share their fate. Most of them died at this, their land of exile; the others were able, later on, to find a way to the Philippines.

On 23 January 1616, a Dutchman named Spillemberg [rather Speilbergen] arrived at the Marianas to take on food supplies which he obtained by barter, and nine years later [1635] the Nassau Fleet, flying the same flag, anchored near the west coast of

Guam. A total of 150 canoes immediately appeared alongside the ships. Soon a mutual trade began, and Admiral Schapenham succeeded in getting the refreshments needed to restore the health of many of the men of his crews who, affected by scurvy, could not take part in maneuvers.

The ship **Concepción** marked the year 1638 by her shipwreck at the Marianas. The islanders behaved better toward the unfortunate men who were aboard her than could have been hoped for, given the narratives of the previous travellers: indeed, they generously assisted the Spaniards who managed to reach the shore, making them welcome and trying to make them forget their deplorable situation.¹

In 1622, having left Acapulco for Manila, the ship **San Damian** arrived in sight of Guam; as usual, the natives rushed in to offer water, fruits, fish, that is all the refreshments needed on board. Father Sanvitores,² a Jesuit missionary who happened to be on board, was moved by the state of ignorance and misery in which these Indians lived, and decided to make an attempt to convert them to Christianity. In order to achieve this purpose, upon arriving at Manila, he lost no time in making requests and present memorials to the governor; however, the political side rejected them, because the advantages were not so obvious at first. Among the objections that were made, one was that the [direct] voyage from the Philippines to the Marianas was almost impossible, because of contrary winds and currents prevailing in those seas, and, besides, the fact that most of the ships that had tried to follow that route had perished.

Challenged, rather than discouraged by such refusals, Fr. Sanvitores decided to write directly to the Queen of Spain, recommending to her that she should take the Mariana Islands under her protection. She responded favorably to this request, and the king, her husband, after he had read a memorial on this subject, written by Fr. Sanvitores, ordered the governor of the Philippines, in a despatch dated 24 June 1665, to provide to this religious all the assistance he needed. After such an order, the zealous missionary should have expected to receive support for his enterprise, but, in Manila, he met with still more obstacles that made him decide to go to Mexico. Consequently, he left Cavite on 7 August 1667, and arrived at Acapulco only at the beginning of the following year. Finally, he obtained from the Marquis of Mancera, Viceroy of New Spain, what he had been promised three years earlier.

As companions in his missionary venture, Fr. Sanvitores selected Fathers Tomás Cardeñoso, Luis de Medina, Pedro de Casanova, Luis de Morales and Lorenzo Bustillos [rather Bustillo]. All of them left the coast of America on 23 March 1668 and ar-

1 Ed. note: This shipwreck occurred at Saipan, where survivors were killed; those who escaped had been rescued by islanders from Tinian.

2 Don Diego Luis de Sanvitores came from an illustrious family in Old Castile. On his mother side, he descended from a nephew of Ruy Díaz de Vivar, nicknamed *El Cid*, a famous captain in the annals of Spain. Abandoning a career that was opened to him at the Spanish court, through the good offices of his father, he joined the Jesuit order instead, and volunteered as a missionary. Born in 1627, he was martyred at Guam, at the age of 45. The author of his eulogy says that he was a man with a high intellect, a solid judgment, and capable of accomplishing the most difficult tasks.

rived at their destination on 15 June. It was only then that the archipelago in question received the name of Mariana Islands, the name given to them by Fr. Sanvitores, not only in honor of the Blessed Virgin, but also in memory of Maria Ana of Austria, wife of Philip IV, King of Spain—an honor that was well deserved by a princess who supported with so much zeal the propagation of Christianity in those faraway countries.

Here ends the first period, during which the Europeans had made but brief appearances in the Marianas, without founding a single settlement there; we will now see the beginning of the new order of things that followed it.

Section II.

From the arrival of Fr. Sanvitores until the conquest of the Marianas by the Spanish (1668-1669).

Fr. Sanvitores' ship had hardly anchored when over 50 canoes loaded with islanders came alongside. They were shouting in their language, *Abok! abok!* [friends! friends!]¹ but refused to climb on deck. A Spaniard, who had been living in these islands for over 30 years, assured the head of the mission that the natives were well disposed. So, the latter sent Fathers Medina and Casanova ashore, and soon followed them. They were made welcome by one of the local high chiefs, named Quipuha, who, having been born at Sunharon on Tinian Island, knew how to speak enough Spanish to make himself understood.²

The first concern of Fr. Sanvitores was to build a church at Agaña, which, being the capital city, had to be the center of the settlement also. Soon, he began his apostolic work which he pursued with zeal in the midst of difficulties of all sorts. One of the greatest obstacle that he had to fight, and that was perhaps the least expected, was the haughtiness of the chiefs, who, believing themselves to be far superior to the common people, did not wish them to participate in the benefits of Christianity. "If baptism," they said, "is an advantage that you wish to give us, why give it also to this abject class?" It had to be explained to them that such was the Law of the Creator, who, by bestowing every day the heat of the sun upon all creatures, also wished them to share the benefits of religion. The first man who let himself be convinced, and received baptism, was that same Kipuha who had so well received the missionaries and who had given them the land upon which the first church was then being built.

Soon, a more dangerous and stubborn foe appeared, in the person of a Chinese merchant named Choco. In 1648, he was going from Manila to Ternate, but his ship was

1 Ed. note: *Abok* is a modern Chamorro word, not to be found in the original accounts.

2 Ed. note: A myth, derived from oral history, that Freycinet is guilty of introducing here. In fact, Fr. Sanvitores had already learned the Chamorro language, from former Filipino residents, and written a grammar of it in Latin. Therefore, it was the missionaries who had learned enough Chamorro to make themselves understood. Besides, they had good interpreters present.

driven by a storm to the Mariana Islands, where his ship was shipwrecked.¹ He escaped the waves, and was made welcome at Guam [sic], where he soon was preaching idol worship. He had already converted a number of islanders to his doctrine, when the missionaries arrived, and posed a threat to his projects and his credibility; that is why he developed a strong aversion against the Christian religion and its ministers.

Well then, some recently-baptized children having died, and various adults also, who had been sick and been baptized, before dying, Choco began to tell the inhabitants that the sacrament had been a diabolic operation that doomed all those who submitted to it; that, if a few people, who were young and healthy had survived, it was but a momentary situation, because the poisoned water would, sooner or later, cause hydropsy.² To support these perfidious insinuations, Choco gave as proofs the testimonies of the parents of the children, old people and the sick whom he pretended had died as a result of witchcraft. The effect of such rumors was that people began to refuse baptism and withhold their children from it, and finally to arm themselves against the Spaniards who had a hard time to appease the minds and re-establish order.

Such difficulties had no sooner been overcome that the missionaries thought of visiting the other islands in the archipelago to plan the conversion of their inhabitants. Each of them went to their assigned station, and Fr. Sanvitores himself left, on 20 October, to go to their support.

The ideas spread by Choco had already reached far and wide, and had badly predisposed the islanders of Tinian and Saipan, who were therefore hostile to the preachers of the faith, until finally, this hostility erupted in various conflicts during which one missionary was wounded and two Spaniards massacred. Fr. Sanvitores managed to re-establish peace, and returned to Guam, by way of Rota, on 5 January 1669.

Upon his arrival at Agaña, he began to establish a seminary that would introduce the children of the Marianos to religion and good manners. The church, having been completed on 2 February, it became possible to inaugurate it on Easter Sunday, when the divine service was celebrated with solemnity; the zealous ministers of the Gospel were then rewarded at the sight of many natives flocking from all parts, to join in this celebration of the holy mysteries with their songs and dances.

Amid so many tasks, Fr. Sanvitores found the time and energy to solidify the new settlement; to this purpose, he wrote the Queen of Spain, then Regent, to solicit her help. In the memorial that he wrote her, dated 15 April, he begs her to please extend her patronage and support a seminary for boys, and another for girls; he gives news of

1 Ed. note: This occurred at Saipan, where his wife was also from.

2 Ed. note: More commonly called dropsy now; it is the accumulation of fluids in the body, mostly in the abdomen. Choco could hardly have been so technical about it.

the success of the mission and announces that he and his companions had baptized over 13,000 islanders that first year, and were instructing more than 20,000 catechumens.¹

Until then, only the Mariana islands located between Guam and Saipan had been visited. Fr. Morales was sent to explore the islands further north, to sow the seeds of religion. To him we owe the discovery of Anataxan, Sariguan, Allamaguan, Pagon and Grigan. During his six-month visit of these islands, he baptized 4,000 individuals, children and adults. He had planned to pursue his apostolic work farther still, but bad weather and the smallness of the canoe carrying him forced him to turn back.

Fr. Sanvitores himself left, on 1 July, to continue this enterprise, so well begun. He discovered, on 15 August, the island then named Assonsong, which he renamed Asunción [Assumption], the name that has survived. Then, two days later, he discovered the small Mang [rather Maug] Islands. He also revisited the islands made known by Fr. Morales. At Anataxan, Lorenzo, one of the catechists, a survivor of the **Concepción** shipwreck, was acting alone when many inhabitants, exasperated by the deplorable opinion that the death of a child, who had died a few days earlier after receiving baptism, and ascribing the death to this sacrament, threw themselves upon the unfortunate Spaniard [sic]² at the instant when he was piously pouring water on the head of a small girl, killing him with spears and mutilating his body.

At Tinian, Fr. Sanvitores found the whole population in turmoil; a quarrel between two chiefs had caused the inhabitants to pick up arms, and they were about to wage a war. He hastened to step in between the two armies and, despite many stones that were thrown at him, he endeavored by his prayers, reproaches and exhortations, to finally calm them down. The gratitude of the natives, in view of this reconciliation, and for the efforts that he had made to achieve it, resulted in his obtaining permission, on 1 January 1670, to build two churches at Tinian.

Fr. Medina returned to Saipan, an island which he had visited too superficially during his first voyage, and where he still had to visit a few villages whose inhabitants were very much against the missionaries. Indeed, it was above all in this island that Choco had settled and married, that his notorious doctrine had spread.³ That is why he was not successful; in fact, he was attacked by men who had been waiting for him, after he had made supreme efforts to pacify these barbarians. He soon became a victim to their spears and the darts that were thrown at him; a Filipino who was his companion shared the same fate. The murderers, surprised by the courage of these victims, allowed their companions to bury him.

Upon returning to Guam, Fr. Sanvitores found the islanders in consternation. A severe drought was drying up all the products of the land, and a famine appeared ine-

1 Ed. note: For an explanation of how the figure of 13,000 was arrived at by Brother Bustillo, see, among other references to be found in HM4, the footnote to p 539; the real number was 7,234. The number 20,000 itself was a grossly exaggerated estimate for the whole population of all the Mariana Islands. Besides, when Bustillo came to write 13,000 in Latin, he wrote 30,000 instead.

2 Ed. note: Lorenzo was from the Malabar coast, India.

3 Ed. note: However, Choco was then living on the south coast of Guam, at Faa, or Paa.

vitale. Already the *makahnas* [witch-doctors] who, before the arrival of the missionaries, held sway among the Marianos, were trying to re-assert their authority, and reminded the people of the cult of the *antis* [spirits], the powerful guardians of their ancestors, who granted them their prayers for favorable winds, lucky fishing, abundant harvests, cures for their illnesses, and who commanded the elements. Such words were designed to re-awaken ancient superstitions in the heart of the Guamanians; so, many of them were seen prostrating themselves, with a fervent feeling of repentance, before the bones of their ancestors. When he witnessed this sacrilegious deviation, Fr. Sanvitores had all the unfortunate inhabitants gathered before him; he reproached them for their infidelity, and exhorted them to return to their good ways; he succeeded in convincing them.

This success excited the fury of the *makahnas*; they began to criss-cross the whole island, representing to the people that the *gilagos* [Spanish]¹ were trying to impose a new religion upon them in order to attract them and then take away their freedom; that if they did not hasten to get rid of them, the *antis* would be angered and pursue their unfaithful children; that the trees would stop bearing fruits, the fields produce no crops and the sea no fish. These sinister predictions of the *makahnas* were reinforced by the instigations to revolt, fomented by a chief named Hurao; this man, on account of his skill, held sway over the people and was influential among his colleagues who blindly followed his advice. For a long time, he had come to realize that the presence of the Spanish would inevitably lead to his credibility becoming undermined, and that of the noble class as well; this fear had led him to decide to expulse them from the country. He was overtly very political with the missionaries, because he did not feel himself strong enough, but deep in his heart he was their sworn enemy. It was in vain that Fr. Sanvitores had rendered him some services and piled gifts upon him, in order to conciliate him and make him accept Christianity, but Hurao became even more insolent and haughty.

The pious superior of the mission did everything in his power to spread religion in the island, and to open the minds of the inhabitants to it. Four new parishes were opened, each of which having 40 villages within its boundaries, and a church being built in their capital town: Merizo, Paicpuk,² Pago and Nigsihan became the new centers,³ and it was the last-named place that Fr. Sanvitores chose as his own mission station,³ in the hope that he could better exercise more control from there. This expansion of the Spanish religious settlements was encouraged by an increase in the number of mission-

- 1 Ed. note: This neo-Chamorro word simply means 'foreigners'. It comes from *gi-lago*, literally "those from offshore," or overseas. In Newfoundland, they use a similar expression, as they call 'outsiders' by the expression "those from away." In the language of the Mariana Islands, *lago* means the north, or northward, direction, at Guam; it means northwest at Rota, and west at Saipan (see HM5:388).
- 2 This name, for lack of space, does not appear on the chart. This village was located on the east coast of Guam, at the mouth of a small river very near and to the east of Tarofoto (See below, the section on geography, in Chapter XXVI).
- 3 Ed. note: The place is situated in a bay north of Mangilao, and is now surrounded by a golf course.

aries. Indeed, the government of the mother country, having understood that it was important to protect the Mariana Mission against the insults and aggressions of the natives; consequently, a galleon (the **Buen Socorro**) left Acapulco with a sufficient number of soldiers and four new missionaries, and arrived at Guam on 9 June 1671.

Nevertheless, Hurao, more and more alarmed by the progress made by the Europeans, was only looking for a favorable opportunity to arouse a population that was already disposed to rebellion; this opportunity soon presented itself. A young Spaniard, who had been cutting wood, was killed by a Mariano who coveted his tools. Captain Juan de Santiago, first governor of the new colony, decided to carry out a search for the unknown killer; consequently, he arrested a few men of Agaña who were suspected of being involved, placed them in jail and interrogated them. However, as there were no proofs against them, they were declared innocent and released. This procedure was generally regarded as an insult against the whole native population. Hurao, who had already joined with Choco to find a way of getting rid of the Spanish, took advantage of this general discontent to further agitate the minds. At this time, one of the more important leading citizens, named Guafak, wishing to oppose the arrest of one of his friends supposedly involved in the murder in question, was killed in the tumult that this attempt had created. This was a signal for war, which Hurao declared himself openly to be in favor of, and exhorted his countrymen to come together to drive away these imperious hosts. The latter did not yet have either a stockade, or a fort, within which to seek shelter against such an attack; so, they found themselves with many problems when they saw a numerous army advance towards them; undoubtedly, they would not have been able to resist, had this army attacked them right away, but they hesitated and Don Juan took advantage of the lull to build a stockade, complete with watch-towers, big enough to provide a shelter for his men. He had but 31 soldiers, but he counted on their courage and his trust in divine protection. It was important to capture Hurao; the plan was daring and difficult, but it was managed successfully. His family became despondent, and came to beg the governor to please set him free. Moved by so many tears, and sorry to see his flock exposed to the fury of a war, Fr. Sanvitores let it be known that their request would be granted, if the islanders would disperse immediately. The islanders received this proposal with ridicule, as they saw in it signs of fear and weakness and they began to compose some satirical songs, in which they called the Spanish cowards. It was in vain that Fr. Sanvitores renewed his offers, in an effort to bring them back to pacific feelings; everything was futile: he had some stones thrown at him and was forced to retreat.

Trusting in their large number, 2,000 Marianos finally attacked the Spanish stronghold, on 11 September. Urged on by Choco, who was leading them, they kept on their efforts to overcome the resistance of the Spanish. During eight consecutive days they had been multiplying their assaults but without success, when, frightened by the numerous casualties suffered in an open field, they pulled back for a while, to reflect on the best means of avoiding the destructive effects of firearms. To this effect, Choco had them build some sort of tall shields which, built on a solid frame, sheltered them suffi-

ciently when they threw their darts; however, what discouraged all such measures were the vigorous sorties made by the besieged, that caused many men to be lost. Persuaded by the *makahnas* that their *antis* would make them invulnerable, they placed the skulls of their ancestors on their front line, then renewed their attack. Unfortunately, and at their great surprise, a discharge of muskets came to prove to them that such preservatives were useless against musket balls.

All these advantages did not prevent the situation of the Spanish from being extremely critical. Enclosed as they were by a hastily-built stockade, forced to be constantly on their feet to resist assaults day and night by an active and numerous enemy, they were horribly tired, but their courage and determination were still holding firmly.

One of the main objectives of the attackers was to manage to burn the church that was inside the stockade; that is why they threw inside, and from all directions, some burning spears, but in vain. What they had not been able to do, was soon accomplished by a hurricane that hit all of a sudden and destroyed, not only the church and the mission house, but also all the houses on the island. This event gave encouragement to the enemy, and they decided to mount a general attack. The Spanish, always on their guard, resisted with so much decisiveness and so much order that they decimated the enemy ranks. This failure made them decide to send, the next day, two spokesmen to offer their submission. These men were followers of Hurao, who accepted all the conditions that were imposed upon them, and they only asked that their friend be released. Such extreme condescension inspired some doubts in the governor regarding the sincerity of their promises, but, at the insistence of Fr. Sanvitores, he accepted immediately. Indeed, his intuition had not fooled him; peace had hardly been re-established when Hurao took over the leadership of the revolt and excited his companions to continue fighting.

The enemy soon returned, not only in larger numbers than before, but also animated with more rage and fury. Intent on wiping out the Spanish camp, the Marianos continued their attack during 13 days and 13 nights, continually making loud noises. The Spanish could hardly survive under this constant and dangerous service; they could not resist much longer. That is why they thought they would have to put an end to the war by carrying out a brilliant sortie. Consequently, they made preparations for this general sortie against the assailants; it was so well carried out and led with so much intrepidity that they scattered the enemy, killed many of their numbers, and forced them to finally surrender. That same day, 21 October, a certain Kipuha, a relative of the Mariano who had so favorably made the Spanish welcome upon their arrival, was sent to listen to the conditions of the victors; they were moderate, because the only condition imposed on his countrymen was to attend mass on Sundays and holidays, to attend catechism classes and send their children to do the same.

Once peace was restored, Fr. Sanvitores worked at repairing the damage caused by the war, at reinforcing the faith that had been shaken, and finally, at animating the other religious by his example and exhortations.

Fr. Lopez left to visit the islands of Aguijan, Saipan and Tinian, which had not yet been visited since the death of Fr. Medina. He met no opposition in establishing a school for boys, similar to that at Agaña, at Sunharon, the capital of Tinian. Many transfers took place among the missionaries, but Fr. Sanvitores continued to reserve for himself the parish of Nigsihan, which was one of the most difficult to administer, on account of the lack of constancy and turbulence of the inhabitants.

In any case, the Marianos were kept in line, more by force than conviction. Humiliated at having been vanquished, they obeyed the conditions of the peace treaty only out of necessity. Meanwhile, they were constantly excited to revolt by Hurao, Choco, and their *makahnas*, and dreamed of taking their revenge. For five months, there was an apparent calm, but new circumstances brought a new revolt.

Diego Bazan, a young catechist attached to the village of Apurguan, where Kipuha, the mediator of the last peace, also lived, was linked with this Mariano nobleman, but when he saw him behave contrary to religion, he exhorted him to follow the right course. Unfortunately, Kipuha, under the influence of too strong a passion to listen to such reproaches, became offended and decided to rid himself of his friend, who had become nothing but a bothersome censor.

The unmarried Marianos had the custom, as we will mention elsewhere, of gathering at communal houses where they delivered themselves to the most shameful desolation with young girls who went there willingly, with the consent and oftentimes with the deliberate urging of their own mothers. Formerly, these houses, called *guma ulitao* [houses of the bachelors], existed all over. A famous one was located at Chuchugu (Pl. 59), a village that served as a retreat for many debauched youths.¹ Kipuha found there willing executors of his criminal intentions; in effect, on 31 March 1672, two men went looking for Bazan; they found him and began to speak with him in a friendly manner for a while, but were only looking for an opportunity when he would least expect it, to kill him with their spears.

At the news of this murder, Fr. Sanvitores sent messengers to the other missionaries without delay, telling them to be on their guard. In spite of this warning, many of them [i.e. catechists], at Chuchugu and at Ipao, were killed in ambushes with a horrible cruelty. He himself set out [from Nisighan] on 1 April and headed for Tumun, where he arrived the next day. Upon learning there that a baby girl had just been born, he lost no time to go to the house of her father, named Matapang, whom he had baptized earlier and cured of a dangerous wound; however, this impetuous man had since abandoned a religion that was not in tune with his passions. At the sight of the venerable priest, forgetting the favors that he had received from him, he sought only a way to get rid of a witness to his apostacy and a bothersome judge; furious, he shouted insults and threats at him, refused to listen to his exhortations and left to find Hirao, one of his neighbors, to help him to assassinate the priest. Though an idol worshipper, Hirao hesi-

1 Ed. note: The young men belonging to this club acted as "warriors", that is, soldiers and assassins for hire.

tated to join this conspiracy. When he returned home, Matapang noticed that his daughter had just been baptized, something that made him so furious that he threw many spears at Calangsor, a Filipino companion of Fr. Sanvitores, because he saw his first; Calangsor had no sooner avoided such a sudden attack that he fell under the blows of Hirao, who brought him down by hitting him with his *katana*.¹ Both murderers then attacked Fr. Sanvitores, who had then only a crucifix to defend himself; he raised this crucifix and, as he was about to receive the fatal blow, said to Matapang: "May God take pity upon your soul!" He then fell dead under Hirao's *katana* and Matapang's spear. The latter then attacked the corpse, pulled off the cilicium² covering it, pulled the small crucifix that he found around the neck and crushed it between two stones, while uttering blasphemies, and took possession of the large ivory crucifix which, like a new Judas, he sold later on for 30 bags of rice, and shared with Hirao the rest of the clothes. Their vengeance did not stop there; to deny the honor of a Christian burial to these martyrs, they spent much time erasing all traces of the spilled blood and, after they had tied large stones to the feet of the two bodies, they placed them aboard a canoe and went offshore to dump them into deep water.

In the meantime, the people of Chuchugu, who had links with Matapang and Hirao, tried, by new efforts, to excite their countrymen against the Spanish, for fear that the latter would seek to retaliate for the murders recently committed. In a short time the whole population of the northern part of Guam, then wilder and more rebellious than the rest, was under arms; the southern population, more peaceful and more attached to the missionaries, decided to remain neutral and to await the outcome, which would most certainly have been fatal to the Spanish, had not some reinforcement arrived in time to prevent this.

The yearly galleon, that plied the route from New Spain to the Philippines every year, arrived, on 2 May, at the port of Umata, and left a reinforcement of soldiers and ammunitions to the colony. This measure did not, however, prevent a few disputes between the newcomers and the islanders; the death of a Mariano and that of a young girl that resulted from one of these disputes excited a great resentment throughout the country. In order to defend his people against the attacks of the natives, who had taken up arms once again, the governor decided to build a fort at Agaña; the work of building it was proceeding apace when a fight broke out: some men having been sent to a nearby mountain to cut wood, they fell into an ambush and had a hard time to effect their retreat.

The beginning of new hostilities convinced Juan de Santiago to punish the guilty party by a bold plan. Accompanied by a troop of 20 soldiers, he marched to Tumun, the place near where Fr. Sanvitores had received his martyrdom, as we have already said. All the inhabitants had fled at their approach; he contented himself to burn a dozen houses, including that of Matapang. Two trails then led from Agaña to Tumun;

1 A sort of sharp-edged tomahawk, made of stone.

2 Ed. note: The hair shirt that Fr. Sanvitores was wearing, as a sacrifice, for penance.

to take revenge for the burning of their houses, the islanders formed the plan to block both of them: they cut down some trees to block the inland trail, and, to block the trail along the beaches, they planted a field of poisoned darts. Don Juan soon recognized the latter trap and, to avoid it, ordered his soldiers to wade through the water up to their knees. They were making their way along the coast in this way. The people of Tumun, frustrated, could only harry the Spanish from the top of the cliffs on one side, whereas Matapang dared to row his canoe towards them on the sea side, bothering them with daring chants. A first discharge of a musket missed him, but when he dared to come closer, a second musket fired at him wounded him in one arm. The Spanish continued their retreat, in spite of the efforts and the tricks of the enemy. Nevertheless, some of them were wounded. The governor was himself slightly wounded, and three of his soldiers died later on as a result of their wounds. Anigua, Asan and Tepungan, villages that had formed a league to intercept the Spanish, seeing the futility of their attempts, came, on 18 May, to seek peace. Peace was granted to them, provided they destroyed the houses of the bachelors in their locality.

This peace was only a partial one, and the spirit of rebellion continued to prevail among a large number of inhabitants. The rebels had stopped to make direct attacks for fear of firearms, it is true, but they kept the Spanish under siege at Agaña, by building traps and maintaining ambushes in its vicinity, something that prevented proper communication with the outlying missionaries.

So many obstacles did not, however, dampen the zeal of the new superior of the mission, Fr. Solano. Animated by gratitude toward the memory of Kipuha, the first islander who had declared himself to be a friend of the missionaries, he undertook, but in vain, to rally one of his descendants, a man who had been baptized and married in the church but had abandoned his wife to live with a concubine. A fatal illness came to attack the worthy Fr. Solano in the midst of his apostolic labor. He died, on 13 June, in spite of the medical assistance he had received. The spiritual direction was taken over by Fr. Ezquerro.

Braving the sort of blockage that persisted, the new superior decided to go and found a new mission station at Fuña, a village located next to a rock made famous by the superstition of the islanders.¹ The natives there accepted this project with joy: land was made available for the new mission and they joined in the building of a church there.

Following the request that Fr. Sanvitores had made in 1669, the Queen [Regent] of Spain had finally authorized the foundation, under her patronage, of two seminaries in the Marianas, and she sent an order to the Viceroy of New Spain to send to Guam an army of 200 Filipinos, a small ship to provide communication between the islands,

1 The name of Fuña, a rock located on the seashore in the neighborhood of the Peladgi Islands, northwest of Agat, has not been placed on our chart (Pl. 59), because we still had some doubts about its precise location (See Section 1 in the next chapter). Ed. comment: It was located at Apaca, or Agaga, Point, near the mouth of the Namu, or Namu, River, where Old Agat used to be. Feña was the largest village in Guam in 1668. It should not to be confused with Feña, an inland village, nor with Fouha, a rock near Umatac.

and generally everything that would be useful to the mission. These orders were repeated to the Governor of the Philippines who, under various pretexts, refused to send the 200 Filipinos; however, he could not refuse to send the vessel. Still, he provided only a launch, without a single deck, without masts or sails, neither comfortable nor fit for the service to which it was destined.

This light assistance arrived on 22 May 1673 aboard the ship **San Antonio**. This ship had on board a passenger [rather commander] named Durán de Montfort. This General made a precious gift to the missionaries: he let them have a horse to provide them with a comfortable means of transport. The news about the arrival of this animal spread fast among all the islands; many islanders rushed in to see it. Its size and the nobility of its character, its neighings, sudden jumps, kicks and its speed while running, cause some excitement and terror in them. Noticing that he chewed with a bit in its mouth, they could not understand how it could digest iron. Many would approach it, talk softly to it as if it could have understood them, petted it and offered it some coconuts and other fruits to eat, so that it would let them pull a few hairs from its tail: such hairs became fashionable among the *ulitaos*, to adorn their *tinas*,¹ sticks that were painted and adorned at the top with plant fibers, and ribbons of coconut leaves, analogous to the *phallus* of pagan antiquity, which they carried during their feasts as a symbol of their debaucheries.

Tired of always being on their guard, to catch the Spanish unaware, or to defend themselves against their attacks, the rebel islanders came to submit themselves. They brought, as a peace offering, not turtle shells as per their custom, but their children, begging the missionaries to baptize them. The conditions that were imposed upon them were simple and easy to follow, and finally peace returned to this beautiful country. Fr. Ezquerro and the other missionaries took advantage of this peaceful episode to work at bringing back to the faith many neophytes who had fallen back into idol worship, to encourage those who had resisted, to baptize the children, and finally to visit all parts of the island of Guam to abolish the superstitious customs and replace them with holy practices.

At the beginning of 1674, Fr. Ezquerro went to visit the new mission at Fuña and the village of Hati,² to spread and explain the Christian doctrine there. As he was returning, he noticed, on 2 February, a woman in a deplorable situation; she had been having birth pains for many days and was on the point of dying; this unfortunate woman asked him to administer the sacrament of Extreme Unction to her. He was about to do so when four Marianos stopped him, persuaded that the holy oil would kill her. Ezquerro thought that he would prove otherwise. However, they did not listen to him and went off to get their friends and together they attacked the missionary and the six catechists accompanying him. Two of the latter soon fell under the blows of the crowd attracted by the shouting. Two others were able to flee, but one of them was pursued by

1 Fr. Cantova says *tunas*.

2 A village located to the north and at one mile from Umata (See next chapter).

the islanders and soon became another victim; the other, Francisco Gonzalez, hid himself among the bushes, and they could not find him. Fr. Ezquerro, as well as the two companions remaining by his side, upon seeing the enemy approaching, prepared themselves to die of martyrdom; they were soon killed by a volley of stones and spears. While some attacked the body of the venerable priest furiously, his last companion tried to escape inland to the mountains, but the murderers saw him and pursued him, as if he were a wild beast.

Francisco Gonzalez, having crossed horrible ravines, and covered two leagues inland, believing that he had finally escaped his pursuers, came out on the beach; unfortunately, he met one of the murderers there; the man saw him, attacked him with his weapons and left him for dead. Horribly wounded, Gonzalez still had enough strength to reach a friendly village, where he received first aid and, after a short rest, was taken to Agaña, where he related this sad adventure.

The loss of such an untiring and zealous superior was truly felt by the missionaries. They hoped to receive some help soon, but, on 6 June, the ship **Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro** that was bringing it, had no sooner appeared before Agaña and sent her boat ashore with a small part of the freight, when a violent wind pushed her far from the Marianas, and forced her to continue her voyage to the Philippines. She also carried away Fr. Basilio,¹ who had followed Fr. Ezquerro as superior of the mission, and had gone aboard to receive the new priests who had just arrived. Such a mishap left the good fathers in extreme need, without the necessaries of life.

However, they rejoiced at the fact that Captain Damian de Esplana, the new governor, had been able to reach the shore. This active and brave man took over command of the soldiers; to subtract them from the idleness that might destroy their morale, he kept them busy at clearing a nearby forest where many ambushes had taken place in times of war. The Marianos, made uneasy by an operation whose purpose they did not understand, and pushed by their usual superficiality and lack of constancy, became bothered with peace and began once again to create obstacles for the Spanish. Don Damian, having failed in his attempts to make them respect the treaties, took the decision to intimidate them by effecting the complete destruction of Chuchugu, a place that was almost inaccessible, and where all the debauched and seditious persons of Guam had gathered. Consequently, he left Agaña in the evening of 26 July with a troop of 30 men whom he had selected. After a difficult march, they went into the defile that was the only way to enter that village, that was surrounded on all sides by hills occupied by the enemy. They had hardly entered this defile when they were pelted with spears and stones, to which they answered by discharging their muskets; however, the soldiers were shooting upwards and, in this narrow passage, were bothering one another while trying to hide from the projectiles falling upon them constantly. They did not know what to do, until Fr. Alonzo Lopez, having uttered a loud prayer, excited them by his example

1 Ed. note: Rather Fr. Pedro Coomans (see HM6:262). He came back to Guam only three years later.

to climb the rocks. Frightened, no less than surprised, at such a daring maneuver, the barbarians fled, and abandoned Chuchugu to their attackers who promptly burned it down.

Once he was back at Agaña, and not letting the Marianos time to consult one another, Don Damian made another expedition towards Fuña, where a spirit of revolt was again brewing. He burned down a few villages that refused to submit themselves; among them were Pulupu [rather Pupuro], Saga [rather Sogua], Sidia, Hati, and two others of lesser importance in their neighborhood. Defeated by these cruel punishments, that were nevertheless considered necessary, and counselled by Aguarin, one of their chiefs and one of the most noble and most faithful to the Spaniards, they sued for peace once more, and were granted it. This peaceful interlude was used to build at Agaña two new schools for children of both sexes, to complete the building of a church at Ritidian, and to build a new one at Taragay [rather Tarrague].

[1675]

These mission stations propagated the faith in the northern part of the island, more rapidly than had been expected; the religious zeal was fanned to such an extent in the villages of Ritidian and Taragay that they vied with each other, in religious meetings that took place. These conferences were organized in each village in turn. The boys and girls of one village would go to the other in processions during which they sang canticles and wore wreaths of flowers. The missionaries, acting as judges in such mystical contests, would award prizes to those who had given the best answers. These exercises, and the solemnity with which they were organized, attracted such a crowd and instilled the love of religion to such a successful extent, that it was decided that similar ones should take place in other parishes.

Don Damian de Esplana, who was responsible for this success, could not, on account of a new rebellion in Guam, continue his plan [of conquest] that he wanted to carry to the other islands. The people of Chuchugu and a few neighboring villages had plotted to massacre all the religious and the few Spanish who would have been left behind, after the departure of the governor. Unfortunately for the rebels, their intentions were discovered, through secret reports, but made clear by the premature murder of a Mariano Christian who had always been a friend of the Spanish. The army marched against the plotters and one of their main chiefs being killed in the first volley, the remainder fled, abandoning to the Spanish a post that would have been unassailable, had it been well defended. Many other rebels were made prisoners and punished, so that nothing prevented the conclusion of a solid peace with these mountain men, who until then had shown themselves so warlike and opposed to the missionaries.

Such successes, by multiplying the number of the faithful, obliged the Spanish to build bigger churches; at Ritidian, some seminaries were even built for the education of the youth, and their direction was entrusted to three new missionaries recently arrived at Umata aboard the ship **San Telmo**.

Such brilliant new institutions were almost destroyed, as soon as they had been built, by some *ulitaos*. Indeed, towards the end of 1675, twelve of these libertines sneaked

into the seminary for girls at Ritidian, and committed some great excesses. Brother Diaz, who was its director, upon learning of this scandal, went to the spot, accompanied by Second-Lieutenant Isidro de León; however, far from making the guilty party repentant, they were both massacred by them. In their madness, the *ulitaos* ran to the church, devastated it, pillaging and carrying away all the ornaments and sacred vessels. They killed a Spaniard who tried to oppose them and went so far as to burn down the church, the presbytery and the two schools in this village. The inhabitants of Taragay, guided by the faithful Masonsong, hastened to Ritidian with the intention of capturing the guilty ones, but they had already left for the island of Rota, the new refuge of all the rebels.

To such troubles, that awakened among the natives a spirit of insurrection and disorder, one must add the sad situation of the missionaries themselves, who were deprived of the necessaries of life. Their superior, Fr. Antonio María San Basilio, saw himself obliged to make a deal with a Guamanian named Kemado,¹ for the latter to provide him with a quantity of *nica*, a type of yam that is eaten instead of bread. As he did not come on the appointed day, although he had been paid in advance, he went, on 5 January 1676 to the village of Upi, where this man lived, and he spent the night there. The next day, Kemado, with a patent bad faith, brought roots that were half rotten. As Fr. [San] Basilio pointed this out, he bent over to count them. The perfidious Mariano knocked him dead. The most zealous Christians of Taragay came quickly to avenge this murder, but Kemado had run away; they contented themselves with burning his house and carrying away the body of the missionary, to give it a Christian burial.

Such sad events, at the beginning of the year, were but a precursor of worse things to come. Indeed, the islanders were becoming more courageous from day to day, insulting the missionaries, and wounding some of them; finally, the small vessel that served to keep the northerners at peace, while at sea with Fr. Gayoso and a part of the garrison, was carried away by a blast of wind, as far as the Philippines, where it was shipwrecked. The Governor of Guam, alarmed by the deplorable situation and fearing not to be able, with the few remaining soldiers, to face attacks that were threatening on a daily basis, was hoping for the arrival of his successor. It took place, on the 10th of June following, with the arrival of the ship from Acapulco, under the command of Don Antonio Nieto, who left at the Marianas a small reinforcement of 14 soldiers. Don Francisco Irrisari y Vivar, installed as supreme commander, did not lack experience, but, lacking determination, he did not materially improve the situation of the Spanish; in fact, he was often encouraging the rebels by his kindness and his accommodating behavior.

For the purpose of impressing the natives with the importance of the sacrament of marriage, the missionaries came up with the idea of celebrating, with the greatest ceremony possible, at Orote, the union of a Spaniard and a Christian girl from this village. However, at the agreed time for the solemn ceremony, the father of the bride under-

1 Ed. note: Or Quemado, which means Burned. This name does not appear in the primary records.

took to oppose this in a most stubborn manner. He had contracted, according to their custom, the sale of her favors to the *ulitaos*. Fr. Sebastian de Monroy, thinking that the man was regretting the loss of this shameful contract, offered him a compensation, enough to satisfy his greed; nothing could make him change his mind. Exasperated by the opposition to his desires, and supported by a few friends, he tried to adopt the final solution against the missionary and the future husband; however, the governor, upon returning from an expedition, arrived on time to restore peace. The islanders even displayed peaceful behavior toward the Spanish, when a soldier who had become separated from his comrades was killed by a few recalcitrant ones. The governor became so angered that he hanged the father of the bride. This punishment, in turn, angered the natives. Aguarin, one of their more important chiefs, began a conspiracy in which he involved the villages of Talisay, Orote, Sumay, Agosan, Fuña and Tepungan, whose purpose was to massacre the Spanish and get rid of their yoke.

On 20 August, the feast day of St. Rose, patron saint of the parish of Tepungan, the conspirators flocked to this village. At first, no attention was paid to this, since the feasts of this type would always attract a considerable group of islanders. However, Aguarin had recommended to his affiliates to act with much dissimulation and prudence, and to even attend the religious exercises with apparent respect, until they received the agreed signal from an apostate chief. Nevertheless, fearing that the Spanish themselves would be present in force that day in Tepungan, he planned a distraction by taking a few men with him and going to Hilahan [sic]¹ and burned the church and the two seminaries there. As predicted, most of the soldiers of the garrison were attracted by the fire. Believing then that the fort of Agaña had been abandoned, he advanced towards it to occupy it, but the few remaining soldiers forced him to withdraw. These two incidents awakened the governor to the realization that the Marianos had congregated at Tepungan with some hostile plan in mind; he therefore went overthere with a respectable escort. His unexpected arrival had the effect of preventing such action, but the rebels were far from having abandoned their projects.

A short time later, Fr. Sebastian de Monroy, and the soldiers who resided with him at the village of Sumay, having been violently attacked by the barbarians, decided to seek security at Agaña, but the perfidious Guamanian had no sooner received Fr. Monroy and his seven companions on board his canoe when he shoved off and soon after made his canoe capsize, and, grabbing a musket, tried to kill the unfortunate Europeans by hitting them with it. They, in turn, having their weapons and their gunpowder all wet, were trying to save their lives by swimming ashore, but some islanders who were waiting for them there massacred them all with utmost barbarity.² To celebrate their triumph, they returned to Orote, shouting victoriously along the way. Once there, they burned down the church and the two seminaries that the missionaries had built there.

1 Le Gobien says Ayran, instead of Hilahan, and I think he is wrong... Ed. comment: Le Gobien was right.

2 The place where this occurred had a commemorative cross raised later on, and was named Santa Cruz. This name was also given to the future Fort Santa Cruz.

Aguarin and his partisans hastened to spread the news of this incident. He visited the whole island himself to arouse the people into a final revolution. Many chiefs, however, refused to take part in the revolt, but none among them was more faithful to his faith than Don Antonio de Ayihi who took up arms, to prevent the rebel army from crossing his territory. This respectable Mariano often gave reports to the governor regarding the movements of those hotheaded individuals. He also provided as much food as was in his power to the Spanish garrison. Warned that Aguarin planned an attack on the Fort of Agaña, Don Irrisari repaired and solidified the enclosure; this measure slowed down the impetuous advance of the first enemy group that appeared before it. They waited for a while, attempting no action whatever, until Aguarin himself appeared, on 15 October, with an army. The attack began with volleys of stones and spears; however, those who were under siege chose a favorable moment to make a sortie against the islanders who fled. Rounded up by Aguarin, they re-appeared the next day. The governor, who wished to take them by surprise, ordered his men to stay quiet, and immobile, behind their parapets. This deep silence took the enemy unprepared; thinking that they might fall into a trap, they withdrew without doing any harm. Aguarin sent a few men during the night; some of them were brave enough to climb over the barricade. There they saw that the sentinels were asleep, but instead of attacking them or rushing to warn their companions, they simply pulled up a few wooden stakes from the stockade which they carried away as trophies of their bravery, thus giving the Spanish time to repair the small damage caused by their neglect, and to better prepare themselves to resist.

Aguarin, judging that the opportunity to strike had passed, took the decision to await some reinforcements and to set up a blockade, to starve the Spanish, and force them to a surrender which force could not bring about. Finally, after six months of perseverance, the Mariano rebels, convinced that they were wasting their efforts, and discouraged by daily defeats, decided to withdraw. Don Irrisari thought that the moment had come to consolidate his defences; he even insisted that the church of Agaña be completely rebuilt with stone, and so too the main buildings of the town, so that in future one could live there with more security.

On 18 June 1678, Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, who was on his way from Mexico to the Philippines to be their governor, touched at Guam and let behind, by order of the king, 30 new soldiers, with a new governor, Don Juan de Salas. The latter, not wishing to waste any time, marched against the rebels, having left Agaña on 27 June. He first went up to Taragay, where he punished the inhabitants; then, he went on to Aputo [rather Haputo] where Aguarin was living; he sacked and burned this village, in spite of the efforts of the rebels who had sought refuge there. Soon, the villages of Fuña, Tupalao, Orote, Sumay, Tale[i]fac, Agfayan, Paikpuk and Tarofoso, as well as a small number of other places of lesser importance, were punished the same way.

The houses of debauchery presented a real obstacle to the conversion of the islanders to Christianity; in fact, the *ulitaos* lived there in the most complete dissoluteness. Don Juan decided to destroy these focal points for disorder and worked successfully at it. Two of the main chiefs in the country, Antonio Ayihi and Alonso Soón, provided him with an efficient and prudent support. The extreme disparity in numbers, the roughness of the trails, the traps set up by the islanders, the volleys of stones and spears that received the Spanish forces, made the campaign extremely difficult, but discipline and superiority of firearms and of military tactics, resulted in all the obstacles being overcome. During many encounters, many Guamanians were killed, whereas others, in despair, committed suicide, or fled to Rota. The rest of the insurgents, being unable to fight from then on, sued for peace, relying on the discretion of the victors. Finally, the Spanish were able to enjoy a peace that had escaped them for three years.

Don José de Quiroga y Losada was the son of an illustrious family of Galicia. After he had, like St. Ignatius of Loyola, spent part of his life in the army, he decided, like him also, to devote the rest of his life to the most austere religious practices. Nevertheless, when he learned of the circumstances of the martyrdom of Fr. Sanvitores, he became fired by a new zeal and, thinking that he could be useful to the Mariana Mission, abandoned the habit and life of a monk, leaving Spain to go to Guam where he arrived during the month of June 1679.

Some family business having made it necessary for Don Juan de Salas to go back to his birthplace, he did not hesitate to resign his post in favor of Don Quiroga, but he had not expected to see the latter refuse, unless the king of Spain be advised to send a replacement soon.

Once the matter had been decided, the new governor took possession of his post on 5 June 1680, and began to put into effect new regulations of His Majesty for the commanders of the Marianas, intended to make them a just and industrious society. Such ordinances contained, it is true, some severe measures, but they applied as much to the colonists as to the natives who would disturb the peace; they were meant to reduce the abuses of all kinds, and specially those caused by the lack of discipline and the passions of the soldiers; they dictated measures to be taken to repair the damages caused by the elements; finally, they were aimed at introducing the mechanical arts that would provide the necessities of life, and be the vehicles by which civilization would be introduced and smoothen the roughness of the course for humankind to follow.

Don Quiroga, like his predecessors, had to punish a few hotheaded men who had gathered at Machaute; fortunately, order was soon established and Quiroga acquired, among the islanders, a solid reputation as a wise and just man, and a great authority.

Nevertheless, the scattered distribution of the Mariana houses, and the multitude of small hamlets here and there on the mountains, often in places with a difficult access, made it difficult for the missionaries to gather the inhabitants and teach them the Christian doctrine. Quiroga solved this problem by dividing the island of Guam into six districts, three in the north and three in the south; a seventh district was created in the center of the island the following year. Each district had one big village where a church

was built, many small villages in the vicinity, and houses scattered in-between. This measure, against which much opposition had been foreseen at first, nevertheless met with success. It is true that a strong hurricane, that occurred on November 11th and 12th, caused such great damage in toppling a large number of buildings, that it was not difficult to persuade the islanders to leave their old dwellings, now in ruins, and rebuild them at places that had been assigned to them. Independently of these projects, and that of opening many roads that gave access to previously-inaccessible places, some churches that had been under construction were completed at Pago, Inapsan, Umata, Agat, etc. and a local government set up there, having their own heads and constables.

This was the beginning of a period of fervor among the converted inhabitants. The old people, who until then had neglected to learn the Christian doctrine, became as dedicated to learning it as the children. Profane and impure songs were eclipsed by religious canticles. Soon the most peaceful order was established throughout the island. The Thursdays were reserved for the instruction and conversion of the *ulitaos* who were still trying to pervert the youth. The more influential chiefs supported these projects and a significant progress was in sight. Finally, as the number of the faithful was constantly on the rise, the missionaries began to think that their efforts were bearing fruits.

One thing, however, bothered them; it was that Rota was still being used as a place of asylum for rebels; their leaders would come back to Guam from time to time to create turmoil. The assassins of the missionaries and the authors of the last troubles lived on this small island with impunity, and urged their relations in Guam to rise in rebellion against the Spanish.

The governor decided to carry the fight overthere and apply the remedy where it was needed. Therefore, he sailed to Rota with part of his troop. The inhabitants, frightened at first, were soon placated by the assertion that he was only after the assassins of the missionaries and the leaders of the revolt. The islanders themselves, being friendly to the Spanish, revealed the places where the guilty people were hiding; A large number of them were captured and punished according with the rigor that their crimes deserved: Aguarin was one of them. As for Matapang, he had been wounded and captured by the inhabitants of Rota themselves, but he was dead by the time the Spanish got hold of him.

After an absence of 10 days, Quiroga came back to Guam, bringing back over 150 people who had gone overthere out of fear. This expedition increased the reputation of the Spanish arms and solidified the peace. Nevertheless, an incident came to create some confusion: unknown person or persons burned down the church at Inapsan. This happened at the beginning of 1681. Although those responsible for this act were not known, the people of Inapsan, fearing that a search would be made for culprits, fled to Rota. They were recalled from there, but they did not dare come back; the governor was then forced to go back to that island. After a light skirmish, that caused the inhabitants to flee, he burned down the village where the fugitives had collected, and many of their canoes, and returned to Guam. No longer fearing anything, the rebels sought revenge by making sorties against the villages that were friendly with the Spanish, which they

sacked, killing some of their inhabitants. Quiroga, angered, returned to Rota and, overcoming many difficulties, succeeded in reducing those barbarians, whose leaders were either killed or forced to flee.

He had hardly returned to Guam when the ship carrying the replacement of Governor Juan de Salas anchored at Umata. His name was Don Antonio de Saravia. Contrary to the previous practice, by which the governors had had their titles signed by the Viceroy of Mexico alone, the new governor held his commission as Governor General of the Marianas and neighboring islands from the King himself, a practice that has endured to this day. As soon as he took over command, the new governor employed his soldiers in building a new fort at Agaña, one that would make the town secure against any type of attack in future. He also made improvements in the administration of the island, by appointing Mariano chiefs who had proved themselves friendly and faithful to the Spanish as the new leaders, one in each village. Antonio Ayihi, who had excelled in this regard, was chosen as the native leader of the whole nation, and he received the [honorary] title of Master-of-camp in the King's armies.

After their conversion, a large number of the more important Mariano chiefs had requested, through their deputies [rather patrons], the Viceroy of Mexico and the Governor of the Philippines, the protection of the King of Spain. Although they had been granted it, Saravia thought that he should have this situation confirmed in a more authentic ceremony. In a general assembly, that took place on 8 September, one attended by all the leading citizens of the country and a considerable crowd of common people, a new oath of fidelity to the King of Spain and of the Indies was sworn to by all. The record of proceedings was duly signed by each of the chiefs and sealed with the seal of the colony. This ceremony ended, the governor offered a splendid official dinner at which the signatories took part, whereas the people received tokens of his generosity.

As of this time, the Marianos began to adopt Spanish culture and customs more readily; they were taught to put on clothes, to sow corn, to bake a sort of bread or cake¹ and to eat meat; some tradesmen were sent to the villages to teach the people how to weave cloth, sew, tan leather, forge iron, cut stones, and build houses in the European fashion, etc. The children, raised in the seminaries, were soon well trained in these arts, and later served as masters of their own countrymen. In the schools, they were also taught how to read and write, to sing and play the violin and the bass, instruments that most of them even knew how to manufacture with much skill. The young girls, similarly taught the arts belonging to their sex, soon excelled in the virtues of chastity and modesty. The conduct of the married women was no less exemplary.

[1683]

Such an extraordinary change among all the inhabitants of the island, their docility and submission, gave the opportunity to the missionaries, always willing to make new converts, to direct their attention to the Indians inhabiting the islands to the north of Guam, which they had been forced to neglect, because of the troubles. Consequently,

1 Ed. note: Meaning corn tortillas.

Fr. Coomans first visited Rota and had some success, then continued his voyage with the escort that he had been provided; however, the governor, judging later on that his presence might be beneficial, by overcoming the difficulties that might arise, joined Quiroga aboard the boat. Unfortunately, a strong blast of wind forced them to seek refuge at Rota; Don Saravia, whose health was not too good, could not withstand such new fatigues, and died four days later, on 3 November 1683.

Damian de Esplana, who had already ruled over the Marianas, had just arrived at Agaña from Manila, with the title of Governor, and a large contingent of soldiers and ammunitions. Upon the death of Saravia he naturally assumed the head of the administration, and pursuing the plans of his predecessors, sent Quiroga to the northern islands, on 22 March 1684, at the head of a small fleet consisting of a three-masted corvette [sic] and about 20 canoes; a supplement of 20 canoes were picked up in passing by Rota. On 13 April, Quiroga reached Tinian, where the chiefs of this island gathered in confusion, and, thinking that they could not resist, vied with one another in giving signs of submission. According to them, the previous acts of hostility had been caused by perfidious suggestions from the Saipanese, and not hate of the Spanish, with whom they wished to live in peace. Quiroga, who had no other intention than to establish a solid peace, listened to the proposals that were made to him by an islander, one of the most faithful friends of the Spanish, and peace was soon concluded. As a proof of their devotion and good-will, the Tinian people offered to add a few canoes to Quiroga's fleet, a proposal that was readily accepted.

This formidable army took no time to appear before Saipan, and to enter the port. The natives made great efforts to oppose the landing, but the intrepid commander, supported by steady musket fire, had stepped ashore with a pistol in hand. As soon as one of the enemy chiefs was killed, the Indians fell back in confusion, and took to flight. After this victory, the Spanish burned a few villages, and specially Arayao, where Rada-hao lived. He was one of the most vocal chiefs against them; unable to resist superior forces, this chief fled to the Gani Islands¹ and the other islanders surrendered. From then on, Quiroga decided to make Saipan the center of his future operations; he built a fort there. Finally, to pursue the conquest of the rest of the archipelago, he detached a part of his fleet; however, the inhabitants of the islands where he landed, having heard of the recent Spanish success, surrendered without a fight.

From then on, everything seemed to be quiet in the administration of the Marianas, and already the zeal of the missionaries looked forward to discoveries being made to the south of these islands, when the lack of constancy and rebellious nature of the Guamanians forced them to postpone such plans. The conquest of the Gani Islands became one of the main causes of the new troubles; indeed, a few chiefs of Guam, who could

1 In the old days, the islands to the north of Saipan were called Gani.

hardly accept the new state of affairs, and had been patiently waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the Spanish yoke, but had just lost the possibility of retreating to the Gani Islands, in case of failure, were upset. The most spirited chief among those rebels was one named Antonio Djoda,¹ the chief of the village of Apurguan. According to him, the absence of the greater part of the Spanish garrison would favor the success of such a noble enterprise; that is what he endeavored to make the others understand when he made the following speech, whose text, in the Chamorro language, will give an example of the remarkable language and the logic used by the inhabitants. A very literal translation, will also give a graphic illustration of its grammar.²

Pago nai..... hayan..... sa..... manmachagua i ghilago.
Now, [it is time] to give the mortal blow, because are separated the foreigners.

Manaigui guini ñga tano i nanmaulig ñga tautau, adju ha magña dja
Are absent from this country the good men, there only remain at

Agaña i manailadji, gnegneting djan i manmalango. Ti mapud ñgu ta
Agaña the useless ones, the infirm and the sick. Not difficult for us

sossu.... djan ta funas; guin ta na.... haluman pago, ti o.... ta hulat
to attack and us deliver; if we cause waste the present, not will we win

larmuna, djan o... ha.. chighet hit djan..... hokok nai. Ta, fanma-
later on, and will they entrap us and [we'll have] no more to give. We, live

lulug gui..... pinto-ta djan haani-ta sa..... guin ha hoto humulat i
freely according will-ours and life-ours because if they finish conquering the

pelo ñga tanoan gui Timik, hokok ninanga-ta; mano ta falagui! Delag
other livable lands in the north, no more hopes-ours; where we flee [then]? Follow

djo djan ta fanmatuna gui tai hinikok sa ta na... malulug i tano-ta.
me and we [will] be praised to no end because we cause freedom the country-ours.

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- 1 Le Gobien and a few others have written Yura, but many persons in Guam have told me the correct way of pronouncing this name. Ed. comment: Pronunciation did change over time; one proof will suffice: Reyes is no longer pronounced correctly, as in Spanish. So, Yura became Djura, then Djoda, just as the sound *r* became *l*, etc.
 - 2 Ed. note: Fr. Le Gobien invented this speech; the Chamorro version must have been given to Freycinet by Major Luis de Torres.

This speech had the effect that Djoda expected; his partisans were animated by his example, and many influential chiefs in the villages of Ritidian and Pago joined the revolt. They saw that there was no time to lose. Therefore, after they had sworn to be faithful to their promises, they fixed the 23rd of July as the day of execution. Everyone had a role to play, and they carried it out as follows.

On the appointed day, sixty resolute men, using the pretext of attending Sunday mass, came to Agaña well armed. At the end of the divine service, they were deployed in various points, as agreed, in order to take the Spanish by surprise, everywhere at the same time. The governor, who was walking in the square, unaware, was attacked by Djoda and three of his associates and repeatedly stabbed; the sentinels had their throats slashed; part of these furious men invaded the houses, ran through the streets and squares, killing about fifty soldiers and wounding many; other rebels ran to the college, shouting in a loud voice that the governor was dead, grabbing everything they found there; Fr. Solorzano and Fr. Dubois were killed with knives and four more of their colleagues were wounded: blood was everywhere in the house. In the meantime, a servant of the governor appeared, and said that his master was still alive and had requested a confessor; one of the missionaries, though horribly wounded, went to see him immediately.

At this instant the rebels, learning that the governor was not dead, were struck with fear; however, their discouragement knew no bounds when they learned that Djoda had paid the price for the blood that he had treacherously spilled. Indeed, two Spanish soldiers had quickly killed the murderer right next to his victim, whom they quickly dragged into the fortress. There, immediate preparations were made for a solid opposition; the risk was even greater than first realized, when the news came that a large number of islanders were on their way from the hills, carrying weapons, and headed for Agaña. However, hope and confidence were regained, when it was also learned that Major Hineti, the faithful Mariano, was leading them; he was coming to help the Spanish.

Upon the death of Djoda, a chief from Ritidian assumed leadership of the rebels; his first acts were to slash the throat of a missionary, Fr. de Angelis, and to send envoys to Rota to ask the population there to join the revolt. He then advanced with an important body of Guamanians to attack the fortress. Hineti had remained outside, to guard the church with his men; but, having been made to withdraw under the walls of the fortress for protection, he too was sorry to watch as the church was burned down, and also the two seminaries and the residence of the missionaries. Discouraged by such a loss, but encouraged by reinforcements from the village of Anigua, he managed to repel the enemy and make them flee. The barbarians renewed their charges many times, but were always repelled and forced to withdraw in disorder. Various attempts to attract Hineti to their side, and to have the governor killed, were not successful.

However, the Spanish of Guam were very concerned about the fate of Quiroga, when Fr. Strobach, wishing to contribute to the common defence, took charge of carrying a letter to that officer;¹ in it the governor made him aware of his dangerous position and ordered him back to Agaña. This valiant missionary had not expected to be killed at his arrival at Sunharon, Tinian; neither did Fr. Boranga, who shared the same fate at Rota, where everyone had joined the revolt. Sixty canoes, having gone to Guam, spread the false news that Quiroga and his companions had perished; this news saddened the governor and his troop; surrounded on all sides, and lacking resources, they thought that all was lost.

Quiroga was living in Saipan, completely unaware of what was going on elsewhere, but he soon came under attack himself, and he soon realized that the whole country was up in arms. Already, his corvette had been burned at Tinian, and the 18 men manning her had been massacred; two other persons were also killed in Saipan. He found himself with only 37 men inside a redoubt where they sought protection, almost without food or war ammunitions, facing about 800 enemies. This situation, though critical, did not discourage him; he knew the [character of the typical] native of the Marianas: "show hesitation and he becomes insolent, but show defiance and he is easily intimidated." Therefore, he thought that it was proper to leave his weak trenches, to make a bold sortie. He soon made them flee, and, something incredible occurred: during all the long and decisive actions, not one Spanish soldier was killed or wounded.

Through some lucky break, a woman having come to Quiroga's camp to sell some provisions, this general had her seized, and forced her to lead them, at night, to the houses of some chiefs of the island; there five of them were captured while they slept. The most influential of these men was persuaded to carry a letter to the governor of Guam, while his friends would remain hostage, and be killed if he did not bring back a written answer. This stratagem succeeded, and Quiroga learned of the critical situation of Don Damian de Esplana. He took advantage of the fact that the Saipanese asked for peace, and went back to help Agaña. Having set out on 21 November with his men, after many difficulties, they disembarked on the 23rd and were received by their companions with a joy that would be hard to describe.

The soldiers who had been sent to the Gani Islands were not so lucky. While on their way back to Saipan, the Saipanese who were in charge of their canoes, aware of the dispositions of their countrymen ashore, tried to make the canoes capsize, at an agreed signal. Out of a total of 25 Spanish soldiers, only five or six were able to escape by swimming ashore. Fr. Coomans was able to save his own life, but it was only to lose it a few months later, at the hands of the natives of Saipan.

[1685]

The arrival of Quiroga shook the confidence of the rebels so much that they abandoned Agaña, and fled in all directions, seeking refuge in their mountains. Quiroga pursued them there, planning to reduce them, or destroy them, but he did not find them.

1 Ed. note: There are many small inaccuracies in this paragraph; see HM8 for the correct details.

Many had already fled to the neighboring islands, and others went to live in inaccessible caves, where words of peace did not reach them for a long time.

Meanwhile, talk of rebellion was still going on in many parts of the island, when Captain John Eaton, chief of the buccaneers, arrived at Guam. At first, the natives thought that his ship was the yearly galleon from Mexico to Manila, and that it brought in new soldiers to assist the governor in repressing them. They were soon undeceived but they were treated as badly by the English as they would have been by the harshest of enemies. The reader can judge for himself, by the following excerpt from the narrative of Cowley, a companion of Eaton:

“From Sunday the 15th [March 1685] to Monday the 16th we lying at an Anchor, went on shoar and got some Cocoa Nuts, and had a free Trade with the Indians that day until the next morning, being the 17th, when our Men going over to the low Island, which lieth on the West side of Guana,¹ there the Indians fell upon our Boat with Stones and Launces; upon which we made some shots at them, and killed and wounded some of them, but our Men got no harm. Two days after, the Governor of the Island, being a Spaniard, came down to a Point of Land not far from the Ship, and sent his Boat on board with a Letter written in Spanish, French and Dutch, demanding in the Name of the King of Spain what we were, whither we were bound, and from whence we came. Our Answer was written in French. That we were employed by some Gentlemen of France, upon the discovery of the unknown Parts of the World. The Messenger being got on shoar, was sent again on board immediately, to desire our Captain to come to the shoar-side and talk with him; which our Commander did, taking with him 20 Men double armed: Upon our landing the Spaniard fired a Volley, and we answer’d with 10 Guns. We quickly came to a right understanding one with another, and satisfied the Governor, that we had killed for some of the Indians in our own Defence; and he gave us toleration to kill them all if we would; then we sent ashoar for some Cocoa Nuts...”²

“From him [i.e. the Governor] we received 30 hogs, some vegetables and fruits, and we gave him six small guns and a few barrels of powder. We brought on board four of those infidels, their hands tied behind their backs; but they were no sooner on deck that three of them jumped overboard and went off, swimming with their hands thus tied. The boat went after them, and we found out that a strong man could not make his sword penetrate their hide at the first blow. One of them was shot at forty times before he died, and the third man, when he was killed, had swum a good mile; his hands were not only tied, but his arms chained. Then we began a war with these islanders. Every day we went ashore and shot at everyone we could see, until they abandoned the is-

1 Daneono Island (see Pl. 59).

2 Ed. note: So far, the text is copied directly from HM8: 489-490. The rest is a summary, by Burney, as quoted by Freycient; it should be compared with the original texts in HM8, as the story is scrambled, though reasonably accurate.

land.¹ They sent two of their chiefs to sue for peace, but we refused to have anything to do with them.”

“A short time later, we were ashore fishing, when some Indians who were nearby, seemed suspect to our men in the boat, who killed them. A great number of natives flocked from everywhere to assist their companions, but we saluted them by firing on their hides.”

It is difficult not to be disgusted when reading such cruel details, and the matter-of-fact way with which they are narrated.

Frequent, but short, attacks by a few hotheads were the least problems that the Spanish had to contend with. Don Damian de Esplana, who had shown fear during the siege, was full of pride, now that peace had been more or less regained. Jealous as he was of the glory that Quiroga had accumulated in his important services, and forced to admit that he owed his own salvation to him, he began to think that he could absolve himself of all blame by criticizing the conduct of this officer; indeed, he would oppose all his plans, and ridicule him, not only in front of the soldiers but also in front of the natives, in short, showing not only that he was ungrateful, but imprudent at the same time. By undermining discipline, he was thus preparing an event that almost caused the ruin of the colony.

On 30 March **1686**, Don Damian, who until then had replaced Don Antonio de Saravia only temporarily, received from the King of Spain his appointment as Governor, with the title of Captain General of the Marianas.

The famous Dampier anchored, on 21 May, on the west coast of Guam, where the natives provided him with various refreshments, but the ship from Acapulco having arrived a short time later in sight of this island, fearing an attack that might prove successful, she promptly veered offshore.

Esplana left the Marianas at the beginning of **1688**, going to the Philippines under the pretext of seeking medical help, but, it is said that he went there to place the money that he had made in safety, leaving the interim government in the hands of Quiroga. He had no sooner left that a spirit of mutiny got hold of the garrison. Accustomed as they had been for years to live a life of dissoluteness, they did not like to obey Quiroga who wished to bring them back to a severe discipline. Soon their threats became deeds; they took up arms, took over the fortress, and made Quiroga prisoner. The only promise that the missionaries were able to get from the mutineers was that they would not kill him. The news of this mutiny immediately spread over the island; already the natives were discussing ways of regaining their independence, and that would have been the end of the colony, but one of the principal leaders of the mutiny, moved by the reproaches of the missionaries, visited Quiroga and begged for pardon. To prove his sincerity, he worked hard at convincing his comrades to return to their duty. Once the

1 Ed. note: Cocos, or Dane, Island, where the English had been chopping the coconut trees down, to get at the fruits.

governor was set free, he had a small number of the stubborn ones arrested; those who persisted in their rebellion, were executed; the others were sent back to the Philippines.

As soon as order was restored in the camp, Quiroga resumed his usual vigilance and applied his military skills, to reduce the turbulent Marianos and prevent them from bothering the Christians, to repair the damages done in the war. His work was interrupted by the arrival of the yearly ship from New Spain which brought in a considerable quantity of men and materiel, but also brought in a terrible epidemic. It was a violent cold, with a fever and bloody diarrhea, whose contagion spread so fast that everyone was affected. The assistance given to the sick with an untiring zeal by the missionaries reduced the intensity and duration of the illness, but it could not prevent it from claiming a considerable number of victims.

[1689]

The northern islands had been neglected for a few years. Quiroga, seeing that tranquillity prevailed in Guam, began to think of the re-conquest of these islands that had become the refuge of rebels and a permanent source of trouble. Therefore, in July, he embarked with his best soldiers; however, the weather suddenly became so bad that the expedition had to be postponed until another time. A search made toward the south, for Carolina [Faroilep],¹ discovered in 1686 by Lazcano, was no more successful; indeed, the Mariano Alonso Soón, sent on a mission to establish friendly relations with the inhabitants, was unable to find them.

Danian de Esplana came back from the Philippines, in 1690, very unhappy about the voyage that he had made; his absence from the Marianas without a special authorization was considered there as a serious offence. He was put in jail and was forced to spend all the money that he had gained by extortion and plunder to defend himself. Once back in Guam, his intention was to recuperate what he had lost; he ordered the construction of a vessel that was later on equipped at the expense of the treasury, and sent to the Philippines with a crew of 80 soldiers, thus weakening the garrison to satisfy a shameful avarice.

During the following month of July, two ships from New Spain, wishing to enter the port of Merizo, were lost on the small island of Daneono [sic], which is at the entrance.² This circumstance raised the number of colonists by 100 men, and the number of missionaries by about 20 Franciscans. The castaways could undoubtedly have been used in the conquest of the northern islands, but Don Damian, excited by greed, preferred to force them to work at the building of another vessel. Among the newcomers, there was a certain number of convicts who were being deported from New Spain to the Philippines; they were impatient of the yoke under which they were laboring and wished to free themselves of any constraint. These miserable men plotted to assassinate the governor, his principal officers, and the missionaries, with the exception of one of the latter; indeed, a very remarkable scruple made them wish to retain the services of a

1 Ed. note: So says Freycinet. However, Carolina corresponded to Yap.

2 Ed. note: Only one ship was wrecked.

chaplain. Their plan included the seizure of the vessel that was being expected [from Manila] during August and, after they had become master of her riches, they were to plunder the island, and take refuge in some faraway country. The implementation date was fixed as the feast-day of St. Rose, the celebration of which was to cause many people to flock to Agat; however, when the vessel in question did not arrive at the expected time, the plan suffered some changes. In the meantime, one of the conspirators, frightened by the enormity of his crime, went to divulge the whole plot to Don Damian, the governor, who, in this circumstance, acted with so much activity and prudence that, the very next day, 20 of the guilty were arrested and three others four days later. They were prosecuted and condemned to be executed by firing squad; they died after they had admitted their guilt.

Tranquillity was hardly restored, after so many revolts and mutinies due to the fury of men, when another fight loomed due to the fury of the elements. A hurricane, more terrible than any that the island had known before hit, early in the evening of 20 November 1693. The wind was blowing with an incredible force, thunder claps succeeded one another with a terrible noise, the rain fell in torrents, the sea surge covered much land everywhere; finally, the island seemed to disappear under the feet of the unlucky inhabitants; they, in their fright, saw no means of salvation except to flee to the mountains. Everything that was near sea level, trees, villages, churches, even the fort of Agaña, nothing could resist the storm or flood; many people, specially those of the capital of

Agaña and those of the village of Umata perished in this disaster. The next day, when the full extent of the damages could be assessed, desolation was seen everywhere; not one house remained standing, and no traces of crops could be seen anywhere. Surprisingly, the neighboring islands were hardly touched; the violence of the hurricane had come down mainly on Guam.

All the former disputes were forgotten in view of this calamity, and everyone joined in re-planting crops and rebuilding houses. The richer citizens vied to rebuild the churches. Ayihi took charge of rebuilding the church of Agaña, Alonso Soón that of Agat, P-hugon [sic] at Fuña, Djao at Pago; finally the governor assumed the responsibility for the churches of Merizo and Umata. It was at this time that he chose the latter place as his normal place of residence, and that of the garrison, which had previously been at Agaña. Nevertheless, this change was not favorable to Don Damian; his health, already bad, became weaker and he finally died of a cruel hydropsy, on 16 August 1694, leaving Quiroga at the head of the government.

The colony needed such a man of character at this time, for order and prosperity to return. By bringing back the soldiers to Agaña, he acted to please them, but he also restored discipline in a firm manner.

The sincerest desire of this famous governor was to see Christianity established in the whole archipelago. After making preparations, he set out to Rota in October. The islanders, who loved him very much, welcomed him with open arms and were the first to offer their children, 150 of them, for baptism. Satisfied of such a happy result, Qui-

roga came back to Guam, where, during the next winter, made intensive preparations for the conquest of the northern islands where the main rebels had retired.

It was in July of the next year [1695] that he set sail, with one frigate and 20 canoes, sufficiently manned with sailors and soldiers. At his arrival at Saipan, the islanders came to oppose his landing, but a few muskets were fired and they fled. The Spanish advanced as far as the center of the island unopposed, and they soon made all the islanders surrender. "I have not come to make war upon you," said Quiroga, "but to ask you to listen to the preaching of the Gospel, and to be faithful to their instructions." They promised to comply with all conditions that he imposed upon them.

Having made all the necessary arrangements in that direction, Quiroga went to Tinian with his fleet; he found but a few individuals remaining there, as most of them had fled to the small island of Aguijan. This island, high and surrounded with cliffs, is situated southwest of the former, and is separated from it by a league and a half (Pl. 59). It stands high above the sea, like a citadel. At first sight, it appears impregnable, and it would be so, if it were not for two ravines, steep and hard of access. That is where the Tinianese had decided to make their last stand. They refused to negotiate, and neither threats nor promises made them listen to reason. Quiroga decided to attempt to reduce them by force, but, with the means at his disposal, the plan was not only bold but difficult. Consequently, he divided his forces in two bodies, each going to one ravine. Seeing that the ravine on the east side was too steep, he rallied all his forces for an attack on the other side. There, he animated his troop by his example, and ordered an assault that began right away with energy. However, the islanders received them with a rain of stones and boulders rolled down from above. The attackers were forced to retreat to a nearby point, to escape from death. This inaction did not suit the impetuous character of Sergeant Juan Perez Vello and of Captain Pablo de la Cruz. They began to climb straight up, grabbing the rock face with their hands, not paying attention to the danger they were exposing themselves to. Encouraged by their example, their companions followed them up and they all reached the top, where they managed to overcome the enemy trenches. This unexpected and brave action so impressed those under siege that they immediately surrendered their weapons and begged for their lives. Their request was accepted, on the condition that they would come to live at Guam with their families, there to better serve the king of Spain. This measure was carried out the very next day.

The victory of Aguijan, remarkable as a feat of arms, had very important consequences. The news of it having reached the Gani Islands, their inhabitants decided to surrender before they were attacked. Indeed, how could they have still entertained some hope when a stronghold which they had considered impregnable had been taken? Nevertheless, such a brilliant advantage did not satisfy Quiroga completely; he wished to force the islanders to leave their native islands and come to live on Saipan, there to receive the Catholic religion. Many obeyed, and from that time onwards, a permanent peace prevailed throughout the Mariana Islands. This success was due entirely on the

skill and moderate as well as courageous conduct of the general: *Tanto hace un hombre, si es hombre!* says the Spanish author from whom we borrow this phrase.¹

[1696]

Happy with the results of his campaign, Quiroga came back to Agaña where he enjoyed a reputation which was rightly deserved. The following year, the control of the government fell to Don José Madrazo. The latter, having learned that some Gani islanders, who did not want to go to Saipan, using some pretexts not to do so, and had been joined there by some hotheads, decided, as a final solution, to send a fleet of 112 canoes, under the command of Captain Sebastián Luís Ramón, a man of valor and experience. The expedition left Guam in September 1698, accompanied by Fr. Gerardo Bouwens, superior of Saipan, plus 12 Spanish soldiers, and a large number of native warriors. Six months were spent in this campaign, which was entirely successful. From then on, Christianity was established in the Marianas on a solid basis, and the conversion of the islanders continued until there was no longer a single idol worshipper in the three inhabited islands of Guam, Rota and Saipan.

Section III.

From the complete subjection of the Marianas by the Spanish until the departure of the Uranie from Guam (1699-1819).

After the conquest of the Gani Islands, the Spanish spread their dominion over the population of the whole archipelago, then entirely reduced. No longer worried, they unwisely began to neglect to follow the just measures that they had adopted so far, in order to reduce their strong and formidable adversaries; some huge problems resulted as a consequence of a new system, whose abuses we will shortly cover.

Madrazo was succeeded, in 1700, by Don José Francisco Medrano y Asiaín, who, after a four-year stay, was himself replaced by Don Antonio Villamor y Vadillo. It was during the term of the latter [sic] that Master-of-camp Antonio Ayihi, died at Guam, in April 1701; he had been one of the most faithful and devoted Mariano. Before his conversion to Christianity, his extraordinary strength and daring had made him an object of terror for the inhabitants; but it was by his kindness and generosity that he gained respect. From the moment he received baptism, he never reneged his faith or the obligations that he had accepted. Among all the acts of virtue that he practiced, one may have cost him the most pain; it was that of pardoning the woman who, though married to him in the church, abandoned him to live with another man; this conduct was specially worthy, in view of the fact that his countrymen looked upon a later reconcialiation as a move that brought shame on the man who accepted it. The funeral of Ayihi took place with a great solemnity; many Spanish captains carried his body, while the

1 Ed. note: Meaning: "It takes a great man to do great things!"

rest of the garrison, led by Quiroga, then acting as a simple troop commander, accompanied it to the burial site.

Dampier, captain of the pirate ship **Saint George**, anchored for a short time in April **1705**, at the south tip of Rota, and was well received by the natives who flocked aboard their canoes to bring him some refreshments, in exchange for which they received some tobacco and pieces of cloth.

Nevertheless, the complaints made by the islanders found, in the Jesuit Father José de Tejada, procurator general for the vice-province of the Marianas, an eloquent and courageous interpreter. In a memorial presented to the Governor of the Philippines, he enumerated the excesses practiced on the islanders, and described their misery, hoping that this situation would be brought to the attention of the king.

These unfortunate, says he, are the victims of oppression and injustice. They are overwhelmed by hard work which they are forced to perform, receive no salary nor compensation, under the pretext that such are required for the service of the king and for the public good; and this, without regards to the ordinances and privileges accorded by His Majesty in favor of the Indians. Indeed, none of these august measures were being observed in the Marianas, where both men and women were forced to cultivate the land and give up the food that belonged to them for the sustenance of the soldiers and other Europeans in the colony. The same measure applied to contributions made of animals, the transport of heavy loads, the construction of houses, the manufacture of ropes, etc., work that was compulsory, with no compensation other than a few leaves of tobacco that were given them from time to time.

The main causes of these disorders, says the defender of the islanders, are the lack of currency, and above all the smaller coins; the lack of fixed measure and a just rate of pay and prices for things; the abuse which consisted in the governors increasing the number of salaried men in the island, at the detriment of the poor Indians; the prohibition for the natives to cultivate certain crops, specially that of tobacco; finally, a totally arbitrary imposition of the most onerous fees.

After he had pointed out the administrative abuses, Fr. Tejada indicated the measures that might alleviate them; and he did so with so much clarity and wisdom that the Governor of the Philippines, following the advice of his council, sent the memorial to the court of Spain. In **1707**, His Majesty, admitting such complaints as just, renewed the previous laws and ordered the prosecution of wayward authorities.

These measures, which probably were not carried out, did not frighten Don Juan Antonio Pimentel, who succeeded Villamor, in **1701**, as his term as governor was marked with the most cruel annoyances and depredations of all kinds.

So it was that, when Woodes Rogers had anchored at Guam, on 10 March **1710**, Pimentel provided him with food every day and with supplies to last him the voyage, and he was in turn richly rewarded. If this man understood very well everything that had to do with his own interests, he showed himself to be not so skilled at defending the colony. Indeed, when three more English ships appeared, he was simply ordered to supply them. He had failed to take care of a proper defence, and thus was forced to ac-

cept all their demands. However, the poor Indians were those who were forced to despoil themselves, and see the fruits of their labor be taken from them, to avoid the violence of an invasion that the English commander threatened to carry out against them. This unfortunate incident had at least one good result: later on, the Governor of the Philippines sent to the Marianas the quantity of arms and powder that the security of the country required.

It would be to go too far off our narrative, to enumerate here all the misdeeds and all the abuses of power on the part of Pimentel. Suffice to say that they led the officers of the garrison, the missionaries and other leading citizens of the colony to get together, and to make against him, in 1712, some official complaints, still more bitter than those that Fr. Tejada had made on their behalf. However, we repeat here that the ordinances of the king were full of generous measures in favor of the Indians, and were in sharp contrast with the great severity, the extortions, the barbarity and despotism of the governor. Such abuses were also common in most of the other Spanish colonies, apparently subjected to just and paternal laws.

The soldiers themselves had much to reproach Pimentel for; they accused him of having sold for his own benefit, not only the food supplies and clothes that belonged to them, but also a large number of objects destined to the defence of the island, such as rifles, carbines, sabers, swords and other arms; to have, on the occasion of the feast-day of Our Lady of Conception, charged a sum of 400 pesos on the official accounts, although he had not spent anything; to have retained part of their salaries, by dismissing some old soldiers and replacing them with his servants; finally, to owe the garrison some 30,000 pesos, etc. etc.

Given the preceding, one will not be surprised that such a vicious administration had given the deplorable results mentioned in the narrative of the voyage of Gentil de la Barbinais, the first Frenchman to have visited Guam, in 1716.¹ This navigator met there, in May, three other ships that had left France for Peru. He draws a sad portrait of the colony; there were thefts, murders, evil of all sort that showed a total absence of civilization, and the natives were suffering under a hard oppression, physically dejected and morally discouraged. Every day, some perished under bad treatment, "to such an extent," says he, "that their number, which was from 15,000 to 20,000 at the time of the conquest of the islands, had decreased, in 1716, that is, 18 years later, to 1,500 inhabitants."²

The court of Spain could not refuse justice to the leading citizens of the Mariana Islands claimed in such strong terms. Orders were given for the unworthy governor to be brought to justice; however, Pimentel had accumulated so much wealth that they in-

1 Ed. note: The first French ship visited in 1707 (see HM11).

2 The official population statistics, as we will see later, are not in agreement with what Barbinais says here... We have good reasons to believe that in 1716 the population was greater than 1,500. Indeed, the first official census of the Indians, made in 1710, gives Guam a population of 3,072 souls, and 467 for Rota, for a total of 3,539. In 1722, the number of islanders was 1,936, and it could not have been less in 1716.

fluenced the outcome. The only thing that the Marianos gained by it, was to be rid of him, and that was not little. Don Luís Antonio Sanchez y Tagle succeeded him in **1720**.

He had been governor for one year, when, on 13 May **1721**, the Englishman Clipperton, touched at Guam on his way to China. He had one Spaniard on board, the Marquis de la Villa Rocha, whom he had taken prisoner and whom, upon the promise made by Tagle to pay the ransom, he let go ashore; however, when he was there, the governor, the better to get rid of the obligation, made a claim against Clipperton, requesting that the jewels and other objects taken from the Marquis had to be returned. Understanding that he would get nothing by talking, the English captain weighed anchor; he had decided to capture a Spanish vessel then anchored near there. However, his own ship ran aground in the process and when, after many hours of labor during which the enemy artillery had killed a few of his men, he managed to free his vessel, and thought it better to pursue his voyage.

That same year, two Carolinian canoes, the first ones to be seen at Guam since the European conquest, arrived, one at Tarafoso, the other at Orote. The interesting details that they provided to the missionaries about Farroilep island, their point of origin, inspired one of the them, Fr. Cantova, to go there. We have seen earlier, when discussing the history of the Carolines, that he searched in vain for those islands, from 11 May until 6 June **1722**. The disorders that we have mentioned, continued for a long time, under various governors, in spite of the reiterated orders from the Spanish court to make them cease, and the existing laws protecting the unfortunate natives. The decrease in the number of inhabitants continued rather rapidly; although royal attention was often brought to those figures, it is very doubtful that the true causes of depopulation were ever learned, and very certain, at least, that nothing was done to stop it.

On 11 February of the year **1731**, Fr. Cantova left Guam a second time in search of the Carolines. He made it this time, coming in sight of Mogmog, then Falalep. He soon received the crown of martyrdom at the former island.

According to the representations made in **1735** by the governor, regarding the decrease in population, the king thought nothing better to remedy the situation, than to send, from Manila to the Marianas, every two years, five to six Filipino families, and to give them the same privileges granted to the settlers. This royal order, though dated in **1741**, did not reach Guam until June **1743**; so, it appears that the population of the colony became an issue only at that time.

The year **1742** was remarkable by the arrival at Tinian of Commodore Anson, whose adventures are generally known. Don Miguel Fernandez de Cárdenas was then Governor of the Marianas.

During his term, and that of his successor, the natives continued to live a miserable life; misfortune often brought criminal excesses; Indeed, some would take their own life, out of despair; others would commit murders, out of revenge, given that the authorities were not interested in applying justice. Such crimes rose to their greatest numbers under the administration of Governor José de Soroa, who arrived at the Marianas

in 1759. However, this officer was responsible for the restoration of the royal farm of San José of Dandan, and a census of arable lands in the neighborhood.

In his voyage around the world, Commodore Byron stopped for a few days at Tinian, in 1765. His narrative is known throughout the world.

Two years later, the missionaries were reminded, once again, not to teach the Christian doctrine to the natives in the Mariano language, that had been used until then; it was feared that a continuous use of it would result in a dialect mixing both it and Spanish. The latter language was to be used exclusively from then on.

That same year, the English Captain Wallis stopped at Tinian and the year after that [the Frenchman] Pagès visited Guam. Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena was then governor. Under his term, the old disorders continued, and nothing is worth mentioning, except for the expulsion of the Jesuits, in 1769. That is when they were ordered to leave the Marianas, as they had been expelled already from all other Spanish colonies. Five Augustinian religious replaced these zealous and learned propagators of the Christian religion; one was sent to Rota, another to Agaña, and the three others were distributed among various settlements elsewhere in Guam.

A new abuse of authority had occurred, one that exceeded all others; it was the disregard for the legitimate right of the colonists: the governor, and the mayors, had set up a trade monopoly. The king, in an order issued in July 1770, opened trade to all classes of society.

After so many greedy and cruel governors, it is a pleasure to notice that the government of the islands was finally entrusted, in 1771, to Don Mariano Tobias, a learned man, generous and full of zeal for the mission that he had been given. Without attributing to him, as [Abbé] Raynal does, the importation of rice and sugar to the Marianas—something which is strictly contrary to the facts—we are nevertheless able to report that he did, upon his arrival, introduce corn, and he did also encourage agriculture, by dedicating himself to it, in person. Not happy with improving the condition of the natives, without hurting too much the pride of his countrymen, he endeavored to distribute the rights more equitably, and solicited in their favor some royal ordinances; then, in order to provide a market for local products, he obtained permission for them to be transported aboard the galleons that passed by Guam, on their way from Acapulco to Manila every year.

Captain Crozet, commander of the French ships **Mascarin** and **Marquis de Castries**, sent from Isle-de-France to Tahiti, to repatriate the Indian whom Mr. de Bougainville had taken to Paris, stopped at Guam in September 1772,¹ and was extremely well received by Mr. Tobias.

[Footnote by Freycinet:] These ships left at Guam much sulphur and flint-stones for muskets. In 1815 or 1816, there died the last of five Frenchmen who left Captain Crozet at this island; his name

1 Ed. note: Crozet was only captain of the **Mascarin**. The overall commander, and captain of the flagship **Marquis-de-Castries**, was Duclesmeur, who had replaced Marion, after the latter was killed in New Zealand.

was **Pierre Coutincau**, who had been a drummer aboard the corvette. After a few years in Guam, he had married and had entirely forgotten his native tongue; his widow, and daughter, both old, still lived at Agaña, in 1819. The sailors of the **Uranic** were received by them in their homes as friends and countrymen.

The term of office of this governor lasted too little time to be of much benefit to the islanders; he was replaced in **1774** by Don Antonio Apodaca who, instead of imitating him, preferred to follow the bad road of annoyances and arbitrariness that his other predecessors had opened for him.

Agriculture was still so little developed in the Marianas that production could hardly provide for the subsistence of the inhabitants themselves. So, in **1775**, when the warship **Concepción**, loaded with marines, had the misfortune of being shipwrecked on the coast of Sumay within the port of San Luís, the large number of mouths to feed almost caused a famine on the island. The crew, and what had been salvaged from the vessel, could not be transported to Manila until the following year.

The priests were again reminded to use only Spanish with the natives; to that effect, the creation of schools was ordered, and the Spanish language was to be taught in them. It was decided that the subordinate posts in the outlying villages would be preferably filled with those who knew Spanish. The construction of a military hospital in Guam was also decided. The authorities in the Philippines strongly reproached the governor for having followed his caprice, rather than the regulations, in punishing military offences and in his conduct toward the Indians.

Don Felipe de Ceraín succeeded Apodaca in **1776**. He was a very rich man, but one whose originality bordered on craziness. One can conceive of the character of the government of such a man, by this feature of his personal conduct. Work, meals, nothing was regular with him; he asked for his dinner at any time of the day or night, and the servant who served him his first dish received 3 reals from him; no matter how fast his servants obeyed him, his impatience was so great sometimes that he would himself run to the kitchen and eat from the cooking pots themselves, food that was still hot and half-cooked. In spite of such bizarre behavior, he had some virtues: he was humane and generous, but unfortunately had no dignity.

Among the diseases brought by Europeans to the Marianas, one in particular was much feared: the smallpox of **1779** caused a considerable decrease in the population, witness the census of that period. Six years later, the King issued an ordinance designed to reduce the effects of this plague.

Ceraín was replaced, in **1786**, by Lieutenant-Colonel José Arleguí y Leóz, who was not only a man of great merit but also a good governor. His term was beneficial and brought improvements, but he could not reduce the crimes that resulted from a previous demoralisation. For instance, he had to judge an adulterous woman who had destroyed the fruit of her guilty liaisons; many cases were also opened regarding rapes, thefts, inflicted wounds, etc.

The King ordered that in future the tithe collected on lands owned by Spaniards or by Indians who were his subject, were to be paid, not by the farmers, but by the land-owners.

The term of office of Arleguí is made noteworthy by the fact that the population of Guam, which had been decreasing for a long time, reached a minimum. In fact, it had reached a total of 1,318, but, beginning in 1786, it has seen steady increases that were slowed down only by slight incidents.

Three Carolinian tamors arrived at Guam in 1787 aboard two canoes driven there by a storm. The 13 men who were aboard them were made welcome by the governor, and they left that same year, to go back to their home island of Lamursek.

The slow and incomplete progress of the Spanish language gave rise, in 1787 and 1788, to two orders, more imperative, for the establishment of new schools in the Marianas, and to absolutely prohibit the natives from using the local language. The village authorities also received the title of *gobernadorcillos*.

Upon learning of the visits made by Carolinians to Guam, the Governor General of the Philippines ordered, in a despatch dated 20 June 1791, that they be greeted and treated with kindness. It was hoped that a regular trade would be established, if they increased their voyages, and that a few families would emigrate from the Carolines to the Marianas; from this point onwards, the relations had become more intimate and a complete trust been established, enough to think of converting them to the Christian religion.

Leprosy having made more progress, the hospital dedicated to the treatment of this disease had become too small; a second one was built, and this allowed the separation of the sexes, one to each hospital.

In 1792, the famous Spanish navigator Malaspina, on a voyage of discovery, sighted Tinian and Rota, and came to anchor at Guam.

The natives were still adamant, and refused to stop using their mother tongue; some new orders were received in 1793, to overcome this difficulty by stimulating the self-esteem of the natives. From then on, public office was open only to the natives who knew Spanish, and such jobs were to be given to qualified persons from the low classes, in preference to those of the higher classes.

Certain abuses, tolerated by the colonial authorities, had shamelessly been allowed to creep into the practices. In 1794, the Governor General of the Philippines prohibited Don Manuel Muro, the new governor of the Marianas, from using His Majesty's soldiers and other personnel in the manning of privately-owned vessels, or be equipped with sails, small arms, guns or other effects belonging to the state.

Three Carolinians, who had left Guliay and been lost at sea in a storm for a long time, finally arrived at Guam, that same year, in a most miserable condition; they were received and assisted with human kindness.

However, abundance was far from prevailing in the Marianas; they were on the edge of famine, given that the food supplies solicited from the Philippines for the sustenance of the soldiers had been denied. To prevent such calamities in future, the King ordered,

in 1796, that a certain quantity of dried fish and rice be sent every year from Manila to Guam.

Squadron Leader Ignacio María de Alava anchored in the roads of Umata, in December, with his division. The Anglo-American ship **Experiment** was lost at Tinian at about the same time.

During Muro's term, all the former disorders came to the fore with a new violence. As religious practices were being neglected, this gave rise to all sorts of crimes that the severity of the laws could not repress. The priests of the Marianas were far from showing the devotion and apostolic zeal that had been the characteristic of the Jesuit missionaries; their dissoluteness and the negligence of their duties even pushed the leading citizens and the garrison to send a complaint against them to the Governor of the Philippines. They stated that mass was no longer being said, not even in Guam; that there was not a single spiritual service at Rota, where Fr. Francisco Tomás de Santa Rita, has been named curate, but was refusing to go there.

A fort was built, in 1799, on the site of the martyrdom of Fr. Sebastián de Monroy, more than a century earlier; it received the name of Santa Cruz de los Dolores, or simply Santa Cruz, in honor of this sad event.

In 1802, Don Vicente Blanco succeeded Muro. He was an infantry Captain who did not have the pleasure of seeing any improvement in public morality during his term of office. Indeed, his case load included some thefts, murders, rapes, and a crime heretofore unknown, that of a priest committing, upon his own daughter, the double crime of incest and adultery.

The ship **Mary** of Boston, on her way to the Carolines to seek beche-de-mer, touched at Guam. Major Luis de Torres took this opportunity to go and visit his friends at Guliyai Island; they had stopped coming to the Marianas for some time.

The state of corruption of the colony had reached great depths by the time of the arrival, in 1806, of Governor Alexandro Parreño, a man who, it is said, left a truly bad impression, on account of his insatiable greed.

A large number of dwellings had been destroyed, during the month of April of the preceding year; they remained in ruins for two years, and were not rebuilt until a formal order was received from the Philippines to that effect.

A Carolinian canoe from Ruk [Chuuk] Island was thrown upon the east coast of Guam; In spite of an absolute lack of food, her crew, consisting of 15 persons, were struck with panic and went off to sea almost immediately. However, thanks to their having met the fleet of Lamursek, that was on their way to the Marianas with the king of the Carolines personally in command of them, this canoe received the food that they so urgently needed to survive.

Vaccination had recently been introduced into the Marianas when the Governor of the Philippines, in 1809 made the gobernadorcillos responsible for taking care of the vaccines, under penalty of a fine, but 10 years later, when the **Uranie** visited the island, there was no longer any vaccine matters.

We were unable to learn exactly when the Augustinian friars were replaced by doctrinary religious.¹ One of the latter, Fr. Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre, had requested the Governor of the Philippines to eliminate the villages of Tepungan and Apurguan; his request was refused, in August 1809, at least as far as the former village was concerned, because its inhabitants were against it, but in the case of Apurguan, which consisted of only three houses, it could, if the inhabitants accepted, be joined to the village of Mongmong. Many of these doctrinary religious existed in the Marianas until 1815, but in 1819 there was only one left and he acted as curate of Agaña.²

Parreño is accused of having oppressed the Marianos and overloaded them with public work, and is said never to have paid for any labor or supplies for his own account. So, after his departure, the opprobrium of the people followed him. I was told that 19 legal suits were brought against him at Manila; however, a part of his great fortune had already won him some powerful protectors there: instead of being punished, he was rewarded for his talents and his loyal service, according to news received at Guam. It is easy to imagine what public morality was like during his term; the excesses, disorders and crimes were more numerous than ever: the licentious behavior of the widows, the adulteries of married women, the subornation and abandonment of the daughters, spread scandal and terror within families; numerous functionaries submitted their resignations; and many inhabitants abandoned their homes and sought refuge in caves in the mountains, to get away from a corrupt society.

During the month of June 1811, Parreño was informed that nine Anglo-Americans and 28 natives of the Sandwich Islands lived in Saipan and Tinian; among them, there were 7 men, 15 women and a few children. Here is how they found themselves there. A ship (English?) that was on the way from the northwest coast of America to Canton, stopped at the Sandwich Islands, shipped a few Anglo-Americans and kidnapped the natives who had brought them some refreshments. The shortage of food forced it later on to disembark these same men at Tinian; they were given gunpowder, weapons, a boat, and some nails, some iron scrap, and all the tools necessary to build a vessel. The Anglo-Americans immediately began to build a small ship, but the Sandwich islanders, unhappy, burned it down and fled with the boat to Saipan, carrying with them all the weapons and all the tools. Once the presence of those strangers was learned at Guam,

1 Ed. note: They were not replaced; Augustinian Recollects and discaled friars belonged to the same order.

2 Ed. note: Fr. Ibañez left Guam in 1814. Fr. Ciriaco, the dark Filipino priest without a last name, remains somewhat of a mystery to this day; he may have been the only priest who was not a full member of the Augustinian order.

the governor sent a detachment of soldiers, well armed, to capture them. They were brought to Agaña and were allowed to settle there.

Parreño submitted his account for this expedition. He reported that he had spent 529 pesos [2,872 francs] to hire the canoes and for the salary of the detachment.

On 15 September 1812, too late for the good of these islands, Parreño finally turned over the government of the Marianas to Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, a Lieutenant of Infantry.¹ His paternal administration did not take long in bringing back happiness and calm to the country, which could have been made to flourish, if only the supreme arbiters of its destiny had only looked upon it with eyes that were less interested; however, what hope was there for its prosperity when the governors general of the Philippines and the viceroys of Mexico had but bad-will and indifference toward it? Indeed, it was not too long ago that they had proposed to abandon these islands, as well as the Babuyan Islands, to their own fate, along with the 1,800 to 2,200 Christians living there, because, they said, these colonies cost a lot to Spain and give nothing in return.

During the first few years of Medinilla's term, the necessary funds for the administration of the Marianas were sent every year from Mexico to Manila, but, upon learning that the Governor of the Philippines, under various pretexts, did not forward the same to their destination, they stopped sending money altogether, no doubt presuming that Guam could do without it. Such obstacles had the effect of slowing down the efforts of Medinilla to improve the situation of these islands; and the war caused by Spanish-American insurgents caused further impediments to his zeal, by making communications between Guam and the Philippines more difficult.

The number of vessels then stopping at the Marianas was limited. For some time already, the galleons plying the Acapulco-Manila route had been bypassing them, to such an extent that many years would pass until a ship from outside the colony would appear on the coast. It is said that one governor saw no vessel at all, except the one that brought him in, and the one that took him away.

The Carolinian fleet from Lamursek, that landed at Agaña in 1814, consisted of 18 proas or canoes. During the course of the same year, the frigate belonging to the Philippine Company, named **Santiago**, was shipwrecked upon the southern tip of the Calalan Bank, at the entrance of Port San Luís (Pl. 59). This ship had on board 512,000 pesos [2,780,160 francs] in coins, and a larger amount in the form of merchandise of various kinds: everything sank. However, the wise measures taken by Medinilla, and the activity that he exercised in this circumstance, resulted in the recovery of what the sea had not destroyed. Some Carolinian divers salvaged all the pesos, strewn on the bottom more than 13 feet down, and they turned them all over to the governor. Some

1 This respectable officer, born at Seville, had lived for 33 years in America, including 13 years in Lima, whence he was sent to Manila in December 1809. After a stay of two years in the Philippines, he was promoted to the post of governor of the Marianas, a post that he still occupied when the *Uranic* left those shores in 1819. Ed. comment: The rank of Lieutenant was a substantive rank (granted by the King). This did not prevent (local) promotions to higher, temporary, ranks. By 1827, Medinilla himself was a Lieutenant-Colonel.

other objects from the ship itself were recovered, as well as a few goods from the cargo. As far as the frigate herself, she had been damaged so much that she was condemned.

In 1815, it was learned at Guam that a colony of Anglo-Americans, Englishmen and Sandwich islanders had settled on Grigan Island, one of the northernmost islands of the Mariana archipelago; some soldiers were sent there to destroy it and bring to Agaña the 48 persons who were found there. Only the Sandwich islanders still remain at Agaña.

A few American and English ships that were involved, in 1807, in the sandalwood trade, had successively left 100 persons at Grigan; by 1815, there still remained there 8 Anglo-Americans or Englishmen, 16 women and 8 men from the Sandwich Islands, and 16 half-breed children. The rest of the settlers had had a dispute with them and had left aboard a boat to go to a neighboring island, whose name is not known, because Medinilla, having had an extensive search made for them, their whereabouts were never discovered.¹ An Englishman, it is said, was the cause of the division that split this nascent settlement; moreover, he had been their leader. It is presumed that the purpose of the Grigan colony was to provide a way-station for their ships, where they could get vegetables and other refreshments, without deviating from their route.

The number of ships visiting Guam that year [1815] was remarkable, since the anchorage was occupied in succession by the following ships: the three-masted Portuguese ship **Mercurio**, the Russian frigate **Orina**, the Spanish ship **Rey Fernando VII**, and finally the English ship **Experiment**.

The Russian war brig named **Rurik**, in a voyage of discovery, also stopped at Guam in November 1817 and, five days later, left for Manila.

That same year, the war frigate **Argentina**, belonging to Spanish insurgents in America, and commanded by a French officer named Hipolyte Bouchard, had been cruising between Manila and the Marianas. Medinilla was warned by the Governor of the Philippines to watch out for this ship, which was trying to visit Spanish ports, while showing Spanish colors and pretending to have been sent on a voyage of scientific discoveries, but, in fact, the purpose was to rob the royal treasuries and forcibly tax the inhabitants. To avoid the risk of falling into this trap, Medinilla endeavored to take all measures that he thought appropriate for the security of the colony of which he was the head. Some lookouts were set up on the main mountains of the island, in order to send a signal at the appearance of any suspect ships. However, if this vigilant governor saved Guam from any surprise, he was unable to save the brigantine that belonged to him personally; she was captured in Philippine waters by the enemy ship.

In December 1818, the Russian warship **Kamchatka**, of 44 guns, was making a voyage around the world when she spent five days at Guam, whence she headed for Luzon Island.

This was also the year that Medinilla was visited by the king of Lamursek; we have already mentioned this fact in the chapter on the history of the Carolines.

1 Ed. note: It is very probable that they made it to the Bonin Islands.

The ship **Kutusoff**, belonging to the Russian-American Company, came by that same year. She was on her return voyage, having left a [new] governor in the Russian possessions in America. She stayed ten days at Guam. Later on, the three-masted ship **Paz**, having left Manila, stopped at Guam, and soon was her way to Acapulco. The corvette **Uranie** arrived there on 16 March, and left on 5 June.

Chronological list of the governors of the Marianas, from their origin until 1819, when the corvette Uranie left those islands.

- 1671. Don Juan de Santiago.¹
- 1674. Don Damian de Esplana.
- 1676. Don Francisco de Irisarri.
- 1678. Don Juan de Salas.
- 1680. Don José de Quiroga y Losada.
- 1681. Don Antonio Saravia.
- 1683. Don Damián de Esplana.
- 1688. Don José de Quiroga y Losada.
- 1690. Don Damián de Esplana.
- 1694. Don José de Quiroga y Losada.
- 1696. Don José de Madrazo.
- 1700. Don José Francisco Medrano y Asiaín.
- 1704. Don Antonio Villamor y Vadillo.
- 1709. Don Juan Antonio Pimentel.²
- 1720. Don Luis Antonio Sanchez y Tagle.
- 1725. Don Juan de Ojeda.³
- Idem.* Don Manuel Argüelles Valdez.
- 1730. Don Pedro Lazo de la Vega.⁴
- Idem.* Don Diego Félix de Balboa.
- 1734. Don Francisco Cárdenas Pacheco.
- 1740. Don Miguel Fernandez de Cárdenas.
- 1746. Don Domingo Gomez de la Sierra.
- 1749. Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena.
- 1756. Don Andrés del Barrio y Rábago.
- 1759. Don José de Soroa.
- 1768. Don Enrique de Olavide y Michelena.
- 1771. Don Mariano Tobias.

1 Ed. note: He had been preceded by Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, in 1668. Santiago arrived only in 1672.

2 Ed. note: He had been preceded by Argüelles, first term, in 1707.

3 Ed. note: This is an error, for José de Sandoval, the real leader.

4 Ed. note: Another error; he was only the garrison commander.

- 1774. Don Antonio Apodaca.
- 1776. Don Felipe de Ceraín.
- 1786. Don José Arleguí y Leóz.
- 1794. Don Manuel Muro.
- 1802. Don Vicente Blanco.
- 1806. Don Alexandro Parreño.
- 1812. Don José de Medinilla y Pineda.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Description of the Marianas, and specially Guam.

A new field of observations will now be opened to our view. After the preceding summary of this history of the Marianas, we must examine in greater detail, as [the Italian poet Torquato] Tasso said, "this unknown land, its unknown shores, to observe its people, their cult, their beliefs, everything that may attract the attention of a learned man:"

*Lasciami omai por nella terra il piede,
E veder questi inconnosciuti lidi;
Veder le genti e'l culto di lor fede,
E tutto quello ond'uom saggio m'invidi.*

Faithful to the plan that we have adopted for this edition, we will continue to classify into distinct sections the subject matters that are the result of our researches and studies.

Section I. Geographical description.

Situation.

The Mariana Islands, situated in the north part of the Great Ocean, at 400 leagues to the east of the Philippines, extend from North to South from 13°10' to 20°30' of latitude but occupy in longitude a space no greater than 1°17'.

Seventeen islands, or groups of islets, comprise this archipelago; the largest ones are, firstly, Guam, which is the capital, then Saipan, Rota and Tinian. However, the full list of them, by order of latitude, is as follows:

1. **Guam.** Formerly the Spanish [missionaries] liked to call this island San Juan.
2. **Rota.** It was originally called Luta, a name that later became Ruta, then Rota; it was also known under the name of Zarpana, a name since abandoned, the same as the Spanish name of Santa Ana, first applied to it by the Spanish.
3. **Aguijan.** It has also been known as Santo Angel.
4. **Tinian.** It was also known as Buena Vista Mariana.
5. **Saipan,** also Saypan, or Seypan. It was also San José.
6. **Farallon de Medinilla.** The old charts had not given any name to this island, no more than to Farallon de Torres. In assigning to them the names of the two persons who have so powerfully assisted the work of the expedition of the **Uranie**, our wish is

to immortalize them in this way, if possible, as an expression of our gratitude. The Spanish call *farallon* any island that has a vertical shoreline.

7. **Anatajan**, or San Joaquín.

8. **Sarigan**, or Sariguan, San Carlos.

9. **Farallon de Torres**. (see n° 6 above).

10. **Guguan**, also named San Felipe.

11. **Alamagan**, or Alamaguan, Concepción.

12. **Pagan**, or Pagon, San Ignacio.

13. **Grigan** [rather Agrigan], San Francisco Xavier.

14. **Mangs** [rather Maug I.]. This small group, made up of three islets or rocks of small extent and surrounded by reefs, was formerly called Tunas by the natives, and San Lorenzo by the Spanish.

15. **Asunción**. The original name of this island was Assonsong [i.e. Sonsong's Place], but the Spanish gave it the name it bears today.

16. **Uracas**. This uninhabited island is given the name of Urac in some documents.

17. **Farallon de Pájaros**. Group of small rocks whose name alludes to the fact that only birds inhabit it.¹

All the islands of the Mariana archipelago, to the north of Tinian [rather Saipan] were, as we have said earlier, known under the general name of **Gani Islands**, a name which was also given to Asunción.²

Guam has a circumference of 76 miles, i.e. 25.3 nautical leagues = 31.7 average [land] leagues in France = 140.7 kilometers. Its greatest dimension, measured from Ritidian Point to Manello Point, along a line bearing NNE—SSW, is 29 miles = 9.66 nautical leagues = 12 average leagues = 53.7 km. Perpendicularly to this direction, i.e. from Orote Point to the point south of Ilic, the greatest width of the island, it is a distance of 10 miles = 3.33 nautical leagues = 4.17 average leagues = 18.5 km. Its small width, measured from the mouth of the Agaña River to the mouth of the Pago River, is 4 miles = 1.33 nautical leagues = 1.57 average leagues = 7.4 km. However, its actual smallest width, at its neck, from the SE corner of the Bay of Agaña to the bottom of the cove that lies between Tahugan Point and Fadigan Point, is only 3 miles = 1 nautical league = 1.25 average leagues = 5.6 km. The isthmus that connects the Orote Peninsula with the mainland is even more narrow (see Pl. 59).

We have estimated the surface of the same island at 153 square nautical miles, equivalent to 17 square nautical leagues = 26.56 square average leagues = 102,737 “arpents royaux des eaux et forêts”³ = 52,469 hectares.

1 Ed. note: It is **important** to note here that this list is incorrect, as far as the Gani Islands are concerned. Freycinet did not survey those islands. His mistakes were not fully rectified until 1864, by the ship **Narvacz**, commanded by Sanchez y Zayas.

2 Ed. note: If so, the word *gani* may have meant “volcano” in [ancient] Chamorro, whereas the neo-Chamorro [as well as the Filipino] word *botkan* [from Spanish] is now used.

3 Ed. note: An old French measure, then used by the King's surveyors.

For Saipan Island, we have the following:

—Circumference: 32 miles;

—Maximum length, N25°E—S25°W: 13 miles;

—Maximum width, perdicularly to above direction, and beginning at Machud Point: 6 miles;

—Total area: 50 square nautical miles.

For Rota Island,¹ we have:

—Circumference: 31 miles;

—Maximum length, from SW point to NE point, along the direction W28°S—E28°N: 12 miles;

—Maximum width, perpendicularly to above: 5.5 miles;

—Minimum width, measured at the isthmus of Sosanhaya: just under 0.5 mile;

—Area: 34 square nautical miles.

And for Tinian:

—Circumference: 27 miles;

—Maximum length, from north to south: 10 miles;

—Maximum width, from west to east: 4.5 miles;

—Area: 31 square nautical miles.

We need not go into such details regarding the other Mariana Islands; most are too small for such a treatment to be relevant here. Moreover, we have seen them from too far away to give them exact shapes; however, the chart can give an idea of their relative sizes. We will soon give the geographical positions of a few of their points, but, for more information, we refer the reader to the section on Hydrography and Navigation.

Mountains.

Guam.—Though not too high, Guam nevertheless has many mountains, the highest of which are: Mount Ilikiu, or the Umata Lookout; Mount Langayao, which lies ENE of Agat; Mount Tinkio [now Tenjo], a little more to the north; those of Tutu and Pacpac, both NNE of the previous; more to the east is Hulu-Hilahan [Mount Hilahan],² and at the very southern part of the island, Mount Tanglon. I have estimated the altitude of Mt. Ilikio at 250 *toises* [500 meters] at most, and that of Mt. Tinkio at 200 *toises* [400 meters]; but these values are not the result of some direct and positive measurements.

Saipan.—On Saipan Island, there can be seen a conical mountain, well known by navigators who pass by that neighborhood; they call it the Peak of Saipan. Although we do not know its exact height, we think that it does not exceed 150 *toises* [300 meters].

1 All data for Rota, as well as those for Tinian that follow, were derived directly from the chart; given that the topography of these islands was not done in detail, the figures can only be approximate; they may be slightly understated.

2 Ed. note: So says Freycinet, although Hulu may simply have meant, then as now, Above, or on top of, Hilahan, which he thinks was the same as Ayran.

Rota.—According to Mr. Bérard, the center of Rota is largely occupied by a mountain from 90 to 100 toises [180-200 meters] high, coming down gently to the sea; the natives have opened trails on its sides.

Tinian.—The whole N.E. corner of this island is low, and, according to Mr. Bérard, some high land can be found towards the S.E. These small mountains are at most 60 toises [117 meters] in height above sea level. Their direction is N—S. and they occupy only a small part of the surface of the island.

Rivers, lakes, and swamps.

Guam.—The southern part of Guam is irrigated by a rather large number of streams, and by a few rivers, the main ones being that of Tarofofu, and the Mangui River, its affluent. The river that has its mouth at Ilic, bears the name of Anham near its source, then that of Sempahone in its lower part, where it is joined by the Manha River. Further north, we have the Pago River that takes its source in the high land of Dandan, and also further south, the Munlodña, or rather Hunlodña, River that is born there and describes an arc around this high land. Further below, we will give a complete list and the position of all the rivers of the island, but their course can be seen on the map (Pl. 59).¹

In the northern part, the soil is relatively more arid; indeed, only a few minor springs can be found there. The more important ones are located exactly in the N.E. corner of the island, as well as south of the Santa Rosa Peak. The Orote Peninsula is drier still; however, both sides of it have some wells that provide water to the inhabitants.

The highest places where open water runs are, excluding Santa Rosa, the Umata Lookout and Mount Tinkio. The Tarofofu River has enough depth to enable brigs and launches to go up it for about 4 miles from its mouth; canoes can go farther, as far as Ninin;² however, from there in the direction of Apaca, the course of the river is not apparent over a distance of two miles, because it runs underground.

There are two waterfalls on the Mangui and on the Anham; it is at the latter spot that the Sempahone River begins.

The most remarkable lakes are those of Cotud, Mapupun and Sagdum, from which flow the rivers of the same names. Then, there are the small lakes of Maso and Santa Rosa. There are two others, smaller still, at Dandan and at Merizo, which sometimes disappear during periods of drought. They say that, in Saipan, there is a rather large swamp lake, N.W. of the peak.

In truth, there are no permanent swamps in Guam, but, in the rainy season, many low-lying and damp areas become true swamps, and they are difficult to cross at that time. The more extensive swamps are along the Agaña and Umata Rivers, along those

1 Ed. note: Two centuries later, many, in not most, of these rivers have gone through a change of names.

2 I could not find the location of this site well enough to place it on the chart.

that irrigate the southern part of the island, and along the streams on the east side of Port San Luís (Pl. 59), but specially near Atantano.

Rota.—Potable water is rare in Rota. Mr. Bérard noted only one small stream on the S.E. coast of the island, and at about 5 miles from the village of Sosanhaya; the inhabitants refer to it pompously as *el río* [the river]: its water is good, and comes down rapidly from a nearby mountain. However, in the town, there are three wells that provide water to the inhabitants; their water is of very mediocre quality, and sometimes it is a little brackish.

Tinian.—We can say with certainty that Tinian does not have running water of any kind. Nevertheless, according to Mr. Bérard, there are two pools of such water. One of them, located on the east side of the island, is surrounded by fields of reeds so extensive that its true extent could not be determined by him; the other pool, located towards the N.W., is larger but its water is brackish. There exists only one well on the island, called by the inhabitants *pozo de los Antiguos* [well of the ancient]; it is located in a depression, accessible by three steps; its water is very good.

Mineral waters.

Guam has some iron-bearing mineral waters, not only at Supud but also at Pulentad. At Anatahan Islands, there are thermal waters on the south side of the island near the seashore.

Ports and anchorages.

Guam.—In the whole archipelago of the Marianas, this island is the only one with safe and spacious ports. Umata is but a road open towards the west, but when the winds blow from the opposite direction, the anchorage there is very good, and the communications with the town become easy. Watering is so easy also that navigators should always choose this place to anchor, in preference to any other, specially when they want to stay only a short time at Guam. This was the way-station for the galleons that plied the Acapulco-Manila route.

For a longer stay at the Marianas, it is preferable to go into Port San Luís, on the N.W. coast of the island, although it is sometimes difficult of access; the anchorage is located very near Fort Santa Cruz, where the ground is excellent and shelter from the sea very good. However, one cannot set sail from there when the wind is westerly. Watering is not easy at this port; but ships that must make frequent contacts with the capital, the normal residence of the governor, will find this place more convenient.

Although the small port, or rather the anchorage, of Agaña is convenient only for canoes and boats with shallow draughts, we think that it would be possible for ships equipped with iron cables to anchor before the town, by approaching a place just west of Alupan Island; there would then be nothing to fear from the coral rocks that line the bottom. However, one must add that such a station would be possible only during the season of the easterlies, which is also the season of fair weather, and the time of the year when these neighborhoods are visited.

If a ship had to spend the winter at Guam, a season when the westerlies prevail, the only refuge would then be the Port of Tarafoso, on the S.E. coast of the island, where the anchorage is then very good; the disadvantage is that this port is located far away from inhabited areas, so that food supplies would be difficult to obtain from there. For this purpose, the port of Pago would be preferable, but its entrance can admit only ships with a very shallow draught.

Formerly the port of Merizo was often visited; it is no longer used, at least not by foreign ships, and it is due to the fact that one is never sheltered from any wind, although within the reef, there is a good shelter from the sea and swells.

Rota.—One could not anchor safely at Rota without iron chains. Mr. Bérard has noted that, in the W.N.W. of the island, that is, in the part where the canoes normally land, the bottom is so strewn with corals and sharp-edged stones that, according to him, even the biggest [hemp] cables could not last for more than half a day. There would also be, on the other side of the isthmus, facing Sosanhaya, a shelter against W. and N.W. winds, if only the bottom there were not so rocky.

Tinian.—To the west of Sunharom, the anchorage near the shore is mediocre, although it is sheltered from the N.E. winds and, during the bad season, one could set sail with a wind blowing offshore. A bank, near the coast, admits canoes and small ships.

Saipan.—The port of Saipan, in the west part of the island, is but a space between reefs, strewn with shoaly waters, and therefore difficult of access. Although the passes are not well known, we think that all kinds of ships could visit this port, but the important matter of hydrography would have to be examined, and we simply did not have time to study it.

Pagan.—We have but vague information on the port located on the south side of Pagan; that is why we mention it only as another place requiring a survey.

Towns and villages.

In the old days the Marianas were covered with a multitude of hamlets and villages, but their number today is very much diminished. History has given us the causes of such a decline, and the ruins that are seen everywhere on the surface of these islands make this fact irrefutable. On our geographical map of old Guam (Pl. 59), we have tried to show the position of the main settlements that exist, or existed before, and that of the places of lesser importance that we were able to recognize. However, this work has remained incomplete, because, although the names of old sites were given to us, their exact locations were too vague for us to place them on our chart. Many such points are now occupied by farms, or other plantations; we will give a list of those in another section of this chapter. After all, the names that we have omitted are no longer important and I have reasons to believe that the preceding geographical sketch contains more or less what history needs.

Agaña was, formerly and today, the capital town in the island of Guam.¹ In 1818, Agaña had 444 houses, The next largest was then Merizo, with only 55 houses; there followed Pago, Inarahan and Agat by order of size; finally, Asan, Tepungan and Mong-mong, villages that, at that time, had but 14 houses. I will not mention the hamlets, as they had but 3 or 4 houses; a full list of them could not be given anyhow.

In the table that follows, I have placed an asterisk before the names of the places that are still inhabited today; the others are completely destroyed or have but ruins. As far as the geographic positions given to some of them, they should be considered only as approximations, designed as an aid to find them on the chart (Pl. 59), except for the positions of Agaña, Umata, and a few other points that we have exactly determined in our geographical work (See the part entitled Navigation and Geography).

The position given to rivers refers to their mouth, either with the sea, or with another river.

Alphabetical list of the towns, villages and main places on Guam.

Place names	Position		Remarks
	14° N.	142° E. ²	
Aachay	38'7"	43'40"	
Abo	24°22'	32'44"	
Afame	26'30"	38'21"	
Agaga	19'28"	31'5"	
*Agaña	27'51"30"	37'25"0"	Capital of the island.
Agaña River	28'0"	37'0"	
*Agat	23'14"5"	31'55"	Fifth in size.
Agay	34'5"	41'54"	
Agfayan	16'2"	36'52"	
Agfayan River	15'58'	36'56"	
Agofan	25'33"	33'54"	
Aguan	24'52"	38'48"	
Ahayan	14'33"	35'58"	
Ahayan River	14'30"	36'4"	
Anham Falls	23'45"	35'0"	
Anham River	---	---	
*Anigua	27'57"	36'24"	Sixth in size.
Aniti-Sagua	19'6"	38'37"	

1 Ed. note: There is evidence that Fuña, on the west coast, was the most important town at the time of conquest; it had the largest number of houses when the missionaries made their first survey.

2 All latitudes are 13° North. All longitudes are 142° East of the meridian of Paris. Ed. comment: The French sound written as *gn* is the same as the Spanish *ñ* hence, Fugna is really Fuña, etc.

Apurguan	28°54"	39°0"	
Aputu	34°50"	42°25"	
Apra	24°21"	32°1"	
*Asan	27°41"	35°14"	
Asan River	27°40"	35°8"	
Atantano	24°46"	52°58"	
Atantano River	25°45"	32°56"	
Ayuka River	23°32"	32°3"	
Balandra	23°8"	34°56"	
Cahali Heights	22°53"	36°46"	
Cauhan	16°3"	31°58"	
Cauhan River	16°0"	31°53"	
Cascas River	26°6"	37°6"	
Cetti	18°20"	31°41"	
Chacha River	21°2"	35°31"	
Chadigan River	20°53"	31°10"	
Chuchugu	27°33"	39°41"	
Cotud Lake	22°38"	35°6"	
Cotud River	22°1"	34°47"	
Dandan	17°52"	37°0"	
Djogna [=Yoña]	23°31"	38°45"	
Dobo River	21°38"	34°59"	
Fadigan	26°45"	41°33"	
Fafay	30°55"	40°55"	
Fagtu	25°36"	38°7"	
Fahasgu Farm	24°3"	38°20"	
Falconan	35°46"	42°43"	
Fasonan	36°7"	42°48"	
Fena	20°38"	33°45"	
Fuña Rock	23°36"	31°51"	Doubtful position.
Fuha	17°36"	31°46"	
Fuha River	17°34"	31°43"	
*Gnaton [=Ñaton]	30°29"	40°48"	
Gofi River	25°47"	32°54"	
Goña	30°42"	40°54"	
Guay	28°4"	42°31"	
Gueus	15°52"	32°48"	Pronounced Gheos.
Hanum	30°59"	46°55"	
Hati	18°8"	31°35"	
Hati River	18°15"	31°34"	
Hemhum	18°17"	38°59"	
Hilaane	32°43"	41°23"	

Hilahan	26°28"	36°23"	
Hunlodña	17°8"	37°45"	[See Mulodña below]
Hypane Cave	19°50"	38°28"	
Idtun	27°10"	37°9"	
Ilic (see Ylic)	---	---	
Ilikiu Mountain	17°17"	32°6"	Not shown on chart.
Inapsan (see Ynapsan)	---	---	
Inarahan (see Ynarahan)	---	---	
Iugan	18°30"	34°32"	
Ipao	29°37"	39°34"	
Laguiña Mountain	21°0"	36°25"	
Langayao Mountain	23°45"	33°38"	
Langayao River	22°33"	34°21"	
Liyu	14°18"	35°3"	
Liyu River	14°8"	35°5"	
Lonfiid	25°8"	37°18"	
Luhuña	30°23"	45°54"	
Machaute	30°52"	43°22"	
Mafulur	25°27"	33°21"	
Magdofan	18°43"	31°37"	
Magdofan River	18°47"	31°34"	
Magnila	26°46"	33°15"	{=Mañila?}
Mahiluc Mountain	18°30"	38°37"	
Mangui River	20°29"	35°52"	
Mangui Falls #1	18°15"	34°8"	
Mangui Falls #2	19°56"	34°18"	
Manha River	22°32"	37°27"	
Mapupun Lake	22°2"	35°35"	
Mapupun River	21°30"	35°11"	
Margui River	27°46"	34°47"	
Maso Lake	27°2"	33°30"	
Maso River	27°0"	33°30"	
Matay	31°36"	47°11"	
*Merizo	15°24"	32°10"	Second in size.
Mongmong	28°19"	39°8"	
Mulodña River	17°8"	38°12"	
Mulodña Falls	17°13"	36°53"	
Naguaña	26°30"	34°11"	
Nigsihan	27°37"	41°58"	[Rather Nisighan, Nisihan]
Niigo	37°4"	42°55"	
Omun	23°3"	31°53"	
Omun River	23°3"	31°52"	

Orote	25'58"	29'30"	
Pacpac Mountain	26'34"	35'4"	
Pagat	29'52"	45'8"	
*Pago	24'35"	39'16"	Third in size.
Pago River	24'33"	39'16"	
Paikpuk [Picpuc]	18'0"	38'41"	
Paikpuk River	18'3"	38'41"	
Papurguan River	15'26"	32'7"	
Pataye	25'6"	32'50"	
Pigo River	28'3"	36'50"	
Ponhud	25'44"	38'26"	
Pugua	29'38"	41'3"	
Pulantad	23'41"	37'54"	
Pumud	25'15"	38'26"	
Pupulu River	19'26"	31'1"	
Ritidian	38'45"	44'14"	
Saga River	19'5"	31'23"	
Sagdum Lake	21'27"	36'21"	
Sagdum-Aplacha River	20'46"	35'41"	
Sagualao	21'38"	31'30"	
Sagualao River	21'38"	31'23"	
Sagualaylay	22'13"	31'45"	
Sagualaylay River	22'13"	31'36"	
Sagui Lake	19'45"	34'22"	
Sagui River	17'12"	31'56"	
Sanvitores	30'18"	40'45"	A modern name.
Sasa	26'37"	33'24"	
Sasa River	26'33"	33'13"	
Sasayan	29'51"	43'41"	
Sehya River	18'27"	31'37"	[Same as Sidia R.]
Sempahone River	22'38"	38'36"	
Sidia	19'1"	31'29"	
Sigua River	25'6"	37'6"	
*Sinahaña	27'2"	38'15"	Eighth in size.
Sinenson	26'22"	33'46"	
Sipud	17'14"	37'4"	
Soupodña	23'55"	37'0"	
Sumay	14'22"	34'11"	
Sumay River	14'12"	34'8"	
Sumaye	25'30"	31'22"	
Tashia	20'16"	38'35"	
Tashia River	20'23"	38'39"	

Tashug	15'5"	32'33"	
Tachuña	25'46"	37'44"	
Tagun	25'22"	38'17"	
Tagpi Mountain	24'13"	35'52"	
Tagpi River	23'23"	36'30"	
Tagpisey	33'32"	45'33"	
Talefac	20'19"	31'1"	
Talefac River	20'20"	30'57"	
Talisay	22'38"	33'47"	
Tanglon Mountain	15'52"	34'33"	
Tanguison	33'45"	41'44"	
Taugan	25'51"	40'57"	
Taragay [=Tarrague]	36'37"	46'4"	
Tarayfa	20'51"	31'14"	
Tarofofu	18'2"	38'30"	
Tarofofu River	18'17"	38'21"	
Taynaneso	29'36"	39'45"	
*Tepungan	27'16"	34'18"	
Tifu River	24'25"	38'41"	
Tinaka	24'59"	38'40"	
Tinechun	20'25"	36'0"	
Tinkio Mountain	24'28"	34'8"	
Tipalao	24'29"	31'4"	
Tobiay [sic]	37'14"	45'28"	Perhaps not a Mariano word.
Toguan	16'27"	31'51"	
Toguan River	16'24"	31'46"	
Tumun	29'4"	40'26"	
Tutu Mountain	25'30"	34'43"	
Udud	25'37"	39'3"	
Ulitan Heights	31'37"	38'11"	
*Umata	17'16"	31'56"	Seventh in size.
Umata River	---	---	Same as Faluupa River.
Upi	35'15"	45'11"	
Urono	36'28"	42'47"	
Ylic	22'37"	38'33"	[Also written Ilig.]
Ynapsan	38'15"	44'50"	
*Ynarahan	16'22"	37'33"	
Ynarahan River	16'32"	37'30"	

----- 2

Alphabetical list of place names on Saipan, Rota and Tinian.¹

Place names	Position		Remarks
	N.	E.	
Saipan:			
Anaguan			
Duchauliao			
Inagen			
Luyo			
Machud			
Marpi			
Nineguas			
Peak (highest)	15°12'42"	143°35'6"	
Ruchan-Pagon			
Sumpi			
Tachoc			
Tanapac			
Tumun			
Rota:			
Lidhu			
Milin			
Uyulan			
Sonton			
*Sosanhaya	14°6'15"	143°0'0"	See Note. ²
Tatachoc			
Titito			
Peak (highest)	14°7'30"	143°5'39"	
Tinian:			
Fanutugan-Alas			
Gorgan			
Unay			
Pilinam			
Sagua			
*Sunharom	14°59'22"	143°28'55"	
Tachguna			

1 We do not know precisely what places are now inhabited (1818) in Saipan and Tinian . Ed. comment: Such names are to be compared with those in HM14: 341-346.

2 We think that other places are also inhabited.

Tagon-Charu
Tipuan

Section II. Observations in meteorology and physics.

Temperatures.

The temperatures observed at various stations in the Marianas have given the following data. Air temperature was taken in an open but shady area; sea temperature is that of the surface.¹

Summary of temperatures observed on the Island of Guam, in 1819.

A. In the road of Umata, from 18 to 27 March.

	Air temperature	Sea temperature
Results	°C Time of day	°C Time of day
Maximum	30.0 11 a.m.	28.6 2 p.m.
Minimum	24.5 1 a.m.	26.6 8 p.m.
Average	26.5 ---	27.9 ---

...

B. In Port San Luís, from 30 March to 4 June.

Maximum	32.0 1-2 p.m.	29.2 Noon
Minimum	24.0 4-5 a.m.	25.2 2-6 a.m.
Average	27.2 ---	27.4 ---

...

C. At Agaña (observatory), from 7 to 21 May.

Maximum	32.1 Noon	39.9 9 a.m.
Minimum	23.5 5 a.m.	25.2 6 p.m.
Average	27.1 ---	32.7 ---

...

The air temperatures observed at Port San Luís were numerous enough to conclude that the average temperatures for the months of April and May were:

—April: 26.6 °C.

—May: 27.4 °C.

A consequence of the above results is that the average air temperature throughout the year at Guam is very probably 27.31 °C (see the part on Meteorology for discus-

¹ Ed. note: I have reproduced only the important numbers. They would differ considerably at other times of the year anyhow.

sion). However, such temperatures, being observed on board ship, must be different than those prevailing ashore.

The sea temperatures for the same two months are roughly the same as those for the full duration of our experiments.

From information gathered locally, the hottest months here are those of May, June, July, and sometimes August, if substantial rains did not then occur; those with the lowest temperatures are December, January and February.

Barometer.

The barometer, observed ashore, has given the following average figures, *corrected*, as the previous ones, for errors due to temperature, capillarity and level.

Average height, for the period	759.16 mm
Maximum at 10 a.m.	759.89 mm
Minimum at 4 p.m.	758.26 mm
Maximum at 8 p.m.	759.79 mm
Minimum at 3 a.m.	758.40 mm

From which it is easy to conclude the following:

—Period from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.	1.63 mm
—Period from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m.	1.53 mm
—Period from 8 p.m. to 3 a.m.	1.39 mm
—Period from 3 a.m. to 10 a.m.	1.39 mm

Humidity.

With the exception of a few low-lying places where it is always damp, the soil and atmosphere of Guam are generally dry, and consequently salubrious; nevertheless, during the winter,¹ strong rains prevail, and they are always present during July, August, September, October and November, but less frequent in June, the month when the rainy season begins. Near the periods of the full moon, they say, there is almost always some rain, and the exceptions are rare. Our own experience did not run counter to such ideas, although we did not get a chance to verify them all; nevertheless, we can say that the strongest rain, which lasted for 34 hours, took place in May, about one day after the full moon. Rain was more frequent during that month than during the previous two months; this could be attributed to nearness of the time when the monsoon winds change direction.

The part of Guam that is reputed to be the most salubrious is that of Sinahaña, which is today, among the inhabited places, the highest village on the island; one can see there some men with remarkably strong bodies.

The east coast of Guam is generally more salubrious than the opposite side, because of the easterly winds that blow directly and are less humid than those on the west side.

1 By winter in the tropics, we mean the season of hot, rainy weather with strong winds; it corresponds to our summer.

The hygrometer, observed every hour, not only at our observatory but also at the anchorage of Umata and that of Port San Luís, gave the following average times of the day when the given phenomena occur:

Results	At Umata	At Port San Luís	At Agaña
Mex. humidity	5 a.m.	3 a.m.	11 p.m.
Min. humidity	1 p.m.	1 p.m.	Noon
Avg. humidity	9 a.m. & 6 p.m.	9 a.m. & 7 p.m.	8 a.m. & 6 p.m.

Winds.

As in all countries where there is a monsoon, the prevailing winds during the year are divided into two main categories: the easterlies, and the westerlies. The former are felt during the months of December, January, February, March, April and May, when the weather is nice and dry; the other winds blow in June, July, August, September, October and November, when the rains are abundant, the winds stormy and with hurricanes.

Generally, we experienced winds from E, ENE, NE and ESE while we were at Umata, night and day; most of the time they were blowing as light breezes, but the strongest winds were from ENE and E. There were also some calm periods, usually at night.

In Port San Luís, during 67 days of observations, we have experienced the same kind of conditions as at Umata, except for some breezes that were more intense and lasted for a while longer; we must add that we were not so well sheltered by the land.

"The wind," says Mr. Duperrey, "would normally follow the following sequence: it arose at daybreak, and gained strength at about 8 or 10 a.m.; the nights were calm periods, and the sky was always pure. Nevertheless, it was not rare to see the sky loaded with thick clouds that passed rapidly overhead, causing strong squalls of rain and wind. Often the horizon became black with a thick layer of clouds in the SW, W and NW; the swell then came to crash against the outside reefs that surround Port San Luís. At other times, in spite of the continuous easterly winds, some strong swells from SW and W would make the passes through the same reefs impracticable."

The change in monsoon seasons announces itself by calm periods, by variations in the winds, and by rains. In fair weather, the winds blow from E to NE; this is usually experienced from March to June. The stormy winds usually blow from SW to NW, sometimes from S to SE, and more north of the west direction than south of it. The hurricanes generally occur during the month of November. Thunder is more often heard from July to November; however, thunder, as well as lightning, are rare in Guam. Lightning rarely hits the ground.

Many whirlwinds have been observed at Guam, not only on the coast but also at sea, in the neighborhood of the island. In June 1791, one appeared, coming from Daneono [i.e. Cocos] Island. It headed for Merizo, then inland towards the mountains, while cutting a swath through the woods. In May 1805, another one passed through Barrio

Santa Cruz of the town of Agaña (Pl. 60), and upturned some houses. A third whirlwind is remembered; it was seen by the sailors aboard the local schooner, between Rota and Guam, and caused a real fear among them.

Experiments with the pendulum.

Numerous experiments with the pendulum were recorded at our observatory in Agaña, in 13°27'51"30" lat. North. When corrected for a vacuum condition, for sea level, and for a temperature of 20°C, the same pendulum, which in the same circumstances at Paris, had given us 86,400 oscillations in an average solar day of 25 hours, gave us here 86,295 oscillations in the same time period.

Magnetism.

According to our custom, we will present in this chapter only the summary of the phenomena of the magnetic dips (inclination and declination) that we have studied during our stay at Guam:

—Inclination of the magnetic needle at Agaña, average of 3,712 observations: 12°46'53" with the high point being the S point;

—Declination of the compass needle at the same station, average of 480 observations: 4°39'17" N. E,

Tides.

Here are the more useful data regarding the tides in Port San Luís, very near Santa Cruz:

—Maximum rise of the sea due to the tide	0.867 m;
—Highest rise above average level	0.362 m;
—Lowest descent from average level	0.510 m;
—Average length of the ebb tide	6 h. 19 min.;
—Average length of the flood tide	5 h. 57 min.

...

Section III. Geology and mineralogy.

In a previous section, we have given the sizes of a few of the Mariana Islands, and the heights of some of the high points on their surfaces. We will now describe them from the geological point of view, beginning with the largest island.

[Report of Mr. Quoy]

Guam.—"Guam can naturally be divided into two geological parts. From its neck to the south coast, the island is very mountainous and almost entirely volcanic, whereas its northern part consists of a coral limestone plateau."

"The mountains of the first part make up a small system which, near the sea, circumscribes almost the whole surface of this part of the island. Oftentimes, separated from one another, their steepest slopes face the sea, whereas those facing inland are not so steep. All of these mountains are the result of volcanic action, and some of them are entirely made up of lava or pumice. However, in order to present what is noteworthy at each locality, we will begin our examination at the capital (see Pl. 59)."

"Agaña is built at the foot of a rocky hill which, facing the sea, extends from E to W for a distance of about one league, and about 100 feet in height. Cut sharply on its north side, this hill is composed almost entirely of coral limestone. Some of the polyps that are found there are very well preserved, but they have become spathed. Most of them, rolled and crushed, did not preserve the natural position they had under the waves."¹

"One mile from the town, on the seashore, there is a rock similar to the one that we have just described. When examining it on many points, corals are seen to disappear and be transformed into salty limestone, very white, and resembling marble; this could make us suppose, with reason, that all the limestone of this island is coralline in nature."

"More towards the south, the higher mountains are not extensive in area, do not form a chain, and are not regular in their direction; however, their greatest mass runs almost from E to W. They are formed of numerous peaks, separated from one another by deep valleys whose openings face the sea, either in straight line or by way of zigzags. Everywhere the action of fire can be seen; the rocks are red pumice, upon which are superimposed blocks and balls of hard lava, variable in size, or else made up of layers of clayish limestone that have been burned, raised and thrown in all directions. On a few flat surfaces, one notices some small earthy cones, red in color, only a few feet in height. Because of the degradation of their summits, we can no longer tell whether or not they have served as vents for volcanic steam. This is where I found some blobs of silex, containing small starfish and pieces of coral limestone that had been burned."

1 "This remark is important, because there are polyps, such as the astreas, that construct their dwellings in a regular and continuous manner; whereas we think that these walls have been built underwater, from debris and corals that have been pressed together, to form deposits; the animals were no longer alive then."

“Adelup Point (also named *Punta del diablo* [Devil’s Point]), and that of Acahi-Fanihi, both near the village of Asan, consist of very thin layers of a fine-grained gray pumice, with some signs of a black substance mixed in. From this place to Agat, by following the coast at the foot of the mountains, one finds banks, more or less important, of coral limestone.”

“In front of the anchorage of Santa Cruz, in Port San Luís, there can be seen Mount Tinkio, partly made up of a clayish stone whose layers seem to have been carried away in all directions, from an horizontal to a vertical position. At a few places there are piles of ball pumice, half decomposed, as well as some blocks of basalt lava. On the surface, there are pieces of silex and schist, but they seem to be rather rare. At this place there can also be found pieces of green pumice, fine-grained, much in demand among the ancient Marianos who used them in the construction of their buildings. In fact, the ground is strewn with half-spheres given that shape for that purpose.”

“From Agat to Umata, the mountains, lower, show everywhere a reddish pumice variously decomposed and aggregating isolated pieces of hard lava. However, beginning at Facpi Point, which has been formed itself by a lava run, one can see many other such points that have been projected towards the sea. On one of these isolated rocks, beaten by the sea at high tide, I dislodged many cubic crystals and other mesotype aciculars; it was only there and only on rock faces exposed to the sea that I found them in the latter form. The most beautiful specimens were found inside geodes, the size of a fist and with extremely thin walls.”

“The cracks that can be seen underwater, near Facpi Point, are filled with white, yellowish and greenish agates; there are also a few balls of green steatite. The sand of many small streams in the vicinity contain many grains of olivine peridot, which gives them a green color.”

“The soil of Umata, near the seashore, and almost underwater, is completely made up of black lava runs, compact amygdaloids, so full of small mesotype balls the size of peas, that its substance constitutes more than half of the rock itself; this can be seen very well, particularly where the village is situated, going towards a sort of belvedere sculpted in the rock.”¹

“At Tuguene Point, which forms the south point of Umata Bay, one can see the debris of a basaltic wall that must have been 80 feet high, and not very thick. The prismatic beams are very irregular and were formed cross-wise; it is the only place where lava has adopted this shape. The bottom of the rock is covered with pieces of beautifully white mesotype, but not crystallized. To find them in the latter state, one must look into the cracks that are underwater.”

“Mount Ilikiu, or Umata Look-out, is, we have been told, the highest point in Guam, and one of those that is also the most difficult to climb, because of the steepness of its slope. This mountain has three distinct peaks, to which are joined other secondary hills;

¹ A small fort has been built on this rock, situated at the north point of Umata Bay; it is called Fort Santo Angel (See our hydrographical Atlas).

the spaces between all of those form small valleys, very fertile. The more remarkable of these valleys are those of Umata and Merizo. It is here that the largest eruptions must have taken place, because many branches leaving it were made by more or less powerful runs of lava that disappeared into the sea. However, the decomposition of the summit seems so ancient that there can no longer be seen any crater; everything has been covered and flattened by a reddish clay. In the center of this small plateau there is a cone of pumice surmounted by irregular balls of aggregate matter, of the same substance, and more than 15 feet in diameter. Among the pieces of hard and soft lavas that compose it, there can be seen some limestone, shells, corals, and some very short crystals of amphibole.”

“If we continue to go around the island towards the south and east, the mountains are seen to lose their height as their location is nearer the center. When crossing the Merizo plain, one notices that it is covered with some hard lava rocks; farther on, when nearing the village of Inarahan, the lava runs have formed some capes, beaten by the sea. The matter forming them has a curious aspect: they are irregular balls, heterogeneous, of the size of nuts, and gelled together in the form of a pudding. I have noticed, in some of them, some pieces of obsidian.”

“After leaving the village of Inarajan towards the east, one climbs the heights of Dandan,¹ where the volcanic system more or less terminates; some signs of underground volcanic activity can be seen there. Firstly, on the left (towards the south) of the road that goes from Pago [rather Inarahan] to the house of the Mayor,² some large blocks can be seen, either rhomboid or ball-like in shape, of a heavy lava, sitting on top of pumice here and there. A large number of these balls are placed on top of a calcinated pedestal, and one needs only touch these piles with the fingertips to cause them to crumble into fragments, though they may be up to five feet in height, more or less. Such basaltic spheres would, in falling, break up into concentric envelopes, but the center was always very hard.”

“A few feet away there is a bank of white clay, so modified by fire that its substance has lost half of its weight; its layers are regular, little inclined, and from 6 to 8 inches in thickness.”

“Always to the left of the same road, going to the only spring that exists on this height, there are considerable sink holes. One of them, in the shape of a funnel, and having at its center a small peak of hard lava, resembles rather well a misshapen crater—the only place I saw where the soil configuration had such an appearance. It is also there that I have seen the prettiest layers of clayish pumice, consisting of a multitude of small balls, very brittle, with varied colors that made them very pleasing to the eye.”

“Around here, underground, there exist some layers of lignite that I have not seen on the spot, however. Among the many samples of it that we were given, a few were the

1 So called by the natives because of a sort of stone found there, that gives a ring like a bell, when struck. Ed. comment: That is still the meaning of the word *dandan* in the Chamorro language.

2 It is the Mayor of Inarahan who, for reasons of comfort and salubrity, has built his house on the summit of one of the Dandan Heights.

size of a leg, and all were very dark brown on the outside; inside, they were black, conchoid, and the grain very fine and very dense. All came from dicotyledon trees, and one could still observe the longitudinal direction of the wood fibers.”

“When going from Dandan to the village of Inarahan, I collected from the surface, at more than 10 *toises* [200 m] above sea level, some pieces of coral limestone, intact, and, a little farther, other similar ones that had been calcinated. I also found a calcinated piece of blue pocillopore, exactly like those living in the sea. The same remark applies to a valve of a spondylus filled with other shells, all spathed.”

“From there to Pago, which is exactly located at the neck of the island, where our first geological division ends, the land comes down and there are no longer any mountains. Only at a few places are there some high limestone cliffs. At Hypane, there is a cave,¹ where there is nothing much to see. What is remarkable is the sand on the nearby beach, which is volcanic in origin, whereas the rocks in the vicinity are coral limestone; this is a proof that there exists a layer of lava upon which this coral was deposited at periods when the level of the sea was much higher.”

“Small Apapa Island, and Orote Peninsula, are of coral limestone also, and belong to the division that we have just described; they have nothing much of interest, geologically-speaking.”

“We have already said that the northern part of the island is entirely of limestone, and generally rather flat. This sameness at all its points means that it can be described summarily. The seashores, very high and steep, are often without a beach. Only one site, near the north end, has seen fire; it is Santa Rosa, where one can find a hill that stands out in the middle of the countryside; its cone has been formed catastrophically, by an eruption through the limestone, as some fragments of limestone can be found at the summit, where some whole pieces of coral can also be found. Nothing, however, indicates that this small mountain ever emitted flames; the eruption would have happened when it was still underwater, and there were no solid lava flows. What was burned were entire banks of schistous clay, calcinated, pushed upwards and upturned in many directions. Just one such bank, rather large, was aligned NE—SW and seemed to continue under the vegetation as far as the sea; the others do not have a specific direction as such: their layers are excessively thin, brittle, and light; their colors vary between red, yellow and greenish. Next to it there are piles of earthy, pulverulent, material that has been ejected, as well as balls of compact lava here and there, in decomposition.”

“While visiting this part of the island, sometimes we met with very big, isolated, blocks of basalt, lying on top of the limestone, far from any center of eruption.² As they are useful for the inhabitants, who use them to make mortars to grind rice, many have been dug up on the spot to that effect, but the difficulty of transporting them later on have made them abandon the project. If one were to suppose that, a long time ago,

1 With a spring of rather good water in it, and a few stalactites.

2 Mr. Duperrey, who has examined these sorts of spheres, gives them 3 feet in diameter. “One can find them almost on all parts of the island, even on the bottom of the coral flats between the reef barrier and the coast,” says he.

there might have been buildings in the neighborhood of such places, he might also say that such stones have been transported there; however, the total lack of drinking water makes this an unlikely hypothesis, and one must necessarily accept the fact that they have been thrown there by eruptions.”

“Within the inlets along the coast that are protected from the winds and currents, there are living corals, at work to reduce their surfaces. These small animals have already filled, so to speak, the huge area of Port San Luís, where ships now find only narrow paths to reach the anchorage.”

Rota and Saipan.—“Although we just passed rapidly through the islands located north of Guam, we nevertheless saw, while following their coasts, that they have much in common with the latter, in that they are either entirely formed of coral limestone, or else of limestone with volcanic mountains. Rota belongs to the former category, and Saipan to the latter. Our observers who did visit these islands, have brought back some branches of coral that they picked up at a great elevation above sea level.”

Aguijan and Tinian.—“The islands of Aguijan and Tinian have between them great similarities, not just in their soil, which is all limestone, but also in their vegetation, which is generally thin and poor. These two islands, analogous in formation, seem to have been parts of only one island at one time, with the same elevation. One would have to suppose, in this case, that the whole intermediary part would have sunk during some catastrophe, other than simple wave action, because I am led to believe that the level of the ocean has come down, and can only have encouraged the development of these islands.”

“Mr. Gaudichaud did not find any sign of volcanic activity at Tinian, except for two pieces of ball lava that he thinks were thrown there, but he did not visit the whole island, and it is possible that, in some isolated place, there might have been a volcanic peak that pushed its way through the limestone layers, as occurred at Guam. Since we did sail close by Tinian with the corvette, we have seen that the sheer cliffs that border it are full of crevasses and caves.”

Farallon de Medinilla—“The horizontal layers of the flat island called Farallon de Medinilla, appear to have been strongly affected by earthquakes, that are very violent in this archipelago, as we had the opportunity to experience it.”¹

1 These **earthquakes** occur without any warning signs, and without the sea rising during or after their action. The strongest that we have felt lasted from 12 to 15 seconds, with double the effect near its end; the earth was seen waving from North to South; like waves on the sea. We thought that such jerks would have brought down many buildings in our European cities, but here, the method adopted in tying all parts of the houses to some wooden piles planted in the earth, makes this accident very rare. The huts of the people, entirely of wood, have nothing to fear from similar accidents.

Sarigan.—“Sarigan is a truncated cone, some 300 *toises* [600 m] or more above sea level, rather similar to Stromboli in shape.”¹

Farallon de Torres— This small island,² high, arid and cut sharply on its south side, is but a rock cut vertically; some horizontal layers and others that are inclined, show that this island is volcanic.”³

Guguan.— It is an island with a small size, that seems to be higher than the previous one. There is no doubt that it was a volcano before; though there are no more lava flows, today there is only smoke rising from it. The largest of the vents is placed between some peaks⁴ that are, no doubt, leftover pieces of a crater wall. These subterranean exhalations come out in whitish puffs, and deposit on one side of the funnel a substance with the color of sulphur.”

“The southern part is abrupt, unequal, and covered with red ash; the eastern side, also very steep shows furrows that are ancient lava flows, forming various peaks, covered with grasses; plants even grow inside the crater. On the slope of the mountain, many other vents let smoke through, and effectively turn this island into nothing but a pile of sulphur.”

General comments.

“The details that we have given about the Mariana Islands that have been affected by fire, specially Guam, tend to show that, at a very long time ago, they were formed by underwater volcanoes that have pushed up the bottom of the sea—as happened recently in the Mediterranean Sea—and were born on the surface. We find proofs of this in the limestone, shells and siliceous starfish at the summit of the mountains of Guam.”

“Then, and still underwater, the sea has obviously accumulated with much regularity, at the base of these volcanic mountains, some banks of limestone mixed with coral debris. This formation extends very far and in a uniform manner, since it is found at the islands of Rota, Aguijan, Saipan, Farallon de Medinilla, etc. Speaking of Guam, we have mentioned a crag made entirely of this rock, deposited upon a lava flow at the bottom of the water, which is now made obvious only by the presence of volcanic sands.”

“When the ocean level had dropped significantly, all the limestone layers, by appearing on the surface, contributed to the enlargement of these islands; some of them had been but isolated volcanoes at first. There are some, such as Rota, Farallon de Medinilla, etc, that are formed only of this limestone, upon which the coral polyps had long periods in which to grow; what supports this theory is the fact that, at Rota, one finds whole branches of these polyps, intact, at great heights.”

“As soon as circumstances favorable to the organic kingdom occurred, vegetation grew vigorously upon these new lands; nevertheless, at some places, it must have suf-

1 Ed. note: He is describing Anatahan instead.

2 Ed. note: He is describing Sarigan instead.

3 Ed. note: He is describing either Sarigan or Guguan.

4 Ed. note: He is describing Alamagan instead of Guguan.

ferred upheavals, brought up by the activity of underground fires. That is why one finds, at Dandan in Guam, some tree trunks that have been buried and carbonized.”

“Finally, some eruptions took place through the limestone itself, as shown by Santa Rosa Peak, already mentioned.”

“The underground fires of Guam seem to have been extinct for many years, but two of the more northerly islands of the Mariana archipelago are still alive; they are Pagan and Asunción.”¹

“From all the facts that we have just enumerated, there seems to result that in this part of the globe, the sea level has come down,² and that the islands, far from having been formed out of the Indian continent—as Buffon had theorized—as land that the ocean had eaten and markedly submerged. To the contrary, it appears that the land was born out of the waters. If this phenomenon occurred gradually, as we are inclined to believe, a few of those, because of their small height, must have appeared a long time after the others.”

Mineralogy.

Metals.—“Some trustworthy persons have told us that, at Guam, the sand of many rivers, notably that of Inarahan and of Umata, contain iron nuggets. Doctor Quoy, during the excursion of natural history that he made inland, has verified this comment; near the mouth of former river, he did find iron-bearing sand. It is also said that the iron nuggets in the Inarahan River are purer than those in the Umata River.”

Tradition has it that the first Jesuits who resided on Guam extracted a certain metal from a mine located between Inarahan and Dandan; today no-one remembers what it was. Was it copper? even silver?

Earths for pottery.—The vicinity of Tachoña, and a few other places have aluminous earths of various colors, that are fine-grained, and would be useful in making pottery. The former inhabitants used them for this purpose.

Sulphur.—Some sulphur can be found on Pagan Island in rather large quantity, and surely some could also be found on the other islands in the archipelago where volcanoes are active, but there is none on Guam. Moreover, this mineral substance, which could be of commercial importance, is not at all exploited here.

Coal and peat moss.—Many persons report having seen samples of coal on the Dandan Heights. Dr. Quoy, who has examined them, thinks that they are simply lignite, or carbonized wood fossils. As far as peat moss is concerned, it is possible, as we have been told, that some could be extracted from the marshy lands situated to the east, or rather to the southeast, of Agaña.

1 There was formerly a volcano on Agrigan Island, not far from these two islands, but it is now extinct. Don Luís de Torres, who gave me this information, also told me that there are two volcanoes on Pagan, one of which is the largest in the whole archipelago. Unfortunately, we passed at a great distance from this island.”

2 Or that the land has risen, due to underground fires.

Salt peter.¹—Some is found on Guam, and it was even used in the manufacture of gunpowder, as we will explain further in the section on the manufacturing industry.

Rock analysis.—Mr. Huot, who has collected some small rock samples from Guam that Mr. Gaudichaud had given him, has noted some carbonated lime, whose crystallization is of the type said to be primitive and cuboid, some silex of various colors, some of which contain crystals of hyalin quartz, and a siliceous rock containing veins and crystals of lime.

Section IV. Fertility of the soil; local products.

The souvenir that we had kept of the prodigious fertility of the Papuan and Molucan islands had made us somewhat blasé about the Mariana Islands, some of which are really exhibiting a charming scenery also. Here, as at Timor, we simply could not make proper comparisons; it is perhaps due to a similar prestige, but in reverse, that certain navigators have extolled too highly the islands that we are concerned with in this chapter. Let us see what we found here.

Guam.—The forests of Guam, though thick, do not however have this brilliant and gigantic aspect that some tropical forests are supposed to have; nevertheless, we have sometimes seen the same phenomenon that surprised us greatly at Rawak, that of trees growing on a soil devoid of humus. Here, the fig tree multiplied itself by covering dry rock with its shoots; there, the cycas grew on the steepest and barest of crags.

Many areas are covered only with forests, but others are used for planting or abandoned to large cattle that find there precious pasture land; indeed, few places show an absolute sterility.

If one can imagine a strip of land, two miles in width, beginning at Inarahan, rising northwards, passing Tarafoso, Tachiu, Ilic, then bending towards Tachuña, he would have seen the most wooded part of the southern division of the island. Now, if one traces a line of demarkation from Agaña to Pago, the whole region N.E. of this line is also covered with a huge forest. In truth, the trees are not intertwined with lianas that would fill all space in-between and make it appear like the rigging of some ship; however, it is not easy to cross the lands they occupy. "A shrub that was brought in some forty years ago, the *limoncito*, has been rapidly spread by birds which, liking their red and succulent berries, have sown the seeds that they cannot digest, on the whole surface of the island; well then, this plant being full of thorns, has formed thickets that are impossible to cross," says Dr. Quoy.

The largest savannas of this island are: 1) that of Laguña which covers mainly the area between the Sempahone and Tarofoso Rivers, beginning half a league from the sea and going northwest as far as the village of Agat; 2) that which covers the area from

1 Ed. note: Potassium nitrate.

the Sempahone River, to Tachuña, then as far as Tinkio. If one were to follow a line beginning there, going southwards and following the crests of the mountains, passing Talisay, to join the summits overlooking Umata, and then turning eastward in the direction of Inarahan, as far as the plains of Dandan, one would see only savannas. There is also one, very small, near Santa Rosa. Besides pastures, all of these areas support some hardwood shrubs; however, there are no breadfruit trees, no coconut trees, and no root crops, other than the *gabgab* but here and there can be seen some isolated groves.

Patches of ground have been cleared in the woods by the Spanish, to create artificial savannas, where the numerous cattle that has been introduced by them can find shelter from the heat of the sun.

The more fertile districts of Guam are those of Merizo, Umata, Asan, Agat, Sinaña and Inaharan; however, Agaña is the area that is most cultivated, as we shall see below.

From all the places that we have visited, the most pleasant, by its scenery and beautiful vegetation, is the space comprised between Tepungan and the capital. The beautiful sketch that Mr. Pellion has drawn of one of its vallies has been engraved as Plate 70 in our Atlas.

[Report of Mr. Bérard]

Aguijan.—“With flanks that are entirely rocky, this island is however crowned with a thick wood that extends to its highest parts. Seen at a great distance, it appears dry and arid, but when one gets near, it is judged very differently.”

Rota—“The uninhabited areas here are so full of bushes that access is made difficult; the appearance of these thickets would be something very drab to look at, were it not for the presence of groups of breadfruit trees, *dugdug* trees, tamarind trees, fig trees, coconut trees, and other beautiful trees that break the monotony of the landscape. In general, the eye is attracted by the beauty of the wooded parts of the island. Rocky lines sometimes cross these woods, but they have some tall trees growing out of them, whose roots grow downwards, seeking their life matter, and this does not detract from the overall scenery. The northern side, where there are sandy beaches, rather extensive, is covered with coconut trees, from the seashore to the foot of the mountain; from there to the summit, there is a continuous forest.”

Tinian.—“When approaching it from its southwest side, the appearance of Tinian is not at all pleasant; then, little by little, some greenery appears, as well as some tall trees on the top of the mountains; the rest is completely covered with brush and dry trees that give the land a yellowish color. So, during our excursions, we have rarely met with the beautiful sites that the emphatic descriptions of our predecessors had led us to expect at every step. The land that is near the seashore, in front of the village of Sunharon (Pl. 59), is mixed with sand and pebbles: as one goes inland, the soil becomes more and more reddish in color, and appears suitable for the planting of any crop. That

is what is surprising: arid plains in the presence of a soil that seems to be good and very appropriate for agriculture.”

“At a few places, we saw tall trees that had been upturned and were dead; elsewhere, we saw some brush that hardly rose above ground: one could say that a burning wind has destroyed everything. However, such leftover plants do indicate that the island must have been well wooded at one time, and that perhaps the authors of Anson’s Voyage were not exaggerating after all. The languishing condition of the vegetation today was no doubt caused by the great scarcity of rain water on the surface of the islands, itself caused by the destruction of too many forests.”

“The density of the forests that cover the S.E part of Tinian is such that access is impossible at various places.”

Saipan.—We cannot give a similar factual report about Saipan, which was not visited by our people. Seen from some distance offshore, the vegetation there seems magnificent; so, we do not doubt that it could support a numerous population.

Northern islands.—The islands that lie north of Saipan have appeared to us to be generally lacking in fertility; some of them are completely infertile, if we can judge this from a long distance—and we have often been convinced that this is not always possible.

Plants.

Few countries are as lucky as the Marianas, from the point of view of plants suitable to provide food to man; indeed, there are many species of breadfruit, palm, and banana trees, of yams, various other starchy roots, rice, and finally, corn. All of those are the main sources of food that seem to appear of themselves, in answer to man’s needs.

We will not repeat here the description of the coconut tree that we made while at Timor; it has the same uses here; the same for the areca palm, that provides the people with fruits for their betel and its cabbage for their table. The cycas, very numerous, provides nowadays an abundant source of starch; it was only since the arrival of the Spanish that the natives have learned to extract this nutritive substance, and to remove from it the harmful sap that had prevented them from using it before that.

The introduction of corn is even more recent; it was Governor Tobias who brought it from Manila in 1771.¹ Rice, contrary to what some travellers have said, is indigenous; the native name for it gives us an almost certain proof of this fact, but this is confirmed by the use the primitive inhabitants made of it, as we shall soon see.

The *rima* and the *dugdugis* is the same species of breadfruit that exists in two varieties here; the former is the preferred source of food for the islanders. Other staple foods come from a number of useful starchy roots that bear the following local names: *dago*, *nica*, *suní*, *piga*, *papao*, *baba*, *gabgab*, etc.

1 Ed. note: It first came from Mexico, of course.

The native fruit trees were not numerous, but the Spanish have naturalized many in Guam, among which are the mango, orange, lemon, pineapple, guava, pomegranate, grape, etc.

From the point of view of ship-building and industrial arts, the plants of Guam have some importance. There are also plants appropriate to the manufacture of ropes or woven textiles. There are still others that can provide oil, balm, varnishes with medicinal properties. Finally, there are many good pasture lands. Such is the wealth that nature provides in countries such as this one. Specific details can be found about them all in the following tables.

Firstly, we must repeat that, in the Marianas, the letters *o* and *u* are constantly interchanged; the same for the letters *l* and *r*, although we have followed normal usage in the orthography of [native] words. For instance, the word *pugua* could have been variously spelled: *pogoa*, *pogua*, *pugoa*...¹

List of the useful plants that grow spontaneously or are cultivated in the Mariana Islands, and specially on Guam.

Ed. notes: This list was originally alphabetical, according to French spellings, but the order has been kept here. For accuracy in my comments, I have consulted some specialized works, e.g. Purselove's Tropical Crops.

N° 1. Food Plants.

N°	Names	Remarks
1.	<i>Abas</i>	See Guava, n° 55.
2.	<i>Ado</i>	See Seaweed, n° 54.
3.	<i>Aga</i>	This name is given to the banana, when it is ripe; otherwise, it is called <i>choda</i> , or better <i>chod-a</i> . (See Banana, and Tchod-a, n° 15 & 114).
4.	Garlic	Exotic plant, introduced at Guam by the Spanish; it is little cultivated.
5.	<i>Akaon</i>	Palm tree producing an edible fruit, ²
6.	Pineapple	Fruit imported from Acapulco to the Marianas.
7.	<i>Anona</i>	Name given by the Spanish to the <i>atte</i> , or <i>anone</i> of our colonies. The cream contained inside this fruit is known to be delicious. (See Ate, n° 11). ³
8.	Breadfruit	See <i>Rima</i> and <i>Dugdug</i> , n° 40 and 107).

1 Ed. note: Where possible, I have adopted the spelling found in a modern Chamorro dictionary.

2 Ed. note: It is the pandanus, or screw-pine.

3 Ed. note: It is now called *ates*; it is sweet-sop.

9. *Areca* Called *Pugua* in the Marianas, *bonga* at Manila, and *areca oloracea* by botanists. This palm, considered as a food plant, is also called cabbage-tree because of the sort of cabbage at the top of its trunk.
10. *Asnud* Also called *asgnod*, *hasngot*, and *asgun*. It corresponds to our ginger. (See Ginger, n°52).
11. *Ates* This tree was imported from the Philippines, known elsewhere under the name of *assiminier*, and called *annona squamosa* by botanists. (See n° 7).
12. Eggplant European vegetable. little cultivated at Guam. There are three species here, all brought in from Manila.
13. *Baba* Also called *.bebe* and *Piga grande* at Guam. Sort of starchy root, which is an *arum* [i.e. taro] with red leaves. (See *Piga*, n° 98).
14. *Talisai* Name given to the *terminalia moluccana* of the botanists in the Marianas. Its fruit, called *badan*, contains an almond rather pleasing to the taste.¹
15. Banana There are at least eleven species of banana trees here, six of which, we are told, were imported. In the Marianas, this tree is generally known by the name of *chod-a*, or *chioda* [rather *chotda*] which is also the name given to its fruit when it is not ripe. Here are the various names for the existing varieties: *chotdan lago*, which means the banana of the foreigners; *marleng*, *langhi*, or *saulat-langhi*, *tugat*, *chotdan pagon* [small banana]; *fali sali*, *galadian*, *tanduki*, *mangas* or wild banana, whose fruit is not edible; and finally, the *abaca* [sic] brought from Manila to Guam by Governor Tobias. The latter species is very rare. The small banana has already been mentioned by Captain Crozet as being very delicious. The *chotdan lago*, introduced by the Spanish, is the Guinea banana.
16. *Bebe* See *Baba*, n° 13.
17. *Birenghenas* [From the Spanish *Berenhena*]. See Eggplant, n° 12.
18. *Bilimbi* We mentioned this fruit while at Timor, where its fruit is not appreciated. It is known in natural history as the *averrhoa bilimbi*.²
19. Wheat Mentioned here, not because it is grown in Guam, but to say that it was tried, unsuccessfully, and completely abandoned. The same can be said about barley.

1 Ed. note: Now classified as the *terminalia catappa*. This tree is called *Badamier* in French.

2 Ed. note: Called *pikue* in Guam, and commonly called the cucumber tree.

21. *Bonga* Tagalog word for the areca, and its nut. (See Areca, n° 9).
22. *Cocoa* Governor Tobias, who had brought cocoa from Manila, had also established some plantations of this precious tree in Guam, and they were successful; but today, they are abandoned, due to the lack of care of the inhabitants.
23. *Coffee* The culture of this bush seems to have been tried here only by Don Luís de Torres; he was not successful. It is true that propagation was tried only by the use of seeds, and those may have been of bad quality.
24. *Camote* It is our sweet potato, and the *convolvulus batatas* of the botanists.¹ There are three kinds in Guam, and they have all been imported. The red kind came from Manila; a greyish one came from the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands, and came via Agrigan, where some Anglo-Americans had settled; the third kind, white, came originally from Spain.
25. *Sugarcane* Guam has five species of sugarcane, all native. The largest type, which is green, is called *gaimo*; another, smaller, type whose nodes are farther apart, is called *masak*; another, smaller still, *niti*; a third [rather fourth] kind, whose stem is spotted red and green, but whose leaves are evenly green, *dana*; finally, the fifth kind, whose stem is also spotted, but with leaves that are longitudinally striped white and green, *mahonhan*. Recently, another exotic species of sugarcane, from the Sandwich Islands, have come to Guam via the Anglo-Americans and Agrigan. The *niti*, a variety of sugarcane, is but a tall herbacæa plant, of the genus *arunde*. The varieties that are most successfully cultivated here are the *gaimu* and *masak*. The sugarcane from the Sandwich Islands is no less advantageous, but these plants are still only considered edible plants in Guam.²
26. *Carambola* It is the *averrhoa carambola*, whose fruit, very similar to the *bilimbi*, is little pleasing.³
27. *Cabbage* Exotic vegetable, little cultivated at Guam. This name is also applied to the tops of certain palm trees, such as the coconut, areca, etc. which give to culinary dishes, a justly-esteemed element.
28. *Caribbean cabbage* The plant which we know under this name, is here called *suní*.

1 Ed. note: The Spanish word, *camote*, is now written *Kamuti* in Chamorro.

2 Ed. note: Meaning that they are not used to produce sugar.

3 Ed. note: Now called *bilembines* in Guam.

29. Palm cabbage See Palm, Coconut and Areca, n° 9, 32, 93.
30. Lemon We think that the lemon tree, widely distributed in the Marianas, is an exotic plant.
31. Pumpkin There are various kinds, imported from Spain and from Manila; they are all cultivated widely, and are produced in large numbers, unless drought has affected their growth.
32. Coconut This precious tree is known indistinctively by the names of *niu*, *niuk* and *niyok*. Mr. Gaudichaud has noted three varieties, already mentioned by Captain Crozet; the latter first mentioned the tall ordinary palm, then another which he called *é0 mi-vent* [lit. at half-wind], because it does not grow as tall as the previous, and whose fruit, once the coir has been removed, has a soft shell, says he, and can be eaten like the heart of the artichoke, similar in taste; and finally, the black coconut tree, which he says does not grow above 8 to 10 feet, and grows faster than the ordinary coconut palms. The fruit of the latter, small in size, has a flesh that is thicker and more delicate than that of other coconuts. The cabbage of the coconut tree is a very healthy food, much esteemed by the inhabitants, as well as by sailors, who eat it cooked in various ways, or as a salad.
33. Cucumber There are some that grow completely wild in the Marianas; others have been introduced by the Spanish.
34. Curcuma The natives call this plant *mangu*, *magnu* and *mengo*.¹ They use it as a condiment, as a dye, and as medicine; we know it also under the common name of Indian saffron.
35. Cycas This palm tree, which is the *cycas circinalis*, is known in the Marianas by the name of *fadán*, or better *fadang*. It is also generally known as the *federico*, the name given to it in the Philippines. From the marrow and the fruit of this tree, a sort of flour or sagu is extracted, after they have been macerated in water, to remove their poisonous quality. The inhabitants made great use of it nowadays. The name of *gaogao* is incorrectly applied to this flour, the same name given to the flour extracted from the *gabgab*. (See those words, n° 50 and 201).
36. *Dafao* Two wild roots, known in the Marianas under the name of *dafao*, whose scientific names is *boerhavia mutabilis* and *curculigo stans*, have the shape and the taste of the salsitis. They are little used nowadays, but formerly they

1 Ed. note: Now written *mango*; it is turmeric, or ginger.

- were eaten during periods of famine.
37. *Dago* *Dioscorea alata*. In Guam, there are seven varieties of this root, which we know by the name of yam; four of these are indigenous; the three others have come from Manila.¹
38. *Dana* See Sugarcane, n° 25.
39. *Duni* or *dune*² That is the name given to chili pepper (See n° 101). The inhabitants call [ground] pepper *duni lago*, foreign pepper, but it is not cultivated in Guam.
40. *Dugdug* or *digdug* It is the fertile species of the *artocarpus incisa* or bread-fruit; two varieties are known here: the *sin-dugdug* and the *dug-kalilao*. The leaves of the *sin-dugdug* resemble those of the *rima*, though they are smaller; those of the latter variety are, on the other hand, very different. The fruit of the *dugdug*, named *nanka*, is a pulposus substance containing 15 seeds inside, they say, and whose size are about like chestnuts, and they taste like them when cooked, but they can also be eaten raw, when they are really ripe. The pulp of the *dugdug* is not so well liked as that of the *rima*. (See that word, n° 107).
41. Spices The plants that fit this description here are: the ginger, curcuma, and pepper. (See those words, n° 34, 52, 101).
42. *Fadan* See Cycas, n° 35.
43. *Faai* When rice is still unshelled, they call it *saai* or *frai* om the Marianas; it takes the name of *pugas* or *pigas*, when it is unshelled. (See n° 108).
44. *Fedeng* See n° 35.
45. *Federiko* See n° 35.
46. Mongo bean A sort of small bean, exotic, is called *mongus*, the same as in Manila.
47. Fig tree See *Nunu*, n° 87.
48. *Frai* See *Faai* and Rice, n° 43 and 108.
49. *Gabe* or *gabi* Tagalog name of the plant called *suní* in the Marianas. (See this word, n° 111).
50. *Gabgab* or *gapgap* One of the eight roots that are used as bread by the natives. The botanist call it *tacca pinnatifida*. There are two varieties here, both giving a very good and nutritious starch.³
51. *Gaimo* It is the largest type of sugarcane growing in the Marianas.

1 Ed. note: There may be as many as 10 varieties now.

2 Ed. note: Now written *done*, or *donne*.

3 Ed. note: It is called 'arrowroot' in English.

- (See Sugarcane, n° 25).
52. Ginger There are many varieties, one small, and two big ones. This plant is called indistinctively *asnud*, *hasngot*, *asgun* and *asgnud*. The *asgun halum tano* is the wild ginger.
53. Pumpkin All types of gourds and pumpkins cultivated in Guam came from Spain or Manila.
54. Seaweed The ancient inhabitants ate a type of sea grass called *adu*, which grows in bunches on the rocks along the shoreline.
55. Guava Tree that is well propagated on Guam, where it is exotic. The naturalists call it *psidium pyrifera*. Locally it is indistinctively called *abas*, *avas* and *gayavas*. It produces a rather pleasing fruit.
56. *Goyavas* See Guava, n° 55.
57. Pomegranate It was imported from Spain by the Spanish.
58. *Haburse* *Cratava religiosa*. Tree originating from the Carolines. The Marianos eagerly seek it. Its fruits are succulent, oval in shape, and not less than 5 inches long by 3 in width.
59. *Halebak* Edible plant that sometimes grows on the roots of the tree called *balibago* (see that word, n° 171). It may be a type of mushroom, but I was given only vague information regarding it.
60. Bean The Spanish have imported to Guam, from Mexico and Manila, various types of white or colored beans.
61. *Hasngot* Local name of ginger. (See this word, n° 52).
62. *Hikama[s]* Sweet edible root, which is the *delichos tuberculus*. It is said to be exotic, although it is spread in the farthest corners of Guam and in the other islands of the archipelago. It resembles turnip, and is eaten only when cooked.
63. Yam See *Dagu*, and *Nika*, n° 37 and 84.
64. *Kafu* Sort of *pandanus* producing an edible fruit.
65. *Kahel* See Orange, n° 89.
66. *Leme* See *Rima*, n° 107.¹
67. Lentil *Cyticus cajan*. This leguminous plant has been introduced to Guam, in 1772, by Mr. Duclesmeur, one of the officers of Captain Crozet.²
68. *Limei* or *limai* See *Rima*, n° 107.

1 Ed. note: Now written *lemmai*, or breadfruit.

2 Ed. note: Captain Duclesmeur was in charge of the expedition, although Crozet wrote the narrative of the voyage, and often gets the credit for the whole project, even from other French naval officers, such as Freycinet, who should know better. It is probably the same as the *lens esculenta*, a pulse crop throughout Eurasia.

69. *Limoncito* It is the name given by the Spanish here to the dwarf orange tree, *limonia trifoliata*, which was imported from Manila, but propagated on Guam very rapidly. Its red fruit, called *orangine*, is the size of a small cherry, had the smell and taste of the orange, and is used to make preserves, rather pleasing.¹
70. Lemon Tree imported from China, and today naturalized on Guam.
71. *Mahonhan* See Sugarcane, n° 25. It is one of the least important varieties of this plant.
72. Corn It is maize, a precious grain, unknown to the ancient inhabitants of the Marianas; its naturalization is due to Governor Tobias.
73. *Magnu* See *Curcuma*, n° 34.
74. *Mangu* See *Curcuma*, n° 34.
75. Mango The inhabitants of Guam also owe the mango to Governor Tobias, who brought it from Manila.
76. *Masak* See Sugarcane, n° 25. The *masak*, a native plant, is one of the species of sugarcane that is the most sought after in the country.
77. Melon The various species of melon found in the Marianas have all been imported, and are rather well propagated to all places where there are plantations; they are some very good species.
78. *Mengo* See *Curcuma*, n° 34.
79. *Mongus* See Bean, n° 46.
80. Mustard Two kinds grow here; both are exotic. The leaf is eaten as a salad.
81. *Nanka* Fruit of the *dugdug*. (See this word, n° 40).
82. *Niti* Species of sugarcane (see n° 25). The *niti* is a tiny plant, and could be used as fodder, rather than food for man.
83. *Nidiok* See Coconut, n° 32.
84. *Nika* *Dioscorea esculata*. It is a species of yam which the Marianos make a great use of. There are four types; two are cultivated and one is wild; all are indigenous.
85. *Nipa* Exotic palm, brought from Manila, and producing an edible fruit.
86. *Niu* or *niyok* See Coconut, n° 32.
87. *Nunu* *Ficus indica*, commonly known as the fig tree. It produces a purple fruit that is rather sought after by the natives. It is remarkable that this tree is also called *nunu* at Timor.

1 Ed. note: Re-classified as the *Triphasia trifolia*.

88. Onion The Spanish have introduced various types of onions to the Marianas; however, except for one type that was already rare in 1819, all the others have disappeared, due to the lack of care on the part of the inhabitants.
89. Orange There are various species in Guam, with fruits that are of the sweet or sour kind; they are believed to be all exotic. Both the natives and the Spanish here call an orange *kahel*, a word that is not Mariano, not Tagalog, not Visayan, not even Spanish.¹
90. Orangine See Limoncito, n° 69.
91. Barley The culture of this grain has been tried on Guam, but without success.
92. *Pahong* Type of indigenous palm, with an edible fruit.²
93. Palm Among the palm trees that produce edible fruits, we have firstly the coconut, or *niyok*, then the *pahong*, *vakahun*, *kafu* and *nipa*. (See those words). The nipa came from Manila. The coconut and the areca have, besides their edible fruits, a cabbage that is also edible, and excellent food.
94. Grapefruit Mr. Gaudichaud states that this fruit exists on Guam; I did not see it; as we know, it produces a fairly large, but sour, orange.
95. *Papao* Sort of wild root resembling *piga* (see this word, n° 98); there are two species. Formerly, it was eaten during periods of famine; it is an arum.
96. Watermelon This exotic fruit, very pleasing in tropical countries, is very widespread here. Those cultivated at Inarahan are reputed to be the best in Guam. The Spaniards call them *sandia*.
97. Sweet potato See *Camote*, n° 24.
98. *Piga* There are three varieties of this starchy root, which is an arum. The inhabitants use it for food.
99. *Pigas* See *Pugas*, n° 102.
100. *Pigua* See *Areca*, n° 9.
101. Pepper This plant is extremely spread in the Marianas; its fruit is used as a condiment; the natives call it *duni* (See that word, n° 39).

1 Ed. note: *Kahel* is the Tagalog, or Filipino, word, for the sour kind. According to William Safford, it is the soap tree, or *citrus aurantium saponacca*.

2 Ed. note: It is another word for Pandanus (see n° 5).

102. *Pugas* It is the name given to unshelled rice in the Marianas; it is also called *pigas*. (See Rice, n° 108).
103. *Pugua* See Areca, n° 9.
104. Purslane Exotic plant; today it is very common in the Marianas, where much of it is consumed.¹
105. Starchy roots Few countries have as many of those as the Marianas; indeed, there are 11 species of *dioscorea* or yams, i.e. 7 *dago* and 4 *nika*; 12 species of arum, i.e. 6 *sun*i, 3 *piga*, 2 *papao*, and 1 *baba*; finally, 3 species of *convolvulus* or sweet potato, named *camote* locally. (See those words, above).
106. Grape See Vine, n° 116.
107. *Rima* In the Marianas, the pronunciation varies: *rimai*, *limai*, *lemei* and *limei*.² This tree, known to us as the breadfruit tree, is one of the infertile variety of the *artocarpus incisa*. There are two kinds: the *rima* as such, and the *rima palada*. The fruit is at least 10 inches in its largest diameter. Under a rough skin, one finds thick pulp which, once cooked, the fruit having reached its maximum size but still green, is analogous to potato, but its taste is more refined and pleasing. When it has reached its full ripeness, it becomes yellow and soft: its smell is then sweeter, but its taste has become insipid; in other words, its properties are completely different, and it is no longer used. We will mention its economic importance later on, and of its use as a building material, in the table that follows. (See n° 258).
108. Rice This precious cereal, as we have said, is indigenous to the Marianas. The inhabitants call it *faai*, *frai*, etc. (See n° 43 and 48).
109. Indian saffron See *Curcuma*, n° 34.
110. *Sin-dugdug* See *Dugdug*, n° 40.
111. *Suni* Plant of the family of the *caladium esculentum* or Caribbean cabbage.³ There are six varieties of this arum, some of which were brought in from the Philippines. Besides the root, the leaf and the heart of the plant can also be cooked and eaten. At Manila, dried leaves are preserved, and simply boiled, as needed. Among the roots available in

1 Ed. note: Although the French word, *pourpier*, is given, neither the Spanish nor the Chamorro word is given. So, the scientific name of this plant is unknown. Though believed exotic, it was mentioned as present on Tinian as early as 1742.

2 Ed. note: Add one more way, as it is now written *lemmai*.

3 Ed. note: The generic term for it is taro.

- Guam, the *.suni* was the most sought after by the ancient Marianos; it is still considered the best. Sometimes it is written and pronounced *sunin*, but the final -n is the mark of the genitive case, and indicates provenance; for instance, *sunin hinaong* means “*suni* that comes from a dry area;” *suni fechi*, “*suni* that comes from a swampy area,” etc.
112. *Talisay* See *Badan*, n° 14.
113. Tamarind Some pleasing preserves can be made with the its fruit.
114. *Chod-a* This is the name given to the banana tree in general, and its fruit when it is green. (See n° 15).
115. Tomato The red tomato, imported from Manila, and the green tomato, imported from Mexico,¹ are cultivated at Guam in small quantities.
116. Vine Plant introduced to Guam by the Spanish, where it grows very well; however, it is very rare that one can eat grapes at Guam, either because of the little care given to the vine, or because the fruit is eaten first by animals that are bothersome to agriculture, e.g. chickens, lizards, etc. even before it has reached maturity.
117. *Sandia* See Watermelon, n° 96.
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¹ Ed. note: Called *tomatillo* in Mexico, it is covered over with leaves.

N° II. Medicinal Plants.

Editor's note: See such references as the 3-volume set entitled: Handbook on Philippine Medicinal Plants, by Padua, et al., for details on medicinal properties and uses. Such Filipino sources are also useful to linguists.

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118. Acapulco plant. See Cassia, n° 126.
119. *Agap.* *Premna integrifolia.* This plant is used in the treatment of certain illnesses.
120. *Alankan.* Plant of the genus *delichos* or *phaseolus*, to which is attributed some refreshing qualities.
121. *Amargosa.* The Spanish also know this plant under the name of *balsamina*. It is used in Guam in the treatment of the mange.
122. *Areca.* Palm, widely spread in the Marianas, where it is called *pugua*. It provides the nut used in making betel.
123. *Asnud.* It is our ginger. (See n° 134).
124. *Betel.* The Marianos call this plant *pupulu*. Its leaf is used as an integral part of the chewable plug, so well known throughout the East under the name of betel. Formerly, this substance was mixed with the areca nut and lime, but not to tobacco, the latter plant not being known in the Marianas until a long time after the arrival of the Spanish. (See Tobacco, n° 149).
125. *Cabo negro.* Name given by the Spanish to a species of palm tree, imported from Manila. One of its products is used at Guam against hemorrhages.
126. *Cassia.* *Cassia alata.* This tree came from Acapulco to Manila, then from there to the Marianas. The name of Acapulco Plant, given to it at Guam, recalls its origin. The natives attribute great virtues to its leaf for the cure of leprosy, or St. Lazarus disease.
127. *Curcuma.* Called here *mangu*, etc. (See n° 34).
128. *Cycas.* The nutritious flour that is extracted from the fruit of the palm tree becomes edible only after an appropriate maceration has taken place, which dissolves and removes a poisonous substance, known for being a very efficient vomitive. Used with discrimination, this substance could possibly be a useful medicine. (See *Fedeng* and *Federiko*, n° 44 and 45.
129. *Daok.* See *Takamahaka*, n° 150).
130. *Duni.* See Pepper, n° 146.
131. *Etuni.* I do not think that this plant is indigenous; the Spanish knew it under the name of *tomate de los ratas*, (tomato for rats); it is used in bandaging ulcers.

132. *Fedeng*. See Cycas, n° 128.
133. *Fofgu*. Kind of blue bindweed which is widely spread on Guam; it is used for treatment hemorrhages.
134. Ginger. This plant, called *asnud*, etc. in Guam, is used in various medical preparations. (See n° 52).
135. Guava. The shoots of the guava tree, which is called *abas*, etc. in Guam, are used in the treatment of mange.
136. *Hagau*. Tree of the genus *premna integrifolia*; its bark and its leaf serve in dressing contusions.
137. *Hasngot*. See Ginger, n° 134.
138. *Ludugau*. Shrub called *volkameria inermis* by the naturalists. Its bitter wood is used with benefit in the treatment of intermediary fevers.
139. *Mangu*. The root of this plant is used in the treatment of certain illnesses.
140. *Mangas*. The fruit of the *mangas* or wild banana is used in Guam in the treatment of dysentery.
141. *Nunu*. The bark of the root of this tree, which is the fig tree, is, they say, an excellent remedy for stopping blood from wounds.
142. *Pakao* or *pekao*. Plant called by the Spanish *uñas de gato* (cat's claws), and by the botanists *guilandina bonduc* and *guilandina bonducelia*; I believe that it is the same one that is called *cadoque* at Ile-de-France. It is used in the preparation of various medicines.¹
143. Papaya. *Carica papaya*. A milky juice is extracted from the fruit of this tree; it is used as a purgative.
144. *Pugua*. See Areca, n° 122.
145. *Pupulu*. See Betel, n° 124.
146. Pepper. Plant known by the spicy quality of its fruit.
147. *Rima*. The leaf of the *rima* is used in dressing contusions and wounds; the resin that flows from this tree is also used to treat leprosy.
148. *Hierba de Santa Maria*. Literally "St. Mary's Herb", it is the *artesium vulgaris* of the botanists. Plant imported from the Philippines. It is regarded in the Marianas as useful in the treatment of some illnesses.
149. Tobacco. The Spanish have introduced this plant into the Marianas rather recently; formerly tobacco was shipped from the Philippines, for local consumption; Today it is generally

¹ Ed. note: A modern dictionary says that it is the *cresalpina major* and, in English, the wait-a-bit.

- cultivated by all inhabitants. It is consumed for the most part in the form of cigars, but it is also used as a medicine in the treatment of leprosy.
150. *Takamahaka*. This tree is called *daok* by the Marianos, and *palo maria* by the Spanish.¹ The resin that is extracted from it serve to dress wounds and certain sores.
151. Tamarind. The fruit os the tamarind has a known purgative effect.
152. *Chupa*. This local name given to tobacco, obviously comes from the Spanish word *chupar*, which means 'to suck.' A large number of [visiting] ssailors so indeed used the tobacco leaf as chewing material. (See Tobacco, n° 149).
153. *Tulang manuk*. Meaning 'chicken bone', because of the so-called similarity between the stem of this plant and the leg of a chicken. It is used to stop hemorrhages, and an effective antidote against the bite of certain poisonous fish, etc.

N° III. Plants used in ship-builing, in manufacturing, and in arts and crafts.

Editor's notes: Other studies of useful woods of Guam were made by Governor Pablo Perez in 1848, by Lieutenant William Safford in 1900, by E. B. Merrill, etc. (see Bibliography—Ref. section). To be compared with lists of Plants and trees, and woods of the Philippines, in B&R cumulative index.

153. *Aabang*. See *Haabang*, n° 206.
155. *Abaca*. A wild banana, imported from the Philippines, but not yet common in Guam. Its fibers are used to make excellent rope material. The abaca multiplies very rapidly, more so than the banana trees with edible fruits. We were told that each one- year old trunk can provide 10-12 pounds of fibers for the manufacture of ropes.
156. *Abas*. It is the guava tree. Its wood, gray in color, is light, but has an even texture, and is not porous.
157. Mahogany. I have not seen this wood, which, I believe, is called *anacardo* in Guam.² Would it be the same as the *anacardium occidentale* which Mr. Gaudichaud says exists on the plains of this island?³

1 Ed. note: It is the *calophyllum inophyllum*.

2 Ed. note: By the Spanish, that is; this is the turpentine tree.

3 Ed. note: *Acajou* in French; it does correspond to the cashew tree, known locally as the *kasoe*.

158. *Adda*. Wood used in making beams, for house bilding. It appears that it is the same as the *ladda*. (See this word, n° 214).
159. *Agag*. See Pandanus, n°273.¹
160. *Agau*. This wood is rather light, its texture little tight and light gray in color, is used for sides of boats and in pieces of lower importance in house construction.
161. *Agatelang*. Sort of *eugenia*,² giving a beautiful wood, heavy, compact, with very fine grain, and light walnut in color.
162. *Aña*. Tree from which beams are beamed. It could be the same as the tree called *laña*, about which I have no specific information.³
163. *Añilao*. Also called *anghilao*. It provides a white wood, very light, but with rather tight pores; it is excellent to make boards. It is used in ship-building, to may small yards and outboard beams.
164. *Añiti*. Perhaps it should be written *lañiti*; this tree would then be a *raun olfia*. It gives beams for house construction.⁴
165. Pineapple. The leaves of this plant provides sildy fibers that could be used in arts and crafts.
166. *Annona*. The wood of this tree, which is the *ates*, is light and whitish in color.
167. Breadfruit. See *Rima*, n° 258.
168. Areca. The stem of the areca is often used to build the walls of the huts or houses.
169. *Ates*. See *annonna*, n° 166.
170. *Badang*. See *Talisai*, n° 268.
171. *Balibago*. Name given to the *hibiscus tiliaceus* at Manila; more commonly known by the natives as the *pago* or *pego*. It gives a white wood, light, soft and spongy, little used in boat-building for this reason. Its bark is a much more valuable; fibers are extracted to make rope material, some fishing-lines, and even some rough cloths.
172. Bamboo. Named *piao* locally, where many species are known, some tall and others short. one kind has thorns coming out of its nodes, and is more durable; it is called *piao tituka* [thorny bamboo], or *piao lahi* [male bamboo]; the other

1 Ed. note: Now written *akgak*.

2 Ed. note: *Eugenia palumbis*, according to a modern dictionary.

3 Ed. note: Freycinet may have misinterpreted the word *leña*, which simply means 'firewood' in Spanish.

4 Ed. note: Now written *lagniti*, and classified as the *bleckeria mariannensis*.

is not so durable and is called *piao palao-an* [female bamboo].¹ The two smaller kinds are not much used in arts and crafts, except in small works such as treillis and other similar words, as we do with our cane, or rattan, in Europe. The uses of the big bamboo are numerous: vessels, various household utensils, flooring and other structural parts for the huts, etc.; however, although this wood is light and flexible, it is remarkable that the natives [of the Marianas] do not make use of bamboos for masts, yards, etc., as they do in the Asian archipelago.

173. Banana. See *Chod-a* and *Abaca*, n°155 and 270.
174. Wild banana. Said to be widely spread in the Marianas, where it is called *mangas*. Some fibers could probably be extracted from its stem, to make good ropes; the introduction of *abaca* to Guam, however, makes me believe that it is preferable to it. The stem of the wild banana, they say, is taller than all the other types of banana trees.
175. *Banulo*. Name given by the Spanish to the tree called *gonag* by the natives. (See this word, n° 203).
176. *Barra de San José*. This plant, which is known locally only by its Spanish name, was no doubt imported; it is used to make a sort of brandy, not as good as that made from the coconut tree.²
177. Cabinet-making. See the words: Mohogany, *agatelang*, *daok*, *gago*, *gonag*, *haabang*, *ifik*, *limoncito*, orange, and *chiopag*.
178. Lumber. The woods that are used in the Marianas mainly for construction are: *agau*, *daok*, *yoga*, *dugdug*, *gago*, *hadyu*, *lago*, *kamachile*, *nonak*, *ufa*, *unik*, *puting*, *rima*, and *talisai*. (See those words in List N° III.). In Guam, the best timber for lumber can be found on the coast of Ritidian, Tarofof and Orote; until now, those of Tarofof have been little exploited, due to difficulty in transporting them overland. The greatest number of *rima* and *dugdug* can be found at Ahayan and at Apra.
179. *Cabo negro*. This palm, imported from Manila, produces black fibers, they say; I was not able to see either the tree or the fibers. Would it be the same as the *gumuti* seen at Timor? I cannot answer this question.³
180. Calabash. Many types of calabash, or gourds, are cultivated in the

1 Ed. note: *Bambusa blumeana* and *bambusa arundinacea* respectively.

2 Ed. note: Now known by a similar Spanish name: *bastón San José*. It is the *cordyline fruticosa*.

3 Ed. note: Called *gumati* in the Philippines (see B&R 29:38), it is the *arenga pinnata*.

- Marianas; some of them reach an enormous size, and all of them are used to make vessels for household use, plus two types of headgear used by men.¹ The largest calabashes can be divided into three varieties: one with a wide neck is called *sumag*; another, with a short neck is called *dyuba*; finally, the third one, smaller than the preceding, *linghig*.
181. Sugarcane. Many of the types of sugarcane found in these countries would be appropriate for the production of sugar. To this effect, we will mention above all those called *gaimu* and *masak*, and that from the Sandwich Islands. (See n° 25).
182. Caper. Widely abundantly in the Marianas, this tree offers, all year round, as the orange trees, some sweet flowers from which could probably be extracted, by distillation, some pleasant perfumes.
183. *Casuarina*. See *Gago*, n° 199.
184. Lemon. This shrub, now very common in Guam, could offer many abundant flowers for perfumery, and a precious wood for cabinet-making.
185. Coconut. The stem of this tree is used for fencing, and for rough framing of houses. The coir around the nut is used to make rope and yarn, very appreciated aboard ships. With the pulp of the nut, oil can be extracted. By treating the sap appropriately, from the sweet liquid thus obtained, one can make wine, sugar, vinegar, or brandy. As we have said earlier, the coconut tree is known in Guam and the names: *niuk* or *niyuk*.
186. Cotton. Two types of cotton plants are known here: one is a tree² and its cotton is only used to make mattresses; the other, smaller, gives a more refined cotton with longer fibers that are used by some families to make common cloth. The former is of Spanish origin, and it bears that name; its fiber is short and without much bind; the other comes from Manila. Both types were brought in by Jesuits during the early years of the conquest.³ The soil of the Marianas is very suitable for the culture of cotton; at Manila, they have to plant it every year, but on Guam and Tinian, it can be left in the ground, for 10 to 12 years, without fear of it producing less. It has now become wild, and it multi-

1 Ed. note: As in the Philippines, and called *salakot* there.

2 Ed. note: Known as the kapok, or silk-cotton tree. It is called 'Manila cotton' locally.

3 Ed. note: "Cotton seeds were planted in good soil and they give a good crop." (Fr. Solorzano, letter dated 29 May 1682, HM7:559).

- plies by itself at an astonishing rate. At Tinian, Mr. Bérard has seen entire mountains turned white by cotton plants, because no-one collects it. Guam produces even more cotton, but, because the population is larger, less of it is lost. A few persons cultivate it.
187. *Curcuma*. The root of this plant, called *mangu* in the Marianas, is used by the inhabitants to dye their cloth yellow. It is our Indian saffron.
188. *Dana*. See Sugarcane, n° 25 and 181.
189. *Daok* and *deok*. It is the *palo maria* of the Spanish. our *takamahaka*, and the *calophyllum inophyllum* of the botanists. It poveses a wood with an average hardness, light brown in color, sometimes veiny; its pores are tight, its grain very fine; it can be worked and polished easily. Generally, it is reserved for ship-building, for knees and side planks. The dimensions of its trunk are such that it is not rare that a dugout can be made out of just one piece; it is an excellent wood for this purpose; unfortunately, it is becoming scarce. A good resin is extracted from it.
190. *Digdug*. See *Dugdug*, n° 193.
191. *Dyoga* or *Yoga*. There is no better wood for masts; its qualites on this respect are rather good, when the wood is green; when dry, it is breakable; so, it generally does not last long. It is also used to make dugout canoes, as well as knees and side planks. This wood, of a rough grain, is gray-yellow in color.¹
192. *Dyoba*. See Calabash, n° 180.
193. *Dugdug*. It is the name of the breadfruit tree whose fruit is fertile; its wood, light and porous, walnut in color with a light red stain, can be polished. It is durable when used to make huts and furniture. The size of this tree is such that dugouts of a single piece can be made with it, but as its wood is porous, it is not preferred for this purpose. It gives a resin employed variously, in medicine, ship-building, and the arts.
194. *Dug-kalilao*. Abbreviation of *dugdug-kalilao*. Variety of the previous tree, with the same uses, with the same advantages and disadvantages.
195. *Fago*. According to naturalists, this tree is a *rauwolfia*. Beams for houses are made from it.
196. *Fedeng*. See Cycas, n° 35 and 128. This palm produces food only after some maceration.

¹ Ed. note: Now classified as the *elæocarpus joga*.

197. Fig tree. Called *nunu* in the Marianas, it could be used in ship-building.
198. *Firak*. The bark of this tree is used to make rope. We do not know its botanical name.
199. *Gago*. *Casuarina indica*.¹ It is the most durable wood in Guam. Its grain is fine, its color is light brown when it is freshly cut but dark brown when it is older. When used in house construction, it lasts a long time. It is not used to make dugouts, because of its high specific weight. There are many such trees in the vicinity of Pago.
200. *Gaimu*. See Sugarcane, n° 181.
201. *Gaugau*. Leguminous shrub, called by the botanists *erythrina indica*. Some beams are made of it, for house building. The word *gaugau* is improperly used, instead of *gapgap* (see n° 35 above)—no doubt because it is not so easy to pronounce—which is either the flour made from the root of the *gapgap*, or from the pulp and fruit of the Cycas palm, known here under the names of *fedeng* and *federiko*. (See n° 44 and 45).
202. *Genao*. Hard wood, light yellow, and slightly perfumed; it is used in house building, but, because it has many knots and is covered with slime [under its bark], it is little appreciated.
203. *Gonag*. The Spanish call this tree *banulo*, and the botanists *hibiscus populueus*. Its red-colored light wood is used to make very beautiful furniture.
204. *Hadyo lago*. Or more exactly *hadyon lago*, which literally means 'foreign tree'.² It is a species of *mimosa*, whose wood is light, not dense, very light brown in color; it appears suitable to receive a good finish; it is used in ship-building, but only for side planks; it is also used to make shooks for barrels. This tree, not very abundant in the Marianas, bears an oily fruit which could undoubtedly provide some oil.
205. *Hagau*. *Premna integrifolia*. Tree that gives a rather light wood, but with a very tight grain, light gray in color. Its bark is used by local physicians. (See n° 136).
206. *Haabang*. Species of *eugenia*, whose wood is hard, with a very fine and tight grain, appears suitable for furniture-making; It is used in Guam to make piles for huts, as well as furniture; its oily fruits, loved by the pigs, could probably produce oil.
207. *Ifik* or *Ifil*. Red veined wood, very hard and of a considerable specific

1 Ed. note: Now classified as the *casuarina equisetifolia*. It is commonly called the ironwood tree.

2 Ed. note: It would now be written *hayun lago*.

- weight; very good for constructions on land and underground, but useless in salt water, where it is promptly destroyed; it is suitable for furniture making. The botanists class this tree among the *swartzia* or the *jonesia*.
208. Indigo. There are two kinds: *indigofera anil* and *indigofera tinctoria*. Both were brought from Manila by the Jesuits. These plants have thrived very well, and now grow wild. There are some in Tinian, Saipan, and perhaps also on other islands as well. During the term of Governor Tobias, the inhabitants were cultivating this plant with care, but, in 1819, it was almost abandoned.
209. *Kahel*. Name given here to the orange tree. Its flowers could be used in perfumery, and its wood also for cabinet-making. (See n° 89).
210. *Kamachile*. Tree that is said to have been imported from the Philippines, and that the botanists call *mimosa dulcis*.¹ The boat builders find curves, and the tanners find a substance appropriate for tanning leathers that is then called yellowish leather.
211. *Kastor*. This is the name given to an exotic plant, from which an oil is extracted; we ignore the proper name of this plant.²
212. *Katud*. Tree of the *araliacæa* family. Its wood, not much appreciated, is used in house building.
213. *Katud-kunao*. The same thing can be said of the *katud-kunao*, classified by botanists among the *claoxylon*.³
214. *Ladda*. This could very well be the same plant as the one called *adda* or *ladda* above (see n° 158 and 218). According to Mr. Gaudichaud, the latter would be the *morinda citrifolia*. The bark of its root is used as a dye.
215. *Lalandyu*. Tree that has part of its roots off the ground; these roots are anormally flat in the vertical direction. Some believe that it could be used in arts and crafts.⁴
216. *Limoncito*. Shrub imported from Manila, and known under the name of 'dwarf orange tree.' Its wood, rather heavy, with a tight grain, is white in color but slightly yellowish, is appropriate

1 Ed. note: It has been re-classified as the *pithecellobium dulce* (Roxb.) Benth.

2 Ed. note: It is the *Ricinus communis*, or castor-oil plant, called *tangan-tangan* in the Philippines and now called *agaliya* in the Marianas; its oil is a well-known purgative. This plant should have been listed under Medicinal Plants.

3 Ed. note: Now written 'katot' and classified as the *claoxylon marianum*.

4 Ed. note: Perhaps the same as the *lakanyok* whose scientific name is *xylocarpus granatum* (carapa moluccensis).

- for cabinet-making. Its fruit, red and as big as a cherry, is sometimes called 'orangeine.'
217. *Longhig*. See Calabash, n° 180.
218. *Lodda*. See *Ladda*, n° 214.
219. *Io-o*. Long sea grass, whose nature is not known to us; it provides fibers to make fishing-nets with.
220. *Ludugau*. *Volkameria inermis*. This shrub bears a very pleasing flower; we saw the Carolinians visiting Guam use it to make necklaces.¹
221. Corn. Indian corn, or maize, is sometimes used in Guam to make a brandy, inferior in quality to coconut brandy.
222. *Mangas*. See Wild banana, n° 174.
223. *Mangu*. See *Curcuma*, n° 187.
224. Mangrove. There are two types of this maritime tree: those that the naturalists call *rhizophora mangle* and *rhizophora niurenonata* [???]. They are used, according to Dr. Gaudichaud, for tanning the leather known under the name of 'brown leather.'
225. *Mango-lago*. Literally 'foreign saffron,' it is probable that it is our European saffron. I have not seen it.
226. Mango. The mango tree would provide a very good wood for ship-building and house-building, if it were not so rare here.
227. *Mapuañao*. Species of *gauarea* of the botanists? A rather common tree, giving a white wood, with fine grain, and a light yellow color, turning to a dirty gray after a while. Although this wood bends easily, it is very strong and durable. It is used to make oars and tool handles.
228. *Masigsig*. In the least fertile places on Guam, and under the name of *masigsig*, there are two creeping plants whose bark provides textile fibers to make rough cloth and fishing lines. It is said that the Carolinians, who have them also, use them for this double purpose, but in the Marianas, then as now, they are never used. Dr. Gaudichaud has classified them, one as the *triumfetta fabriana* and the other *corchorus tomentosus*.²
229. *Masak*. See Sugarcane, n° 181.
230. *Mengo*. See *Curcuma*, n° 187.
231. *Netar*. Sort of reed whose leaves are used to thatch the houses, and the stem to make fence posts.
232. *Nitti*. See Sugarcane, n° 181.

1 Ed. note: Now written *Iodigao* and re-classified as the *clerodendrum inermis*.

2 Ed. note: Now written *masiksik* and classified as the *wedelia biflora*.

233. *Nidyuk*. See Coconut, n° 185.
234. *Nonak* or *Nonag*. *Hernandia sonora*. Very common tree in Guam, whose porous wood, very light gray in color and almost white, provides for ship-building some knees and side planks; single-piece dugouts can be made from it. Its fruit gives a much appreciated oil, specially for paint, because it dries quickly and perfectly.
235. *Nunu*. See Fig tree, n° 197.
236. Oleaginous plants. Among the most useful oleaginous plants, let us mention the coconut, the *Hadyulago*, *haabang*, *kastor*, *nonak*, *pato blanco*, sea-peanut and the papaya.
237. Orange. See Kahel, n° 209.
238. *Ufa*. *Heritiera littoralis*. Very strong wood and excellent for ship-building, mainly for knees and joining pieces. Its color, light brown, becomes dark brown as soon as it is cut. Its pores are tight, its specific weight is low; it does not rot in water.
239. *Unik*. Tree from 15 to 20 feet in height, by 12 to 18 inches in diameter, whose botanical name is *tournefortia argentea*. It preferably grows on the seaside, and provides only knees for ship-building.
240. *Pahong*. Once the roots of this tree have been split, they can be used as joining pieces, as they are sometimes used; they are then called *hunguan*.
241. *Pago*. See Balibago, n° 171.
242. *Paipai*. The wood of this tree is used in house building, as beams and joists.
243. Palms. The trunk of many palm trees is frequently used as columns for houses or huts; their leaves serve to make thatch, and to make baskets, mats and various other similar objects. The pandanus is the palm that is most often used for the latter articles. (See *Bakua*, n° 273).
244. *Palo blanco*. Vague name in Spanish given to a tree with a white wood, not durable, used to make small dugouts and planks; it also gives a fruit from which oil is obtained.
245. *Palo maria*. See Daok, n° 189.
246. *Panao*. Tree providing lumber, such as beams, columns, etc. The naturalists classify it as part of the genus *claoxylon*.
247. Papaya. The oil that is extracted from the fruit of this tree is mostly used in medicine. (See n° 143).
248. Perfumes. In general, the Mariana Islands are relatively poor in perfumes: the flowers of the orange tree and lemon tree

- are the most interesting ones in this regard, but the shrubs that produce them all come from other countries. Nevertheless, mention should be made of a local wild kind of *jaseun*, locally called *nanago*; the magnificent flowers of a caper tree, rather common in the forests, and a strong-smelling *baslit*?? which apparently came from the Carolines.
249. *Piao*. See Bamboo, n° 171 and 172.
250. Sea-peanut. Exotic plant, named *arachis hypogæa* by the botanists, which produces oil.
251. Oil-producing. See Oleagineous plants, n° 236.
252. Textile fibers. See above, the words *abaca*, pineapple, *pago*, *mangas*, *cabo negro*, coconut, cotton, fitak, *masigsig*, and *chod-a*.
253. Dye-producing. See above, the words mangu, ladda, indigo, *roucou* and *sibukao*.
254. *Puaña*. Wood that is whiter than the *mapuñao* (see this word, n° 227), but with the same qualities and uses.
255. *Pugua*. See Areca, n° 168.
256. *Puting*. *Barringtonia speciosa*. Pretty white wood, having a rather fine grain; it is worked easily; it is used in ship-building to make knees.
257. Resins. The *rima*, the *dugdug* and the *daok* give precious resins that are used in medicine as well as in ship-building and in the arts.
258. *Rima*. It is one of the most beautiful trees in the Mariana Islands; its trunk is strong, straight, and grows smooth to as much as 10 to 12 feet in height before the first branch. The wood of this tree is reddish, like that of the *dugdug*, and like it, can also be used in ship-building; single-piece dugouts are even made from it. It is also used in furniture making. A resin, or balm, can be extracted from its trunk and used in paint and in caulking boats.
259. *Rima-palada*. That is the name given to another variety of the *rima*. It gives the same products, used the same way as the *rima*.
260. Roucou. [French word]. A few people cultivate this plant at Guam, where I think it is exotic. It is known to provide a red dye.
261. Saffron. See Mango-lago, n° 225.
262. Indian saffron. See Curcuma, n° 187.
263. *Sibukao* or *sibukadu*. This tree, which came from Luzon Island, and is placed among the *guilandina* by the botanists, gives a good wood for furniture making, which is hard and dark orange in color, and can be highly polished; unfortunately, as the tree is very knotty, some young growth

- matter is often found. It could possibly be used as a dye material.
264. *Sos-hu* It is a *rubiaceæ* in tree form. It gives some beams and other pieces of lumber for house construction.
265. *Sumag* See Calabash, n° 180.
266. *Sumak*. Tree giving a durable wood, suitable for beams and joists; it should not be confused with the *sumag*.
267. Takamahaka. [Hawaiian word]. See Daok, n° 189.
268. *Talisai*. This wood, which we know better under the name of *badamier* [in French], has a color similar to that of the walnut, and, like it, is soft and light. In certain respects, it resembles cedar, but I believe it is inferior to it, although much use is made of it at Guam for ship-building, where it is used for keels, stems, knees and side planks.
269. Tamarind. Very good for ship-building.
270. *Chod-a*. Banana tree, from whose trunk there is no doubt that fibers can be drawn for various economical purposes, although they are inferior in quality to those of the *abaca* and the *mangas*.
271. *Chiugu*. Tree that provides beams and joists for house-building.
272. *Chiupag*. Red-colored wood resembling that of the cherry tree, but having light, darker, veins running through it; having very tight pores, it is hard, heavy, and weather resistant. Can be given a good polish, and is therefore appreciated for furniture making. According to the botanists, it is a *plumeria*.
273. *Bakua*. Palm, called *agag* in the Marianas, and pandanus by the botanists. Its leaves are used in a multitude of articles, such as mats, hats, bags, baskets, etc.

N° IV. Plants used as animal food.

N° Names	Remarks
274. Banana (trunks).	It is the best kind of fodder one can take on board ship, to feed sheep and goats.
275. Sugarcane.	Sugarcanes can be used for the same purpose, but only ashore, because they are difficult to maintain fresh at sea.
276. Corn.	Very good fodder, though rather costly.
277. Pasture lands.	Guam, Rota, Tinian and Saipan are rich pasture lands, appropriate for large cattle.

278. Starchy roots. Pigs are very fond of this type of food, and they give a very good taste to their flesh.
279. *Rima*. The leaves of this tree, solid, thick and of a beautiful green, are excellent food for animals.
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Animals.

Animal products are not less abundant than plant products in the Marianas. Formerly, there were no large quadrupeds on these islands; but from the first days of Spanish settlement, cows were brought in, then in succession, the deer, pig, goat, horse and donkey. For a long time already, some of these animals live in the wild there, but the rest continues to be the object of special care on the part of the colonists.

The dog, named by the natives *galago*, a contraction of *gaga lago*, i.e. foreign animal, is obviously an exotic animal. Many of these animals prefer to live in the woods rather than become domesticated. The same thing can be said of the cats, which exist in large numbers at Guam; the name of *keto*, or *geto*¹ given to them by the natives is obviously a corruption of the Spanish word *gato* and indicates their origin.

All indications are that rats and mice are the only indigenous quadrupeds in the Marianas; their numbers are prodigious, at the great prejudice of the inhabitants and their crops.

Among the birds, only one was formerly domesticated; it was the *sesenget*, a sort of gallinacean with very long legs, to which our naturalists have given the name of megapode of La Pérouse. As far as our European chickens are concerned, introduced here by the Spanish, there are but a small number of them; the name of *manok* given to them being a Tagalog word, makes us believe that they were originally from the Philippines.

According to our custom, we will present in some tables, alphabetically² under many general titles, the various economical details that we have gathered on the whole of the animal products of the Marianas: firstly, the mammals, then the birds, the fishes, the crustaceans, the testaceans, mollusks, and polyps, and finally the egg-bearing quadrupeds, reptiles and insects.

1 The Marianos very often confuse the sounds *g* and *k*.

2 Ed. note: In the original French list. The sequence has not been changed in this translation.

N° I. Mammals.

N° Names	Remarks
1. Donkey.	At the time of the departure of the Uranie , there were hardly a dozen donkeys left. They had originally been brought over from Mexico, and they belong to a good breed.
2. Whale.	Whales are rare in this neighborhood.
3. Cow.	The missionaries are responsible for having brought this precious breed, from New Spain, California, and from the Philippines. Today, there are many cows on Guam, Tinian and Saipan. On the last two islands, their coat is entirely white; in fact, it is very rare that a single black spot can be found on their skin; that is not the case in Guam, where they come in many colors.
4. Deer.	Originally from the Philippines, and brought to Guam by Governor Tobias. The deer live here in a wild state, and they have multiplied considerably.
5. Cat.	Most of the cats brought to Guam by the Spanish now live in a wild state. They create havoc in the countryside, where, like foxes, they prefer to eat chickens rather than rats.
6. Bat.	Two kinds are known; well, there are at least two words given to it by the Marianos: the large bat is called <i>fanihi</i> and the small one <i>genes</i> , however, it appears that it may be the same animal, at different ages. Be it as it may, our naturalists have imposed on the large bat the name of <i>roussette keraudren</i> ; it is seen gliding in broad daylight, in the manner of birds of prey, but while resting, it clings to trees or rocks. The Marianos eat the flesh of this animal, in spite of its bad smell.
7. Horse.	It was in 1673, as we said elsewhere, that the first horse was brought to Guam. It was never easily propagated; in 1819, there were only about 15 of them.
8. Goat.	The first goats brought to Guam came from Acapulco, and were placed on Tinian, where they multiplied considerably. Those seen at Guam came originally from the Philippines. The soil here agrees with them; they had increased to great numbers, but indiscriminate hunting and the lack of care have reduced their numbers significantly.
9. Dog.	We have already said that this animal, called <i>galago</i> locally, They have become wild and cannot always be trusted while

- hunting, but when they are taken while still young, they can be trained successfully, and they are appreciated.
10. Boar. See n° 17.
11. *Fanihi*. See Bat, n° 6.
12. *Galago*. See Dog, n° 9.
13. *Genes*. See Bat, n° 6.
14. *Murciélago*. It is the name given to the bat by the Spanish colonists here. (See this word, n° 6).
15. Sheep. Exotic animal, not much propagated in the Marianas. A certain grass, which they are fond of, may be harmful to them. Forty sheep, newly imported from the Philippines, died at Guam for this reason, in the space of one week.
16. Mule. The mules now living in Guam were all born here, but little care is given to multiplying them; there were only about 10 of them in 1819.
17. Pig. All pigs now on Guam are derived from others brought from Manila and Lima. There are wild ones and domesticated ones; the wild ones are not as good. Before the introduction of the deer on Guam, the wild pigs were much more numerous; would it be true, as I have heard, that the deer kill the pigs when they are young? Much salt pork is produced, not only for local consumption, but also to provide the ships that come here to refresh.
18. Rat. Guam and the other Mariana Islands are full of them; some are white, but all are pests for agriculture and food stores. They are seen along the coast in such large numbers that one can say that the beaches are covered with them, almost like ants. However, the inhabitants make few efforts to destroy such harmful animals, persuaded as they are that their efforts would be in vain. This destructive animal is known in the Marianas under the name of *chaka*.
19. Roussette kéraudren. See Bat, n° 6.
20. Mouse. Animal that is also in large numbers in the Marianas, where it is called *dongo*.
21. Steer. See Cow, n° 3.
22. Heifer. See Cow, n° 3.
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N° II. Birds.

N° Names	Remarks
23. Sandpiper.	[Bécasseau in French. No remarks given.]
24. Duck.	There are three varieties of domesticated ducks at Guam; some, brought from Manila, have somewhat multiplied; others, brought from Lima, have fared badly, for lack of care; the third kind, brought from Mexico, is preferred. not only on account of its feathers, but also the delicacy of its flesh.
25. Sandpiper.	[Chevalier in French]. Shore bird, rather common in these countries.
26. Owl.	The ordinary owl also belongs to these islands, where it is known under the name of <i>monmu</i> .
27. Dove.	The naturalists have recognized here many species of doves. One, the <i>kurukuru</i> , here called the <i>totod</i> or <i>dudud</i> , is remarkable by its beautiful feathers, green mixed with some yellow, and its head feathers purplish; it is excessively common in the forests, where certain travellers, for instance, Captain Crozet, mistook it for a parrot (this bird does not exist in the Marianas). Three other doves are the <i>dussumier</i> , the <i>erythroptera</i> , and the <i>pampusan</i> ; the last-named, reddish in color, is very rare. There is a fifth species of small wild dove, known in Guam under the name of <i>kunao</i> , has purple feathers; the male has its throat white, and for this reason is known as the <i>kunao apaka</i> , which means white <i>kunao</i> .
28. Cock.	See Chicken, n° 53.
29. Crow.	The woods of Guam contain a small species of black crow, very noisy.
30. Curlew.	Shore bird, rather numerous.
31. Crab-eater.	There are some white ones, and others whose color is slate.
32. Turkey.	This bird, brought from America, had fared very badly in Guam; there are only about 8 to 10 individuals here now; a disease affecting the neck has killed them; their young are very difficult to raise.
33. <i>Dudud</i> .	See Dove, n° 27.
34. Warbler.	[No remark]
35. Fly-catcher.	[No remark]
36. Creeper.	These pretty small birds, red and black, eat the liquor from the palm trees and the honey from the flowers of this tree.

- They can usually be seen in the vicinity of houses.
37. Thrush. Said to be present in the woods of Guam.
38. Grosbeak. [No remark]
39. Heron. On the sea-shores. one can see some black and some white herons; in the swamps, a small heron with black wings; this last species is called *kakag* or *kakak* by the islanders.
40. Sea swallow. [No remark]
41. *Kakag* or *kakak*. See Heron, n° 39.
42. *Kunao*. See Dove, n° 27.
43. Martin-chasseur. [French word for the hunting type of kingfisher.]
44. Kingfisher. [No remark]
45. Megapose. See *Sesenget*, n° 57.
46. Starling. It is one of the most common bird in Guam, where it is called *sali*.
47. *Monmu*. See Owl, n° 26.
48. Fly-catcher. [No remark]
49. Noddy. Sea-bird that is seen in large numbers on the coast, specially near rocks.
50. *Utag*. Bird that specially belongs to the Carolines. It can be seen in the Marianas only on extremely rare occasions, when it is blown ther by strong winds. It was an object of superstition and fear on the part of the ancient inhabitants, as we will mention elsewhere. This bird is not big; its feathers are a dirty black, with some white spots.
51. Pigeon. The Governor of the Marianas had one in a cage in his garden, which makes us believe that his predecessors had tried to raise pigeons, but there is just one left now.
52. Golden plover. Shore bird, very common in Guam.
53. Chicken. This bird, brought from Manila, where it is called *manuk*, is common in the Marianas, where it is called *manuk nga palauan* [hen], while the cock is called *manuk nga lahi*.
54. Water hen. Is found in the swamps of Guam.
55. Rail. We have seen in the woods of this island a species of rail, very pretty, which does not fly, but runs very fast.
56. *Sali*. See Starling, n° 46.
57. *Sesenget*. A species of gallinacæa, black in color, which the ancient Marianos raised near their huts; it is very rare today. Our naturalists have given it the name of *magapode La Pérouse*.
58. *Sui-manga*. Pretty small bird, red and black.
59. *Tabon*. Tagalog word for the bird called *sesenget* by the Marianos. (See this word, n° 57).
60. *Totod*. See Dove, n° 27.

61. Turnstone. Shore bird, rather common in Guam.
 62. Turtle dove. Some travellers have called turtle dove the bird which we have mentined above as a dove. (See this word, n° 27).
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N° III. Fishes.

N° Names	Remarks
63. Surgeonfish.	[<i>Acanthurus</i> in Latin]. This small fish arrives periodically at the Marianas, as does the <i>mañahak</i> (see this word, n° 95). It is fished and preserved, for domestic use.
64. <i>Alu</i> .	[The barracuda]. Very dangerous fish, very feared by the natives, and called by the Spanish <i>rompe candado</i> [lock-buster]. Remarkable by its habits, by its strength, it prefers to haunt the passes across the reef. It is said that its teeth as pointed like those of a saw. When it bites, it cuts like a sabre. The length of this fish is between one and five feet. The young of the species sometimes jump into the air, and they are then much more to be feared; when they have reached their full growth, they seldom or never jump.
65. <i>Anaho</i> .	This may be a species of dorado.
66. Eel.	The rivers of Guam support numerous excellent eels. The ancient Marianos called this fish <i>asuli</i> but, due to a noteworthy bias, they left this food for the low-class people.
67. <i>Aspisurus</i> .	[No remark]
68. <i>Asuli</i> .	See Eel, n° 66.
69. <i>Achimau</i> .	See Hachuman, n° 87.
70. <i>Atulai</i> .	See Tuna, n° 111.
71. Triggerfish.	[No remark]
72. <i>Barrilete</i> .	Spanish name of the fish called <i>tosan</i> . (See this word, n° 117.)
73. Jack-fish.	[<i>Caranx</i> in Latin]. [No remark]
74. Cabot.	[French word for a Mediterranean fish]. Captain Crozet says that this fish is found in the rivers of Guam. ¹
75. Carp.	Same remark as the preceding.
76. <i>Carvalla</i> .	See Tuna, n° 111.
77. Diacope.	[French word. No remark]
78. Diodon.	[Porcupinefish]. In no country, says Dr. Quoy, is the diodon eaten, but in the Marianas the sort of displeasure

1 Ed. note: Probably confused with the mugil (goatfish), or the mullet.

- shown toward it would seem to indicate that they consider it harmful.
79. *Do-udu*. Small fish having dry flesh, and for this reason not much appreciated.¹
80. *Dorado*. See Anaho, n° 65.
81. *Fanihin-tasi*.² It is the spotted ray. The bites of its tail are, they say, lethal. This fish is not eaten, despite the opinion of certain persons who say it could be done without danger.
82. *Gaga*. Sort of flying-fish, whose fishery takes place in September.
83. *Glyphisodon*. Fish that is generally very small.
84. *Gomphosus*. [A type of wrasse. No remark given]
85. *Haluu*. It is our shark; not to be confused with the fish they call *alu*. The local fishermen fear both species equally, on account of the wounds they can inflict.
86. *Hatang*. See Mañahak, n° 95.
87. *Hachuman*. One of the most appreciated fish in the Marianas. It is fished in August, September, and October, when its length is usually 8 inches; it is almost round and without scales. The hachuman resembles our mackerel, but is not so wide and rounder. This fish is only 4 inches at first, and reaches its full growth only in September.
88. *Hitto*. See Mañahak, n° 95.
89. *Ii*. See Mamulang, n° 96.
90. *Kichu*. Small fla fish, not much appreciated.³
91. *Labrus*.⁴ [No remark]
92. *Lagua*.⁵ Type of fish with three varieties; the green variety is the object of a very curious fishing method, which takes place from August to December.
93. *Langugang*. See Mamulang, n° 96.
94. *Liso*. See Mañahak, n° 95.
95. *Mañahak*. Small fish, 2-1/2 or more inches in length, which is fished in large quantity during the last quarter of the moon, in April, May, June, and sometimes September. The naturalists place it among the *sidyansæ* [rabbitfishes]. There are two varieties, a small one called *hatong* when the fish is young, and *sesdyon* when it is fully grown; and a big one called, under the same circumstances, *liso* and *hitin*; however, the

1 Ed. note: Now written *doddo*, the *abudelfduf sordidus*, a damselfish.

2 Ed. note: Meaning bat-fish.

3 Ed. note: Convict tang, *Acanthurus triostegus*.

4 Ed. note: Perhaps the cleaner wrasse.

5 Ed. note: Also written *laggua*, it is the parrotfish, not to be confused with the *laga*, or the *laiguan*.

- word *mañahak* is generally used to mean both types. These fishes arrive periodically and in large numbers at the Marianas, and stay on the coast from three to four days at the most, after which they leave, to return only at the next season. The inhabitants make large provisions of them, for their table and they preserve them in various manners, by drying, salting, and marinating in vinager and aromatic herbs.
96. *Mamulang*. It is the fish which the Spanish call *taraquito muy grande* [large skipjack]. When it is very small, the Marianos call it *ii*, and *langugan* when it has grown to a average size. This fish is normally considered a healthy food, but in 1818, a strange thing happened; the men who ate some become poisoned, and remained almost two days in a stage of lethargy, although none died, and in spite of many remedies given to them to cure them; only the *asi-fætida* had an effect and saved their lives, after they had been sick for a long time.
97. Mackerel. See Tuna, n° 111.
98. *Matan-hagun*. This fish is among those most appreciated in the Marianas.¹
99. Mullet. According to Captain Crozet, this fish can be found in the rivers of Guam. It is also fished at sea. (See Tiao, n° 115).
100. Moray eel. [No remark]²
101. *Palgo*. Spanish name for a fish locally called *tagafî*. (See this word, n° 114).
102. Fishes. The favorite fishes of the Marianos are: the *matan-hagun*, the *atulai* and the *hachuman*. Among those that are eaten, the least appreciated are: the *kichu* and the *do-udu*. Among the river fishes are the eel, the mullet, the carp and the cabot. Those that are regarded as dangerous are, among others, the *tagafî* and the *manulang* which, it is believed, feed on small polyps off the coral reefs.
103. Flying-fish. See Gaga, n° 82.
104. Pomacentrus. [No remark]³
105. Ray. There are some of a large size at Guam, which are dangerous on account of the barbs with which their tail is equipped. (See Fanihin-tasi, n° 81.
106. Shark. See Haluu, n° 8.
107. *Rompe candado*. See Alu, n° 6.

1 Ed. note: *Morotaxis grandoculis*, the snapper.

2 Ed. note: Called *hagman* by the natives.

3 Ed. note: A type of damselfish, *fomho* in Chamorro.

108. *Saksak*. Sort of red fish taken at Guam, near the time of the full moon, during the months of September, October, November, and December.¹
109. *Sesdyun*. See Mañahak, n° 95.
110. *Scarus*. [No remark]²
111. *Tuna*. The local people give to a species of scombrus or mackerel peculiar to these countries the name of *atulai*, and the Spanish call it *caballo*.³ The *hachuman* resembles our European mackerel very much, but must not be confused with it. (See n° 87).
112. *Scorpion-fish*. [No remark]⁴
113. *Sidyan*. See Mañahak, n° 95.
114. *Tagafi*. This fish, good to eat during a great part of the year, is toxic during the month of May; if eaten during that period, it causes dizziness and intoxication, an effect attributable to the food the fish is then eating.
115. *Tiao*. It is the mullet, inhabiting both fresh and sea waters. When young, it is called *tiao achu*, and *ulitao* otherwise. It is caught in June, but mostly in July.
116. *Taraqito*. Spanish name for the *mamulang*. (See this word, n° 96).
117. *Tosan*. Big fish taken far from shore, during the months of September, October and November; the Spanish call it the *barrilete*.⁵

N° IV. Crustaceans.

N° Names	Remarks
118. <i>Ayuyu</i> .	Type of hermit crab, remarkable by the strength of its legs. The inhabitants use it for food.
119. <i>Admengau</i> .	Sea crab of a very large size.
120. <i>Agahaf</i> .	Sea crab, small-size, faster and flatter than the preceding species; likes to climb on the rocks.

1 Ed. note: It is the squirrel- fish.

2 Ed. note: The parrot-fish; see Laguna, n° 92.

3 Ed. note: The big-eyed scad, *trachurops crumenophthalmus*.

4 Ed. note: Ñufo, in Chamorro. The stonefish variety is dangerous.

5 Ed. note: Now written Tosun, it is the wahoo, a type of tuna.

121. *Atopalan*. Unlike the *agahaf*, it always remain in water, near the shores.
122. Shrimp. See Uhang, n° 133.
123. Prawn, river. [No remark]
124. Prawn, sea. [No remark]
125. Sea crab. See *Admengao*, *Agahaf*, *Atopalan* and *Hagui*, n° 119, 120, 121, and 130.
126. River crab. See Uhang, n° 133.
127. Land crab. See Panglao, n° 135.
128. Cray-fish. It is said that there are many cray-fish in the rivers of Guam.
129. Hermit. See Pagure, n° 134.
130. *Hagui*. Sort of crab inhabiting the shore.
131. Lobster. See Mahungang, n° 132.
132. *Mahungang*. It is the name given by the Marianos to the lobster, which is specially abundant on the rocky oast at the north end of Guam.
133. *Uhang*. Shrimp or river crab [sic]. These crustaceans are sometimes distinguished in *uhang-tasi* [salt-water shrimps] and *uhang-teñet???* [river shrimps].
134. Pagure. [French word for the hermit crab]. Guam has various kinds, and some of them are used as food by the inhabitants. (See Ayuyu, n° 118).
135. *Panglao*. General name for the tourlourou, or land crab; there are some huge ones, good to eat. One species has legs of equal size, another of unequal length. Near the shore one finds a crustacean whose shape is similar to that of the tourlourou, but with longer legs; the natives call it *panglao-tasi* [sea crab].
136. Thelphuse. Crustacean living near the rivers, where it digs deep holes.

N° V. Testaceans, Mollusks and Polyps.

N° Names	Remarks
137. <i>Ales-his</i> .	Sort of snail with a white shell, and smaller than the <i>peddis</i> . (See this word, n° 153).
138. <i>Aliling</i> .	Sea-snail, univalve, shaped like a top.
139. <i>Almeja</i>	[Spanish word] See Mussel, n° 150.
140. <i>Ansum</i> .	Name given to a small shell-fish that is good to eat.
141. <i>Kima</i> .	See Hima, n° 147.

142. Biche-de-mar. See *Holothuria*, n° 148.
143. Shell-fish. The number of those that are good to eat in the Marianas is not very high.
144. Mother-of-pearl. Beautiful pearl oysters can be found at various places on Guam, among others in Port San Luís and near Acahi-Fanihi Point, etc. Their mother-of-pearl is beautiful. It is said that such shells also exist in the Carolines, where their size is huge.
145. Sea dates. Shell-fish that is good to eat, but eaten only by the common people.
146. *Dogas*. Univalve testacean that moves by making small jumps.
147. *Hima*. [sic] Shell-fish called *le bénitier* in French, and *taclobo* in Spanish.¹
148. *Holothurias*. Sort of mollusk that is very common in the Marianas. The Spanish call it *bicho de mar*, and the Malays *tripang*. There are many species. The best, which is the rarest, contains many salient points sticking out; its skin is black and smoother than that of the other species. This mollusk, very appreciated by the Chinese, is not much liked by the Spanish, and not at all by the Marianos. The most common species are not, they say, the best ones to eat.
149. Pearl oysters. See Mother-of-pearl, n° 144.
150. Mussels. They exist in small quantities here, and only the common people eat them. It is called *pahgang* locally, and in Spanish *almeja* [clam]. (See Palos, n° 152).
151. *Pahgang*. See Mussels, n° 150.
152. *Palos*. Type of mussel clam, whose shell is used as a sort of knife during the rice harvest, to cut the head from its stem.
153. *Peddis*. Univalve shell, of various colors. It is edible.
154. Pearls. The pearls taken at Guam are small and of little value. (See Mother-of-pearl, n° 144.)
155. *Taclobo*. See *Hima*, n° 147.
156. *Tigim*. It is a type of oyster, rather rare and good to eat.
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¹ Ed. note: *Tridacna* in Latin. *Hima* is a misprint for *Kima*, I think.

N° VI. Oviparous quadrupeds, reptiles and insects.

N° Names	Remarks
157. Bee.	Governor Muro had imported these useful insects to the Marianas, but they could not be kept.
158. <i>Anai</i> .	Tagalog word for a type of wood-eating worm. (See Artison, n° 160.
159. Spider.	There are some huge ones at Guam, where they are called <i>saunyeye</i> .
150. Artison.	[French word]. Species of worm, white with a hard head, that pierces wood. <i>Poppo</i> , the generic name for this type of worm, is specifically applied here to a small worm the size of a grain of rice that invades freshly-cut wood, when it is left too long on top of the chips that have been cut from it. ¹ Another type of worm, called <i>gihif</i> , also with a hard head, has almost a conical shape. Those prefer to cut through wood that has been cut for a long time, specially the wood of the canoes.
161. Centipede.	See Saligao, n° 177.
162. Caterpillar.	There are caterpillars in Guam that attack the corn and tobacco plants.
163. Ant.	Insects that are extremely bothersome, known in the Marianas under the generic name of <i>ud-ud</i> [now written <i>otdot</i>]. There are various kinds: the black ant, bigger and more cruel on account of its bite, is called <i>hating</i> [hateng]; another one, also black, but smaller, does not bite and is called <i>ud-ud atolong</i> ; the <i>ud-ud menis</i> or sweet ant, is small and does not bite either; the <i>ud-ud agaga</i> [red ant] is the scourge of the houses, on account of their large numbers and bite; finally, the <i>hating agaga</i> is a species of big winged ant, which does not bite.
164. Gecko.	Various species of this lizard exist in the Marianas.
165. <i>Gihif</i> .	See Artison, n° 160.
166. <i>Guaguadya</i> .	See Turtle, n° 181.
167. Wasp.	Captain Crozet saw this insect in the Marianas, and mentions it in his narrative of the Voyage of Marion [Dufresne].
168. <i>Hagang</i> .	See Turtle, n° 181.
169. <i>Hatting</i> .	See Ant, n° 163.

1 Ed. note: A type of termite, I think.

170. Cockroach. Disgusting insect that is found in prodigious numbers in the Marianas; it is a true scourge.
171. Lizard. We have seen in Guam two species of small lizards that are not at all dangerous for man: one is remarkable by its pretty blue color; the other is grayish, and cries like a bird. They are often seen running on the walls of the houses.
172. Fly. The domestic fly exists in small numbers in Guam.
173. Mosquito. Very common insect here.
174. *Ud-ud*. See Ant, n° 163.
175. *Poppo*. See Artison, n° 160.
176. Flea. It is possible that this disgusting insect was brought to the Marianas by European ships; if so, it has multiplied tremendously.
177. *Saligao*. Centipede, or scolopendre. Most of these insects are poisonous, without being truly dangerous. One variety, locally called *saligao talinga* [ear centipede], is longer and thinner than the other, and appears phosphorescent in darkness; it is not rare to see it go into the ears of the people when they are asleep—a serious accident which one should try to avoid at all costs.
178. *Saunyeye*. See Spider, n° 159.
179. Scolopendre. See Saligao, n° 177.
180. *Tañana*. Species of foul-smelling insect that likes to deposit its larvae on the immature head of the rice plant, thus killing it. When this insect flies through a house, it spreads a rotten smell.
181. Turtle. The land tortoise, which the Spanish call galapago, does not exist in the Marianas, but there is a sea turtle with a valuable shell, called *guaguaya* by the inhabitants, which is very rare nowadays. On the other hand, the turtle that is good to eat, called *hagang* is very common.
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Section V. Man considered as an individual.

We will not try to determine here which country the population of the Marianas came from. This question, which deserves a serious analysis, needs to be studied further. It is important, first of all, to comment on the similarity of facial features, skin color and even language between the Marianos and the Tagalogs and Visayans, peoples of the Philippines, to whom they have been compared by some authors.¹ Secondly, comments are necessary on the assertion that, a long time ago, the Marianas might have been visited by Japanese, and whether or not both countries had a class of nobles, whose pride and haughtiness had been the result of some temporary contacts. Our task must be limited to the gathering of facts that might provide the anthropologist with useful information.

It does not appear that the Mariano population has ever been given a collective name. That of *Chamorro*, *Chamorrin* or *Chamorri*, that is sometimes given to the inhabitants of this archipelago, has never existed in their language. Here is how Don Luís de Torres has explained their origin to me.

When Magellan approached these islands for the first time, many canoes went to meet his ship[s]; the chiefs, upon coming alongside shouted: *Cha-mo ulin!* which means: "Stop using the rudder!" a sailing term with them. These words, linked together as they are pronounced gave *chamulin*, *chamorin*,² and were misinterpreted as the name of their nation. The words for an order, misinterpreted, and perhaps also badly written, become, by corruption, firstly *chamorrin* or *chamorri*, as used by Le Gobien, then *chamorro*, as the Spanish say, and finally *chamorre* which is the same word, for us Frenchmen.

However, wouldn't it be better to suppose that this old Spanish word *chamorro*, which means 'shaven' [or bald], had been given to the Marianos by Magellan's companions, because, indeed, among them, the custom of shaving their heads in various ways was widespread?³ This is also my opinion; however, the name of *Mariano*, applied to this nation, being both more regular and more reasonable, we have decided to use it exclusively in this narrative.

Today, the original race is far from forming the majority of the population of these islands; it is about half. The rest consist of Spanish colonists, of *mestizos* [half-breed],⁴ of Filipinos and their descendents; finally, there is a small number of mulattos,⁵ of Ca-

1 Le Gobien and Murillo Velarde.

2 See above the remarks I made regarding [interchanges between] *l* and *r*.

3 We have mentioned this before. The same custom exists in the Sandwich Islands...

4 The word *mestizo* is used here to indicate the children of a European and a Mariana woman or one with a brown skin.

5 The mulattos come from the union between a white man and a negro woman.

rolinians, and some Sandwich islanders. In what follows, we will mainly talk about the original population.

A long time ago, the Marianos of the noble class were generally taller, fatter, and stronger than the Europeans; the men of the low class had less athletic shapes. Now, the race has degenerated at Guam; it was better preserved at Rota, where, nowadays, the true ancient shapes can still be found.¹ The stoutness, often excessive in certain individuals, did not prevent them from being either elegant in their shape, or supple in their movements. They were untiring swimmers and skilful divers; they still have those qualities, for instance, that of running rapidly on shore with a heavy load on their shoulders. Nevertheless, unconcern and laziness have always been the foundation of the character of the inhabitants, to the point that they sometimes neglect their own interests.

According to the ancient customs, a young man who was trying to get married, had to show his skill at climbing trees, his skill at sailing a canoe, at cultivating the soil, etc. and, given that it was a question of honor to succeed in such tasks, the men tried to excel in them; thus, when they wanted to, they could acquire a surprising agility.

Although it is rare to find here some crippled people, hunchbacks and lame individuals can nevertheless be seen. Faces with regular features can be seen; some are even very pleasant, but they are not in the majority, specially among the women, except for the half-breed women: among those, one finds more grace and more perfection in facial features.

The color of the skin of the natives, strictly speaking, is swarthy, that is brown, but not dark-brown; their hair is black and smooth. Moreover, the two individuals who occupy the lower part of our Plate 61 will give an exact idea of the color of their skin. As far as their features are concerned, the woman is healthy, but the man, being tired, cannot be compared favorably with her. We are sorry that the circumstances were such that it was not possible to make the portrait of a man of pure race, at Rota, where, as I have said, the primitive race is in its full beauty.

The colored individuals who appear at the top of the same plate, are half-breeds; the same comment applies to Plates 64 and 65.

We will end this article regarding the physical qualities of man, by giving the measurements taken on a few inhabitants of Guam by our skilful physician, Dr. Gaimard.

1 Throughout [recorded] history, the size and beauty of the inhabitants of Rota Island have been commented upon.

Table of the dimensions of various parts of the body of five inhabitants of the Mariana Islands.

Parts of the body	Lacario Flores.	Eduardo Pangelinan.	Felipe Lizama.	Bernardino José Lizama.	Debora	Average
Height of body	1.760 m	1.651 m	1.712 m	1.802 m	1.617 m	1.708 m
Height of backbone	690 mm	568 mm	629 mm	668 mm	582 mm	627 mm
Small circumference of head	573 mm	562 mm	573 mm	568 mm	564 mm	568 mm
Large circumference of head	729 mm	713 mm	711 mm	697 mm	708 mm	712 mm
Length of lower jaw	---	---	244 mm	257 mm	212 mm	238 mm
Dist. between corner of jaw and ear	---	---	77 mm	86 mm	72 mm	78 mm
Circumference of neck	377 mm	352 mm	368 mm	372 mm	338 mm	361 mm
Circ. of chest, at level of breast	1011 mm	880 mm	936 mm	1015 mm	882 mm	945 mm
Idem, including the arms	1.218 m	1.103 m	1.110 m	1.229 m	1.056 m	1.143 m
Circ. of belly, at level of navel	893 mm	853 mm	805 mm	907 mm	702 mm	831 mm
Circumference of basin	920 mm	850 mm	839 mm	947 mm	771 mm	865 mm
Length of upper limb	733 mm	677 mm	702 mm	704 mm	677 mm	699 mm
" of arm	---	---	221 mm	250 mm	232 mm	234 mm
" of forearm	---	---	275 mm	258 mm	257 mm	263 mm
" of hand	---	---	189 mm	194 mm	171 mm	185 mm
Circumference of arm	320 mm	271 mm	298 mm	314 mm	237 mm	288 mm
" of elbow	282 mm	264 mm	291 mm	296 mm	228 mm	272 mm
" of forearm	327 mm	271 mm	298 mm	298 mm	235 mm	286 mm
" of wrist	194 mm	176 mm	183 mm	176 mm	153 mm	176 mm
Length of lower limb	887 mm	826 mm	839 mm	853 mm	740 mm	829 mm
" of thigh	---	---	379 mm	395 mm	334 mm	369 mm
" of leg	---	---	460 mm	474 mm	379 mm	438 mm
" of foot	282 mm	271 mm	268 mm	277 mm	250 mm	270 mm
Circumference of thigh	528 mm	499 mm	496 mm	521 mm	395 mm	488 mm
" of knee	415 mm	386 mm	406 mm	406 mm	329 mm	388 mm
" of calf	417 mm	390 mm	408 mm	411 mm	332 mm	392 mm
" above ankle	248 mm	230 mm	239 mm	250 mm	196 mm	233 mm
" of ankle	379 mm	354 mm	368 mm	370 mm	291 mm	352 mm
Width of foot	117 mm	120 mm	122 mm	115 mm	97 mm	114 mm
Facial angle	---	---	73°	77°	70°	73°1/3

Life expectancy.

It was common in ancient times to find many 100 year-old people in the Marianas. In the first year of the gospel mission of Fr. Sanvitores, there were baptized, say the historians, over 120 individuals who were over 100 years old. Even today, some old people can be found, and we were told about an old lady who was 111 years old when she died in 1800, and she had kept all her teeth and faculties under the last moment.

Age of puberty.

Custom has it that boys marry between 15 and 18 years of age and girls between 12 and 15. Nevertheless, it is rare that the latter can become pregnant before their four-

teenth year. There are some who reach puberty at 11 years of age, but there are others who do not show signs of puberty until they reach their 20th year. Besides, it does not appear that such an anomaly, relatively frequent in tropical countries, affects here the health of the persons of this sex in an adverse manner.

Fertility.

There are examples, at Guam, of families of 22 children, all born of the same mother. The Mayor of Tinian had 15 children when we visited that island. Once a woman of Inarahan had triplets, but they lived but an instant; it is the only such case that tradition has preserved, although a considerable number of twins are known. Besides, examples of sterility are not rare, and this contributes to moderating an increase in population.

Childbirths are generally easy, but too often lead to fatal accidents, as a result of the ignorance of proper procedures. Spontaneous abortions were known among the ancient inhabitants; today, there are women who suffer this accident two or three times in a row. Some are known to have caused abortion voluntarily;¹

Period of breast-feeding.

Nothing is more variable here than the period of breast-feeding. Mothers who have children regularly wean them when they are about one year old; others let them suck as long as they want, often for many years.

Diseases.

There is an opinion, current among some authors, that, at the time of the conquest of the Marianas by Europeans, diseases were rare among the inhabitants. It would be difficult today to justify such an assertion, for which no proof was given us; however, it is certain that things are radically different now, as will be seen in the following list of mortal diseases that affect the population.

Syphilis.—Venereal diseases are extremely rare, a circumstance that seems to result from infrequent contacts of the inhabitants with Europeans. Only two cases of this disease came to the knowledge of Dr. Quoy; one was very recent, and probably came from the Spanish ship *Paz*, or else from our own ship.

Epidemic diseases.—At various times, the Marianas have been the theater of many large losses of life due; for instance, at the beginning of the 18th century, a deadly epidemic caused huge disasters at Guam and Rota. Many villages were depopulated; Yoña was totally depopulated within eight days, and Apurguan almost suffered the same fate. At first, the sick were carried in hammocks to the nearest parish, for them to receive the last sacraments; however, the dying and the bearers having died many

1 Mr. Bérard says: "To this effect, they take a potion containing the juice of certain herbs, that cause them to abort two or three months before term." Others destroy the fruit of their illicit union, to avoid the shame of having let themselves be seduced.

times along the way, it became necessary to deny this consolation to the victims of the contagion.

The ravages of smallpox, accidentally brought to Guam in 1779, were less considerable, but still cut down a large number of native inhabitants; the settlers suffered little.

In 1794, Governor Muro brought an epidemic disease that also killed many people, specially among the settlers. At first, it was a sort of cold, or rather a strong cough, which was followed by a violent cerebral fever; the illness progressed until the third or fourth day, when the patient died. A few died after one week; others entered a period of convalescence that lasted a long time before they recovered.

Suppression of sweating.—We have often seen at Guam some men who, after they had rowed a canoe for a long time, did not hesitate to jump into the water while they were still sweating, without apparent ill effect; it is true that, though they had water up to their waist, they immediately dove in. It is due to this precaution, I think, that they did not become sick, in passing so suddenly from one temperature to a very different one.

Mr. Bérard says: “A very respectable woman assured us that she had often used, successfully, to cure chest pains, five to six cockroaches, boiled in two glasses of water, until the liquid has been reduced to one half its original volume: the remainder must be drunk at one gulp. The efficiency of this disgusting remedy was powerfully supported, said she, by the use of a dressing made of pig excrements, fried in oil, and applied with the sauce on the painful part. She mentioned a large number of cases that were effective within 24 hours. It is true that one of the essential conditions was that the medicine had to be applied extremely hot, which explains the success of the treatment.”

Fevers.—These diseases, frequent but not so dangerous at Guam, take place mostly during the changes of season, before or after the winter. The natives use the bitter leaf, and often even the wood, of the *Iudugau* to cure intermittent fevers. After they grind these substances, they make a hot infusion and drink it.

Dysentery.—Dysentery still kill many people here, but it was, it appears, much more deadly before 1794. The occurrence of this disease does not coincide with any special time period. It attacks mainly children and the poor people who eat harmful food to survive. A short time before our arrival, this wcourse had made great ravages, specially among younger individuals.

The natives treat this disease by the use of various specific remedies. The ashes of the fibers of the *cabo negro*, diluted in tepid water, are, they say, an efficient remedy. They also make use of a mixture of *gapgap* [arrowroot] flour, water and sugar. When the sick do not digest very well, he is given rice flour, grilled with spider webs, and he must drink this powder with tepid water. If there is no difficulty in digesting, it is sufficient, say the local physicians, to rub the belly of the sick with a liniment made with a mixture of pork fat and ordinary ashes. It is said that the wild banana, when taken as food, is appropriate to the treatment of this disease; it is why they advise to mash this fruit, then to drink the juice that results from it.

Mange.—According to tradition, this disgusting disease has existed only since the arrival of the Spanish. The inhabitants cure themselves of this disease by rubbing themselves with a decoction of guave buds, either with coconut milk,¹ a mixture of sulphur and oil, or else with the *amargosa*, a plant which has been previously been fried in oil.

Tetter.—The Spanish call this disease *empeine*, a word that effectively means *dartres* [tetter] in French. The leaf of the *cassia alata*, or Acapulco plant, is grounded and serves, as a specific remedy, in the treatment of a type of tetter. They say that a more appropriate remedy consists in applying fire to the shell of the coconut; when it is burning well, it is placed under a capsule turned upside down, in the shape of a bell; the soot that condenses on the walls is diluted and this thick black liquid is used to rub the sick patient.

Notice on leprosy, by Dr. Quoy.

“A terrible scourge afflicts the inhabitants of the Marianas, and, by decimating the present generation, it threatens the future generation; I am referring to leprosy. More unfortunate than the peoples of Timor, the Moluccas, of Vaiguo and the Carolines, the Guam islanders are exposed to three varieties of this disease, very different from one another, both in their symptoms and their effects.”

Ichthiosis.—“The first is the scaly leprosy, which we have described when speaking of the Papuans, but one which we will mention again below, because we have had the time to observe it here with much attention.”

“The people who are affected by it are called, locally, *cascaos*.² It is widely spread, and can become complicated by the other types. It begins by some spots on various part of the skin, from the ankle to the upper part of the neck, but the face, the feet and the hands are almost always exempt from it. These spots are at first smooth, brown in color but contrasting with the color of the body; it is only after a few months, and even after more than one year, that they begin to be scaly and squamous. Little by little, they increase in size and intensity; from brown they become whitish; the skin becomes cracked, is raised, appears like festoons, and forms squamæ that indicate the last phase of this disease. Oftentimes, many parts are affected at the same time; they are generally the chest, the vicinity of the neck, the lower belly, and finally the limbs, until it progresses so much that the whole body is invaded. One of the varieties of ichthyosis makes the skin black: the scales then, instead of following an horizontal direction, are curved like circular or oval-shaped marks, and form concentric circles and semi-circles with one

1 Obtained by crushing, in a vessel, the liquid from recently-grated coconut meat.

2 [Rather *cascajos*. It is the Spanish word [meaning 'pebbles']. The Marianos call this disease, when it has reached its last phase, *atigtug* [now written *atektuk*] and *gapo* when it is still recent. *Yaf-lago* is the name given to a particular type of leprosy, which is exotic, as the expression indicates.

Yaf-yaf is the name given to the whitish spots that appear on the skin of people with dark skin; such spots are but an indication of the first phase of leprosy.

another, but their size is not greater than a penny; sometimes, they form only wavy lines of the same size. It is mostly on the chest that this layout is more regular.”

“By that as it may, the persons affected by this disease do not appear to suffer much. If they are young, they continue to grow normally as if they were healthy, and to attend to their occupations without feeling any further itch in the cellular tissue, and they grow old without the disease progressing any further. Its action is therefore limited to the skin, and does not affect any organ that is essential to life. So, it is only a bothersome condition, but not dangerous—at least not in a hot climate, such as is found at this island. Indeed, I believe that if it were carried to higher latitudes, the sick would have much to fear from sudden changes in the weather; that sweat would without fail come to rest in the scaly parts of their bodies and throw them into exhaustion, as I have had the opportunity of observing in France on two individuals who finally succumbed in this manner.”

“Ichthyosis attacks both sexes equally; people of all ages are susceptible to catch it, but less so the young. It is propagated by direct contact between individuals, when they are already disposed; however, it is not contagious in all cases, and we have seen some women who were exempted, while they lived with husbands who were completely covered by it, or some babies exempted, although they were being breast fed. If it were not so, there would be not a single inhabitant of Guam who would not be exempt from it; indeed, there is no family without at least one leprous person among their members, and all sleep together under the same roof and on the same mats.”

“For the lack of physicians, the Marianos have always neglected a disease which, by the way, does not bother them very much; or else, if some governor, and perhaps some foreign traveller, has taught them some remedy for it, they would have put them into practice with this unconcern that they bring to everything that requires care. That is how the Acapulco plant was brought over, in the belief that its fresh leaves, crushed and rubbed on the sick part, had the property of effecting a cure but, in spite of the good effects that I was told were obtained, the tree and the curative procedure have almost been completely abandoned.”

“Governor Medinilla told me that he saw many individuals being cured in a short time by this sole treatment, but even the evidence of this success did not convince others to try such a simple remedy. In the end, he had to use coercive methods; he forced the leper to live apart from his wife, until he was cured; also, those who did not submit to this treatment were threatened with exile to a neighboring island, if they did not apply a dressing with perseverance. To no avail! Carelessness prevailed, and the lepers continue to live with their enemy.”

“During our stay at Guam, I decided to test for myself the virtue of the Acapulco plant, or rather shrub (that is the name they give to the *cassia alata*), and to test the efficacy of sulphur, the only appropriate medicine I had in my possession. I begged the governor to provide me with two men attacked by ichthyosis but only a few parts of their body, in order to treat them by two methods at the same time. His orders were only half carried out; I had just one man to experiment upon. This man was a volun-

teer, who really wanted a cure, and therefore followed the treatment with constancy. The others, who came up later on, visited me for a few days, then stopped coming, and did almost nothing of what I had prescribed.”

“The man who was the subject of my observations was about 30 years old, very tall, strong and vigorous; he had scales over all his epigastric region, going up to his chest, and the outer part of his left leg, upon which I directed my whole attention, because it was easier to apply the medicines. After many baths in the river and some local cleaning with tepid water, I prescribed the following procedure to him: he was to rub himself with a mixture of coconut oil and sulphur (the dosis of the latter being about two grams), morning and evening. Every day, after bathing, he repeated his frictions. At the end of one month of this treatment, punctually followed, the scales disappeared in part, but the spots, that are the symptoms and the first manifestation of the disease, remained: it was an indication that the scales would re-appear as soon as the repeated lotions were interrupted. My intention had been also to administer sulphur to him internally, but other occupations and various voyages lasting a few days that I made in the islands prevented me from doing that. As the day of departure was approaching, and that this man was the only one upon whom I could count, I suspended this first treatment to test the virtues of the Acapulco plant. During 15 to 20 days, he rubbed himself morning and evening with a handful of freshly-gathered leaves; he rubbed himself so vigorously that he removed some parts of his skin in the process. This treatment did not produce any more effect than the other, and I was sorry that I could not cure this young man, who had shown so much patience and assiduity. A few days before I separated from him, I had stopped all treatments, to see in which condition his chest and leg would be: there was no more scales in the places which he had rubbed vigorously, but a brown color, which is the base from which they lift off, indicated that they would soon re-appear.”

“That was what I observed. This imperfect observation is far from conclusive, I must admit; and although, before using the the above-mentioned vegetable remedy, I doubted a little what I had been told about it, I still wanted to check it out, and see what it could do within the time I had. It may be that, over a longer period, it could be more effective. The same comment can perhaps be made about the sulphur; in any case, the way I administered it may not have been the best way, and I am led to believe that, if reduced to a vapor, it would act with much more efficacy. Finally, there exist other preparations that could be tried with some hope of success. What I did only shows my desire to find the best cure, because one of the duties imposed upon a travelling physician is to spread the benefits of his art among the peoples he visits.”

“True it was that, according to the desk-bound philosophers, we had not expected to find so many ills affecting these peoples, who, not so long ago, were still, as they say, *simple children of nature*. They too share a large part of the miseries of human kind; and, they, from the Timorese to the inhabitants of the Carolines, all begged relief from medicine. For example, at Guam, one day a crowd of sick people came, one after the other, to show us their ailments which, for the most part, would have resisted to a long

and methodical treatment; regretfully, we had nothing better to give them than some advice and useless palliatives.”

Yaws. “The second type of leprosy¹ affecting these peoples, is yaws.² a horrible disease that eats them up and mutilates them. A pimple with the appearance and size of a boil first appears on the skin, almost without pain or redness. Ordinarily, it remains for a while stationary, then, its tip turns into a purulent point, it opens, and a white pus comes out; the whole circumference becomes a wound; and after a supuration of variable duration, a scar is formed. This scar is sometimes irregular, ashy and raised above the surrounding skin; at other times—the most common occurrence—it is sunken, smooth and milky white, a color that is in sharp contrast with the rest of the skin of the patient. The pimples, the ulcerations continue to spread, covering the body and the limbs, then scars form in the same manner. Fortunate are those who are affected only up to that degree, because it is the least, the most benign one, and at this stage a few individuals are cured by the efforts of nature herself!”

“The second type of yaws also begins with pimples and, in accordance with the idiosyncrasy of the individuals, it progresses with more or less rapidity. The ulcers get bigger, accumulate around the joints, spread along the limbs; they are irregular, insensible, and have their boundaries clearly marked. The pus that flows out of them is white, tenacious, and greater at the edges than at the center, where a whitish substance can be observed, resembling the beginning of a scar. When many of these ulcers tend to unite, the skin between them appears to disorganize and become purple, as in scrofula. The pus rarely has any odor, unless the hygiene be neglected. If the disease invades the joints, it destroys their action, until the individual, drained by an abundant suppuration, finishes by dying. However, it is important to note that in this ailment, the limbs do not separate from the articulations—something that distinguishes it from the variety of yaws that I will soon talk about.”

“I have noticed that the limbs of a few of these unfortunate people who visited me to ask for help, although eaten externally by these wounds, were in their natural condition, without any swelling or apparent change in the skin; however, in others, they were very hard, resisting pressure, with a total congestion of the cell tissue. This disorder was seen above all on the legs, which became misshapen, bigger at the bottom than at the top, and with an extraordinary volume. Such a fatal symptom, rather rare among the women, is often determined by the fatigue that the patient endures, either by continuing to do his regular work, or by undertaking long walks. A man who had the most awful legs, had walked six leagues one day, over a very difficult trail, and with a heavy load on his shoulders, to seek relief; it is true that he did not feel much pain. The absence of pain, which is perhaps due to a steady high temperature, is one of the characteristics of the disease in question.”

1 The Spanish in this country call it *bubas*, which must not be confused with syphilis, which is itself [wrongly] called by that name in Spain.

2 Ed. note: *Pian* in French; it is an infectious disease caused by a spirochetal bacterium that provokes raspberry-like skin lesions.

“Though less common than ichthyosis, yaws, a terrible variety of leprosy, makes many victims, most of whom are condemned by nature to spend the rest of their days with a steadily declining health. Since I counted about fifty persons who visited me with incurable ulcers who, in the town of Agaña alone, I do not fear being accused of exaggerating. Among others, a young man who was nearing death was an extreme state of emaciation; gigantic wounds occupied the articulations of his knees, elbows and right wrist; the hand had collapsed and the surfaces of the articulations seemed welded together. When one has witnessed such frightful ravages, he cannot but feel sorry for other tall young men, still robust and well-shaped, but attacked by small ulcers that they judge to be benign and not requiring attention. It is in vain that one warns them of the danger of this small disorder, telling them that it is the same disease that they see in others, in whom it has reached full development, and whose appearance makes them shiver with disgust. Victims of their own unconcern, they wait, with fatal apathy, until a cure is no longer possible for themselves. It is only then, when they are bothered more by the abundance of pus and the difficulty in moving their limbs than by pain, that they try various remedies. But then, what remedies! They grab any plant at random, pound them together with harmful or inert substances, such as holothuria [beche-de-mer] that are left to ferment for many days, and are then applied to the wounds. Then they suffer the pain, not only of the application of these substances, but also from the action of some harmful herbs that may be mixed in, as I have had the opportunity to observe once.”

“Women, as I have said, are generally much less affected by this ulcerous leprosy; among a large group of individuals, we have hardly noticed two or three women, and they were very old. One of them had ulcers that were old, but had not progressed much, and even had become scars during a certain time, before they had opened; however, suppuration had re-established itself later on. When I was called to visit an old woman whose knees were covered with small ulcers on the upper part of the articulation, I did not wish to tell her that her condition was desperate, without prescribing anything before going away; so, I prescribed complete rest for her, and the application of an ointment made of wax and coconut oil. At the end of eight days, her knees were much better; the pus was less abundant, so that the sick woman hoped to be cured in a short time. I told her relatives what I thought about the harmful remedies they had themselves applied and that had made the disease worse, while that I had prescribed had brought it back to its early stage.”

“That is all that was in our power to do here; it would have been in vain to have tested [other] methods of cure. When a physician visits a country but a short time, and has to do other scientific work besides, how could he be expected to fight a disease which, in Europe and in the West Indies, is known to be without a cure, and one that must be studied in all its aspects, over a long period? So it was that we felt sorry to see so many unfortunate people who were full of trust in the innocent, but inactive, methods that we were prescribing to them, and went off hoping to be cured in a short time.

Well then, they were to be soon undeceived, and would say: "The medicine of the white man is not more efficient than that of our ancestors. Let us go back to it."

St. Lazarus disease.—"We are proceeding by degrees of intensity here, when we describe the types of leprosy affecting the inhabitants of Guam. Thus, a skin as scaly as that of a snake, or rather like that of a fish, inspires less disgust and less pity than that one with repulsive pimples that give rise to ulcers, more repulsive still. However, when one arrives at the last period of the yaws, or St. Lazarus disease, one must be used to seeing crippling human ailments not to be repulse by the sight of horrible ravages. Men without a nose, without ears, whose mouth, reduced to half of its natural size and presenting only a wrinkled hole; others have no more feet, or hands that have lost their fingers, and present only shapeless stumps; on the other hand, still others have ears that are torn and overloaded with big fleshy protuberances, or whose nose, having lost its bone, has formed a ball in the center of the face; finally, there are some who have lost their human form, so to speak, and only show the last stage in physical degradation of man. Such is the horrible and deplorable spectacle that we were exposed to, pushed as we were by scientific curiosity. (See Pl. 76)."

"This disease, which exists throughout the tropics, at Lima, Mexico, in the West Indies, at Cayenne [French Guyana], is not, they say, unknown in Spain. Everywhere, in spite of the encouragement that governments give to find cures, it makes physicians feel powerless. We will not mention the general characteristics of this disease in all of those countries, and we will limit ourselves to describing its particular characteristics as they appear in the Marianas."

"Cell tissue begins to be affected first by a certain hardness of the skin, a tension and an appearance that is unique to this disease, long before it develops further. Such warning signs manifest themselves above all on the cheek-bones, which become swollen, and around the nostrils, which grow bigger than their natural size, already big among the Marianas. Next, it grows successively around the neck, the chest and the whole body; however, instead of being shiny, the skin is rough to the touch. Finally, the symptoms remain stationary for a long time. Soon they become more obvious in the face, where deep wrinkles develop beginning at the edges of the nostrils and extending to the lower corners of the mouth—to such an extent that the face then looks like that of a lion.—

"As a consequence of the opinion of the people of Guam have that this disease is contagious, the individuals of both sexes who have been affected by it have been quarantined in distant leper hospitals. There, almost abandoned to themselves, feared by strangers who flee from them, without the help of hygiene, since there are no physicians on the island, These unfortunate people see their condition get worse every day, and their life come to a premature end."

"Many of us have visited those asylums of misery, and I will now briefly give a description of some of the most remarkable inmates, made by Dr. Gaimard."

Leper hospital for men near Anigua.—

"1^o Pedro Guerrero, born at Agaña, 33 years old, affected by leprosy for the last nine years He had never been sick before that time. His whole face was now flaccid and wrin-

kled; his upper eyelids pushed off and falling; the lobe and the wings of his nose resembled round tubers and were deeply grooved; his ears were hanging and in the same state of flaccidity as the skin of his whole body, which, moreover, there were still numerous pimples, more or less circular and with a point in the middle of each; the thumb of the right hand was stubby, the other fingers reduced to two in number, but without fingernails; the lower limbs were slightly misshapen; the toes cut down as the fingers of the hand, and the left foot reduced to two-thirds of its original size; the skin of the sexual parts was extremely hard. In spite of these sickly phenomena, the subject was able to carry out his normal functions rather well, but felt that his entire body was rotting inside; every day, in fact, morning and evening, he would hemorrhage through his nose. It should be noted that his maternal uncle had been kept in the leper hospital for the same disease.”

“2° Feliciano Crisostomo, same age and same place of birth as the preceding. At 30 years of age, he felt the first onset of this disease on his eyebrows, which, after losing all their hairs, became the center of a light pain and an extreme heat. The skin of his whole body is reddish in color, covered with many pimples, where he feels so much heat that he sleeps only with difficulty. Feliciano, with little appetite, finds that everything he eats feels salty. He suffers frequent nose bleeds, and sometimes has violent sexual desires. Nevertheless, none of his relatives suffer from the same disease, and his children enjoy the best of healths.”

“3° Carlos Alvarez, of Agaña, 23 years old, has been sick for two years. His cheekbones, without cell tissue, his feet and his hands present the same characteristics as in the above-mentioned Guerrero. Moreover, his legs are swollen, blackish and attacked by a few small ulcers. He feels an itch all over his body, but no sexual desire. Twice a day, he has regular nose bleed, which always announces itself by a lively heat; he can also have a nose bleed, simply by willing it, with little effort. The quantity of blood is every time about one ounce.”

“4° Pedro Manalisen,¹ of Agaña, 32 years old. He was attacked four years ago by this awful disease. Besides the usual symptoms already described, his face, entirely wrinkled, has hard points on the chin and above the cheekbones; the hair of his chest, of his eyebrows and of all his limbs have disappeared; the skin of his body is yellowish; his toes are swollen, and their nails extremely reduced; the eyesight has become very weak. The other functions are rather operative, but the least exertion results in fatigue. He feels an itch all over, has no sexual desire, and, with the least effort, he can cause a nose bleed. Finally, his relatives do not have this disease.”

“5° José de Castro, of Agaña, 22 years old, has been sick for nine years. His nose, lips, chin and ears are covered with groups of tubercles, some of which are covered with crusts. Such accidents have taken the place of his teats, and appear in large numbers on his back, in the lumbar region, on his upper and lower limbs, and above all on his forearms and legs. These growths, even when he cuts them, do not cause him any pain;

1 Ed. note: Mangalanan instead?

however, he then loses much blood. Like his unfortunate companions, he has daily nose bleeds. One paternal uncle, one paternal aunt, as well as the daughter of the latter, have had this disease."

"6° Joaquín Taipetu, born at Pago, 23 years old, first felt the first signs of leprosy in his feet, nine years ago. What it has that is specific to this individual, there are blackish spots and a few pimples on his belly; the fingers of his hands are reduced to one and half bones, and his feet are completely misshapen. None of his relatives is affected by this scourge."

"7° Domingo Villagomez, of Agaña, now 20 years old, was only 12 when the first symptoms of leprosy declared themselves, firstly in his face; it is now completely infiltrated, the nose unrecognizable, the lips eaten by ulcers, the mouth shrunken and leaving only a difficult and noisy passage to respiration; the hands have lost their fingers; his feet bristle with an infinite number of small and black tubercles that are very hard, as in elephantiasis; his body is covered with black spots. Everything in this young man is such that he appears to be a decrepit old man. The fate that awaits him has already taken away one of his brothers."

"8° José Diego, of Agaña, 26 years old, has been sick since he was 16. His face is strewn with growths similar to small lobes more or less rounded, some of which, appearing as a lump, take the place of the nose. His fingers have only two bones left; his feet, black, big and misshapen, are full of elephantiac tubercles. This unfortunate man cannot stand up; he suffers from general itchings and regular nose bleeds. None of his relatives is attacked by the same ailment."

In the leper hospital for women, Dr. Gaimard has found fewer patients. Here is a summary description of their conditions.

Leper hospital for women near Asan.—

"9° Jacinta Taisague, born at Pago, 26 years old. She has been affected by leprosy for six years. The bone of her nose, the hairs of her eyebrows, no longer exist; she has a nose bleed once a week. She is the only member of her family who has suffered from this illness."

"10° Manuela de Castro, of Agaña, has been sick since she was 14. Her nose has been replaced by a tubercle; her lips are protruding, her features misshapen, her eyebrows hairless, her fingers misshapen or shortened. She has nose bleeds once a month. This woman, a cousin of José de Castro, n° 5 above, has two children, a daughter of 17 and a boy of 15, who, for lack of prudence, have been permitted to live with her; they already show, but to a lesser degree, the same morbid symptoms as her."

"11° Nicolasa Namaulig, of Asan, 22 years old, was quarantined in the same house, although she has been affected for three years by a disease that, according to the Marianos, is different from the St. Lazarus disease; they called it *bubas*. Her nose was misshapen, her eyebrows hairless, the two eyelids of her left eye were ulcerated to such an extent that the lower eyelid was almost destroyed; her left elbow presented tuberculous ulcers. This woman, whose mother has the same disease, suffers from frequent vomiting, instead of nose bleeds."

“Generally, in all individuals,” continues Dr. Quoy, “the risk of contagion did not appear to be so imminent as I was told it was. In these isolated leper hospitals, two nurses, a married couple, are charged with the care of these unlucky beings. They take no precautions, live with them, touch them all the time, because some of them are so mutilated that they have to be fed. Nevertheless, though they have been doing this service for quite some time, they appear very healthy.”

Elephantiasis.—“We will finish our review by two other varieties of leprosy, which are not, except rarely, looked upon as very dangerous. The first one, which I have observed at Guam, is elephantiasis, or a monstrous swelling of the lower limbs.”

“One day, a man came on board to sell some food supplies. As I was surprised at the size of his leg, I asked him some information about this disability, which did not seem to incommode him, other than in the weight of the sick leg; he told me that his leg began to grow many years before, and did not cause him any pain, and that it had finally reached the size that it had when I saw it, and he still felt no pain. Having become accustomed little by little to this extra weight, he went about his business as asfore. His calf, measured at the largest point, was over 22 inches, exactly 602 mm, in circumference; the rest of his leg had a relative size but was not misshapen; his foot, very swollen, had big warts near the toes.”

“Another case, almost similar, seemed to me to be more serious; the cell tissue was so blocked that it made the leg equally big in all its length, and pus flowed from many open sores covering its lower part. Nevertheless, the individual in question was still working in the fields, and that is where I met him, near Merizo. Our Plate n^o 77 represents an individual attacked by elephantiasis and by a leprous blockage in one elbow.”

Tuberculous leprosy.—In the second variety of the yeaws, or tuberculous leprosy, a case that is stranger than those heretofore described, has been communicated to me by Mr. Jacques Arago, the draughtsman of the expedition, who had observed it during his stay at Rota, upon the person of Martin Kikane, 55 years old (see Plate 78). Born of a leprous mother, he began, as of three years of age, to see his body be covered with pimples, or rather blisters, that, with time, increased in quantity and volume. On his limbs they are more numerous, softer, elastic, as if they were full of wool; the largest one seem to be full of liquid; the color of his skin is not changed, even on the tumors, except for their tip, where it is wrinkled and blackish. Among this large number, two are remarkable by their volume. The one that is next to the biggest, occupies the lower part of his belly and hangs down on his thighs; the middle of its extremity is intended and resembles rather well the navel of a pear; the other, much larger, and as big as the body, occupies the whole hip of the right side, and hangs on the thigh all the way down to the leg, and hits it with every step. Many years ago, Kikane received a blow from a stick on this tumor; he fell upon something sharp that opened it: an abundant quantity of liquid oozed out (its nature cannot be determined) and continued to flow until the wound closed.”

“Every day, many of these growths increase in volume, and some new ones appear, without causing him the least pain. The bother that results in his movements is the only

inconvenience that he suffers from, but he has been used to it for many years. The largest of these uncomfortable masses is supported by a piece of cloth that is tied over the opposite shoulder. This man is married, and has two children who seem perfectly healthy.”

Occasional causes of leprosy.—“It would be in vain for us to loose ourselves in conjectures regarding the occasional causes of the various diseases that we have just described. The air, the water and the places did not seem to have anything special that might cause these germs to develop in the long run.”

“We did not see any potential source either in the local food. These peoples live in a frugal manner: rice, corn, coconuts, various nutritive flours, fish, and a small quantity of pork or deer meat, form their usual dishes. The men sometimes abuse coconut brandy, but the women, who do not drink any of it, were also affected by the same disease.”

“Among the Papuans, I thought I had found the cause of their scaly leprosy, in the large quantity of shell-fish that they consume; however, the inhabitants of Guam eat shell-fish but rarely, as this food source is not very common among them.”

“Consequently, I tend towards the theory that, because it was in hot climates that we mostly observed this disease, it must be attributed to the action of the sun rays on the natives, who go about almost naked. The intensity of this action provokes an abundant sweat, increases the sensitivity of the skin, which ends up by changing its nature and resulting in the cruel diseases that we are talking about. Should we add the influence of salty air, whose particles may be more or less irritating? It is the opinion of Bontius. We are not far from admitting, because we have observed upon ourselves, during our long excursions along the coast, under a hot sun, that some lesions were forming on our lips, and that the skin of our face and hands would become rough to the touch.”

So it is that in the two islands of Guam and Rota, inhabited by few people, we found many varieties of leprosy, some of which are probably unknown in Europe. The various forms of the same disease give rise to:

- Scales, wavy or moiré [in pattern];
- Lymphatic blockages in the lower limbs;
- Big and raised pimples (*bubas*), that remain stationary for a long time before they increase in size and form ulcers;
- Ulcers eating away at the articulations and destroying their movements;
- Wounds that eat away the bones of the nose, the palate, and make those of the articulations of the feet and hands fall off. This last variety resembles the preceding one very much, and differs from it only by the fall of the digits, but it is real and recognized even by the inhabitants of the country, since they look upon it as being contagious, and quarantine those suffering from it as *lazarinos*, or lepers;
- The tuberculous leprosy, observed at Rota; it is made complex by the others, and we have seen one individual who had his ears torn and covered besides with tumors.

As far as the alterations to facial features, we will not list them separately, as they belong to lymphatic blockages.

[Native cures]

To the important memoir of Dr. Quoy on leprosy, we will add a few details to what we have already said about the art of curing of the natives.

Wounds.—No precise information could be obtained regarding the chirurgical art of the ancient Marianos. Today, the inhabitants dress their wounds with the milk of the *rima* which, when fresh, is a true balm. The resin of the takamahaka [*daok*] serves adequately for the same purpose. If some ground ginger [*asnud*] is mixed with the soot from an iron, or earthen, pot, some salt and coconut oil, then the mixture reduced on a fire, in a pan that is not made of copper, one gets a sort of ointment that is thought appropriate for curing light wounds. When they are deep, one must first pour between the lips of the wound a certain amount of the above mixture, before dressing it with the ointment itself.

The fruit of the *amargosa*, ground with coconut oil, is also a good remedy for the cure of small wounds; and so is the adhesive sap from fresh roots of the fig tree [*nunu*], which, placed on the cuts, quickly stops the blood from flowing: for this to happen, it is necessary for the bark, reduced to a paste, to remain on the sick part until a perfect cure. The bark and the branches of the areca [*pugua*] is also esteemed for the same purpose.

To stop a tough hemorrhage, they use either the plant named *tolan manuk*, or the herb of Santa María, or else a sort of blue bindweed [*sofgu*] that is found in great quantities in Guam; however, such simples must first be ground.

In cases where the inflammation necessitates a local bleeding, some cupping-glasses made of deer horn are used.—It is very rare that tetanos occurs after some wounds.

Contusions.—To fight against the internal effect of a strong contusion, the patient is given water to drink, in which equal parts of ginger powder and ground bark of the *hagau* have been infused. The leaf of the same tree, ground and mixed with coconut brandy is used to reduce the swelling of superficial contusions.

Ulcers of the mouth.—Charcoal from the leaf of the mature *rima*, mixed with an equal part of charcoal from the *etuni*, is used to treat ulcers of the mouth and gums; it is only necessary to rub the affected parts with the mixture. It is also generally believed that the betel, whose use was known in the Marianas well before the arrival of the Spanish, can prevent this type of discomforts.

Urine retention.—By macerating the ground fruit of the *pakao* in palm vinegar, one obtains a liniment whose fomentations on the lower belly are useful in cases of urine retention.

Indigestions.—For indigestions, it is usually sufficient to have the patient drink one or two cups of an infusion, made when hot, of the *pakao* fruit; this remedy acts both ways, above and below. Mr. Duperrey mentions the case of a Mariano who, being sick with indigestion to a high degree, took in a broth made of a strong decoction of hot pepper, and was cured.

Craziness.—This mental illness is very rare in the Marianas; there was only one individual suffering in that way when we visited there.

Sickness affecting children.—Oftentimes, some 7 or 8 days after birth, children suffer strong convulsions that kill most of those affected by them. Others die of tough diarrheas, at the time of the appearance of their first teeth; it is a rare thing when the appearance of the two canines is not accompanied with some illness.

Childbirths.—Childbirths are easy in most cases; however, it is not rare that, for lack of proper help, many women here die in childbirth. Doctors Quoy and Gaimard have had the opportunity to save the life of an unfortunate woman who, without their care, would have perished with the most awful pains. Here is how the first of these physicians describes the circumstances which he and his colleague witnessed:

“A 30-year-old woman, married for 12 years, had not yet given birth. This delay can be attributed to a descent of her uterus that she had always had. Nevertheless, she conceived and, the pregnancy having progressed normally, the time for delivery came; the pains of childbirth came on strong, but she could not deliver. On the previous day, the child had given signs of being alive, but five days had elapsed since that time, with the woman suffering, before I was called.”

“At my arrival, the patient was lying down on a mat in a narrow apartment, and was surrounded by half a dozen old matrons, each of whom giving her own advice, while others, in a nearby room, were on their knees praying before an image of the Virgin. When the normal time for delivery has passed, they try to provoke it with drinks where coconut brandy figures prominently, with strong blows with the fist, and some pressure upon the belly. As these awful methods had no effect, the only remaining hope was in the intercession of the saints and in the efficacy of some relics, that were hung from the patient’s neck or placed about her body—innocent remedies, designed to encouraging the patient in her sufferings! However, the means they thought was most reliable, and one that was causing the most pain, was a leather strap, which they called *belt of the Virgin Mary*, which was strong and worn smooth by frequent use, and served to tighten the belly of the mother. I paid no attention to the relics, but asked them to release this kind of strap.”

“I will not give too many details about the means that we used, Dr. Gaimard and I, to bring this childbirth to a happy end. The woman was suffering with an angelic patience and without complaining. Time was precious, as the head of the child, who was dead, was engaged in the passage, and had begun to decompose. The reduction of the uterus had been impossible, and its neck, contracted for many days, refused to relax. I ran to the ship to get my instruments and, by means of a dilatation and an excavation of the head of the child, we were able to pull this unfortunate woman from a certain death. The consecutive accidents were not important, but we had to make use of some authority to prevent dangerous means that her imprudent friends wished to put into practice at every turn.”

To give a more complete idea of the empirical procedures used by the Mariana midwives, regarding childbirths, we will copy here a small number of observations made by Dr. Gaimard:

“When they wish to assist nature, they make the woman drink half a coffee-cup containing some urine from her husband mixed with some milk from a woman, or else with the herb of Santa María that has been well pounded.”

“The colics that follow childbirth are treated with the chewed leaves of a tree called in Spanish *añocasto*, and in Mariano *lagundi*, that are applied to the hypogastric region, as an emollient. The sister of Don Luís de Torres has told us that she has obtained good results with it. The stem and the leaves of the herb of Santa María also serve to make a decoction that is given to the women whose delivery is followed by abdominal pains. The same parts of this last-mentioned plant are crushed, then applied to the lower belly, as an emollient.”¹

“For the purpose of encouraging the expulsion of the placenta, the urine of a small child with the excrements of a horse are carefully placed in a handkerchief; and after the juice from it has been collected, it is administered internally, the dose being 2-3 finger-widths of it in an ordinary glass. If this first remedy does not produce a good effect, they hasten to give the sick woman onions to eat and water to drink.”

“A final method, reputed to be very efficient, consists in cutting a strand of hair from the head of the woman in labor, and making her put it in her mouth, and chewing it, while taking repeated sips of water at the same time. If that does not work, a burning fire is brought near her.”

Section VI. Man, and his family.

Formerly, fish, breadfruits, rice, and a few starchy roots, were the staple foods of the Mariano people; however, since the Spanish have introduced the large cattle and other domestic animals, a notable improvement in the available food supplies has been noticed.

The detailed list that we have given above of various animal and vegetable products peculiar to these countries, does not leave much of anything more to say here other than to make comments about the cooking methods in which such substances are used, to make them palatable to man.

Rice.—They call *hinigsa* [now *hineksa*] the rice cakes, cooked in water, that they formerly used in lieu of bread, and of which there are three varieties, different only in the shape and quantity of rice involved. This dish took the name of *alaguan* when the rice was reduced to porridge.

¹ Ed. note: The treatment, and maybe the plant also, may have come from the Philippines, where the *lagundi* is very well known throughout. It is the *vitex negundo*, or five-leaved chaste tree, in English. its leaves are prescribed in the Philippines for a large number of ills.

Rima.—The fruit of the *rima* was prepared in five different ways.

1° It was cut into round slices and they were simply cooked in an oven; the result was the *limmei-chinahan*,¹ which is similar to our sea-biscuit, and can also be preserved for a long time, provided it is kept away from any humidity.

2° It was put whole in some hot ashes, to cook, then it was squashed with the hand; this dish, which tastes differently from the previous one, was served ordinarily cold, and was called *mapanas*.²

3° When the *rima* had been collected a short time before it became ripe, and kept in the shade for two or three days, to soften it, it was cooked in an oven or under the ashes, and it was eaten with some coconut. However, it was more common to remove its rough skin first, and then to crush it in a mortar with some coconut water, until it had reached the consistency of clear porridge; this is how the *lulau-limmei*³ was prepared, a dish analogous to the Mexican *atole*, which we will talk about soon.

4° This fourth recipe is very interesting, because it allows the *rima* to be preserved for a long time, something that is worthwhile for the needs of navigation. The recently-picked fruit is peeled and cut into quarters. A circular hole is then dug in the ground, and is lined with the leaves of the same tree or with banana leaves. The quarter pieces of *rima* are placed inside, but only after they have been macerated for five hours in salt water. Once the pit has been completely filled, it is covered over with leaves and earth. Four to five days later, the pit is opened to take out the worms that are infesting it or that have invaded it, and the leaves are renewed. The *rima* is once more placed in, and it is stepped on with the feet until a compact paste has been formed. The whole is, as before, covered over with leaves and earth. Finally, four to five days later, the pit is opened. The *rima*, once taken out, releases a rather bad smell, but this does not bother the natives; it is then patted into fist-size balls, which are laid down to dry in the shade, to be used as needed. This preparation is called *bulao*.⁴

5° When the above is taken out of the pit, a few persons would mix this *rima* paste with grated coconut meat, and then form this into balls that they baked in an oven; this was called *apigigi*.⁵

Gapgap.—Nowadays the word *apigigi* is applied to a mixture of coconut [meat] and flour of *gapgap* [arrowroot] or of *federico*, also baked in an oven. The ancient inhabitants knew also the *apigigi* of *gapgap*, because they differentiated between the *apigigi-bulao* and the *apigigi-gapgap*. The bread in which was used only starch of *gapgap*, without coconut, was called *agata*.

Dugdug.—This variety of breadfruit, although less appreciated than the *rima*, was also used to make *bulao*. The flesh of the fruits and its seeds were then placed all together in the pit; besides, the steps taken were the same as those described above. When the

1 Ed. note: Or *rimai-chinachak* which simply means 'sliced or cut breadfruit.'

2 Ed. note: The word *mapannas* simply means 'flattened', squashed.'

3 Ed. note: *Laolao* or *raorao*, means 'to shake'. Hence, a breadfruit-shake, or pudding.

4 Ed. note: Perhaps from the Spanish *bola*, or 'ball'.

5 Ed. note: Pronounced 'apighighi.'

seeds are very ripe, they can be eaten raw, although they are generally preferred when baked; they then taste much like our chestnuts, as we have already said.

Federiko.—The starch of the *federiko* was not to be found among the food of the ancient inhabitants, even during times of famine; it is the Spanish who have taught the natives the art of separating this substance from the venenous juice that it contains. The story is told, about this, that when the church of Agat was built, there was an awful drought that led to a famine, during which no-one gave a thought to the *federiko* that could have been very useful. At that disastrous time, some men were seen to work for one whole day just to get the very meager salary of one slice of yam; whereas today many inhabitants derive their staple food from the porridge made with the starch of this precious palm. We have already said that they also make a type of bread with it.

Starchy roots.—The numerous varieties of starchy roots that exist abundantly in the Marianas and have always been consumed in large quantities, are eaten baked, either under ashes, or in an oven. The *piga*, one of them, was formerly used to prepare a sort of liquid porridge, similar to that made with the *rima* or *dugdug*, and which was named *laolao-piga* for this reason.

Fish and shell-fish.—The use of seafood was not less considerable. Fish was eaten dried or salted, but almost always raw; it was only to women in labor that it was given, but normally, freshly-caught and grilled fish. Sometimes, the fish, instead of being dried with salt, was placed in brine; the vessels used for this pickling were large calabashes; today, they prefer earthenware jars, glazed on the outside.¹ Six such jars full of salted *mañahak*, each containing about 34 liters, are sufficient to sustain a Mariana family for one whole year, when rice, corn, roots and *rima* are added to their food stock. Generally, fish is preferred to meat. Some people pickle their fish with vinegar and aromatic herbs; but this preparation is modern and rarely used.

Meat.—In the old days, the only meat available was that of the turtle, that of the bat, and that of a small number of birds, among which we will only mention the wild duck, the dove, the king-fisher, and a particular species of gallinacæa known by the name of *sesenghet*, which is the megapode.² However, only the turtles were an important food source. These various meats were either baked in an oven or roasted on a grill, or boiled in earthenware pots. Since the introduction of domestic fowls and large cattle, the eating habits of the Mariano natives have not changed as much as one would be led to believe.

Corn.—The half-breed class, on the other hand, has adopted the habits of the people of Manila and Mexico a lot more. Among their usual dishes, we must not forget to mention the *tortilla*, the *atole*, and the *tamales*. The latter is a mixture of *atole* with pork or chicken meat, to which are added some lard, hot pepper, tomatoes, and some “roucou”

1 The reader may see the shape of these vessels, and judge their relative capacity, by taking a look at our Plate 68.

2 Ed. note: Not to be confused with the Guam rail, called *koko*. The duck is called *nganga*.

to add color.¹ The whole thing having been cooked in a cauldron, a portion of it is served to each guest on a banana leaf. This meal is prepared on feast-days only.

The *tortilla*, a sort of thin corn pancake, about 9 inches in diameter, is cooked like our “crêpes de Bretagne” [Britanny pancakes], on an iron plate placed on hot coals. (See Pl. 69).

The *atole* is very simply a porridge of corn, seasoned with a little salt. It is prepared on a large scale, either in a cauldron, or in an earthen pot. What surprised us greatly, was its extreme whiteness, which is solely due to the precaution taken to strip each kernel of its yellow or red covering, something that prevents us in France from obtaining the flour to such a degree of purity. Here is how they proceed in the Marianas.

For each *caban* [50 liters] of corn kernels, one takes 12.5 *chupas* [3.1 liters] of quick-lime, which is boiled separately in a large cauldron full of water. When the corn was fresh, that is recently picked, an additional 3/4 *chupa* or 0.2 liter of quick-lime would be necessary. The corn is placed in a trough, the boiling lime solution poured on it, and the whole is stirred with a stick for a few minutes. The trough is then covered. After a rest of five to six hours, the liquid is decanted, then the grain is given a succession of three washings to completely get rid of the sediments of lime that might otherwise adhere to it. The kernels are then rubbed between the hand, so as to remove the film, which is easily removed that way, thus leaving only the starchy part.

Once the corn has reached this state of purity, it is immediately placed on a mortar, similar to those used by our chocolate manufacturers (Pl. 69 and 80, fig. n), and it is rapidly reduced to a paste with an extreme whiteness. If one wished to preserve some corn flour, he would have to spread the [shelled] kernels to dry first, before grinding them.

The flavor of the porridge made with this paste would be more pleasing if, instead of water, some sweet and flavored milk were used. Indeed, we ate some made with the latter method for a long time, during our stay at Guam, without ever becoming tired of it.

On the table of the rich people, eggs, spices, and above all hot peppers, play a very great role; it is not even rare to find all the refinements of gastronomy—if I may be allowed to use this word to describe the profusion of things capable of stimulating and satisfying one’s appetite, rather than pleasing his palate.

Drinks.—The primitive inhabitants of the Marianas did not know any intoxicating liquors; water was their only drink, but nowadays, and ever since the art of making coconut brandy, or, as they call it, *tuba*, has been brought from Manila, it has become all too easy for them to indulge in a perfidious drink, the excess, and even the frequent use, of which being so pernicious. A few half-breeds have managed to extract a sort of alcohol from corn; it is inferior in quality to *tuba*; for this reason, it is not much sought after. The same thing applies to the liquor drawn from the exotic plant named *barra de*

1 Ed. note: ‘Roucou’, or rather ‘ruku’ may be a word which Freycinet learned in Timor or elsewhere, and may mean ‘curcuma’.

San José: the smell it exudes is strong and unpleasant. As far as the manufacture of rum is concerned, success had not yet been achieved, in spite of many trials, by the time of our departure.

Mariana oven.—The oven of the ancient inhabitants was called *chanon* [sic],¹ and was arranged as follows: in a hole dug in the ground, whose size was relative to the object to be cooked, a bed of flat stones was laid out, and some firewood on top of them, then some more, smaller, stones were added. When the wood had been reduced to burning coals, all the smoking embers that remained were removed from the pit with a stick, then the stones were spread out on top of the hot coals, as evenly as possible; they, in turn, were finally covered with big leaves, then with more hot stones and earth, so that no steam could escape. Four hours were required to cook the *rīma*, but at least six hours were required to cook beef. The natives still use such ovens; however, since the Spanish have built them some in the European style (Pl. 68), these are normally preferred.

Manner of serving food.—The food to be served for a meal is placed on a mat, about 5 to 8 feet in length and 2 feet in width, placed on the ground. The guests, squatting and resting on their heels, take their places in two rows on either side of the mat; some plates, made of woven pandanus, or simple banana leaves, serve to receive the solid food; some pieces of calabashes, or coconut shells, are used for liquid food. Finally, even the pot in which the food has been cooked appears in the center of the table.

Meals.—There are three meals: breakfast, or *sinhak*, was taken and is still taken at about 7 a.m.; dinner, *na talo-haani* [noon-time meal], at noon or 1 p.m.; finally, supper [*hangapi*] takes place at 8 p.m. None of these meals is differentiated by any special dish.

Since the arrival of the Spanish, various customs have spread among the richer persons, and above all among the half-breeds: besides hot chocolate, which is drunk every morning, we will mention the *refresco* [lunch], a sort of snack that is taken before dinner, as we have already mentioned in Chapter XXIV.

Clothing.

The ancient Marianos would often go about completely naked; nevertheless, the loin-cloth was not unknown among them (Pl. 62 and 63); they called it *sadi* [covering];² they say that women made a normal use of it. However, it is very difficult today to learn what kind of stuff was used in making this cloth. Le Gobien narrates that women, on feast-days, wore certain clothes made of tree roots, that looked more like cages than a piece of clothing, because they were so rough and awkward. During a war and at sea, a cape or sleeveless coat, made of woven pandanus, and called *gnufa guafak*, was worn by the men;³ I cannot ascribe to it any other purpose than to preserve the wearer from the air, because it would be impossible to find the qualities of even a bad suit-of-armor in this flexible and thin cloth.

1 Ed. note: This must be a misprint for *chahan*, as an underground oven is still known today as *chahan*.

2 Ed. note: The same word is now used for 'diaper,' and 'sanitary napkin.'

3 Ed. note: *Guafak* is the word for woven mat, but *nufa* may have meant 'coat', or 'to wear.'

Hats [*badya*], made of the same substance, were and are still worn by both sexes. The women's hat (Pl. 79, fig. 29) has a shape a little different from that of the men (Pl. 79, fig. 20 and Pl. 62). Sometimes, they covered their heads with only a piece of calabash [*tuhung haungan*], cut into the shape of a cap (Pl. 63); however, unless they have to go out when the sun is hot, the inhabitants prefer to go bareheaded.

If, while fishing, they had to walk on sharp coral, they put on a sort of sandals made of palm leaves (Pl. 79, fig. 22), of a style that has been recently uncovered in very ancient Egyptian tombs. These sandals are less subject to slip in the water than the leather sandals (Pl. 80, fig. f) that were usually worn by the soldiers and the half-breed colonists; in fact, they had a definite advantage over the latter. Moreover, sandals are used only for long or dangerous treks; otherwise, people go barefoot.

Women used to let their hair grow to their natural length, and to make a knot in them at the back of the head; this is still done. Among the noble women, the hair was divided into two parts, each of which was knotted separately (Pl. 67, 68 and 69). The more coquettish ones would bleach their forelock with certain drugs appropriate to this purpose, so as to form a band of the width of a finger. This practice, abandoned since, is still carried out today in the Sandwich Islands.¹

Sometimes even the men wore their hair long, knotted like those of the women, or else loose (Pl. 62 and 63). However, the more common custom was to shave the head in various ways, but to leave some tufts of hair remain; the result of these more or less bizarre variations can be appreciated in our Plate 61. Such a fashion is [still] common in Japan and the Sandwich Islands as well as the Marianas. However, the soldiers of the garrison and a few other individuals, all belonging to the half-breed or Filipino race, gather their hair behind their head, as a tail. (See Pl. 61, 66 and 70).

Most of the time, the inhabitants belonging to the native race still follow the clothing habits of their ancestors. However, when they come to town, or on feast-days, they follow new customs, generally accepted today, to wear clothes; this means, for the men, very wide short pants and a shirt of blue cloth (Pl. 69); the women wear a skirt of varied colors, and a blouse or shift, most often white (Pl. 64, 65 and 69). In the countryside, specially when they are working, both sexes have the top half of their body completely uncovered (Pl. 68 and 70).

Our Mr. Guérin says: "The rich people add to this costume, on Sundays, a white shirt, European-style pants and a vest with sleeves (Pl. 66); those who have no vest, put their shirt on top of their pants—a sort of fashion which, by the way, we had a hard time to get used to. There are some, but few in number, who also wear some pointed shoes, but very open."

Until the age of 7-8 years, and even longer for boys, the children go naked (Pl. 69); under certain circumstances, however, they are given a small shirt or some shorts.

1 Ed. note: That is, in Hawaii, in 1819. Freycinet adds that this fashion is not disagreeable to look at, and can be found in Plates 88 and 89 of the French volumes.

The richer people wear round leather hats (Pl. 66 and 70), or more rarely, some made of felt, instead of the hats made of pandanus leaves (Pl. 77) that are mostly worn by the common people; still others prefer to wrap a headkerchief around their head (l. 61, 66 and 69). When the women go to church, they wear, instead of a veil, a headkerchief, usually a colored one (Pl. 65), adorned with some lace or embroidery, which recalls, to some extent, the Spanish *mantilla*; in fact, like the Spanish veil, it covers the face almost entirely. The ladies, on formal occasions, put on their feet some yellow or black slippers, whose heels are about 8 lines in height; this footwear marks the wearer as a rich woman, but it gives the impression of a painful waddle.

Ornaments.—Individuals of all ages and sex like very much to wear, either a scapulary, or a rosary, an ornament which they value highly (Pl. 61, 64, 65, 69 and 70); happy is the person who can procure one! Almost always the rosary supports a cross or a silver medal. When they can afford them, the women also wear rings and earrings (Pl. 61), the common ones being made of silver.

Before the conquest, the women wore around their heads, on feast-days, some wreaths made of turtle shells, rare sea-shells, or beads of a type of jet, to which they added flowers;¹ they also had [turtle] shell necklaces, of small disks made with this precious material, thin and of equal thickness (Pl. 79, fig. 15 and 24) which, threaded together tightly and crafted perfectly, seemed to form a single, flexible, piece. Such necklaces were known under the generic name of *alas*; they were of two types. The first, called *guini*,² were of a size a little smaller than the little finger, and were worn exclusively by ladies (Pl. 79); their length were such that, after passing twice around the neck, they hung down as far as the navel. The others, about one inch in diameter, were called *lukao-hugua*,³ they were worn as a scarf, and must have hung down as far as the hips.

The *guineha famaguon*,⁴ another object of adornment, was also made up of shell disks, but not polished on their edges nor of equal widths; its form was nearly the same as a truncated cone, extremely elongated, such that its diameter reached 6 inches at one end, but was only 1 inch at the other. This ornament could be owned only by rich men; they wore it around their neck, and let the ends fall unevenly on their chest. We will again mention this pretty jewel, as well as the shell necklaces, when we will deal with Mariana money.

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- 1 See Le Gobien. The Carolinians mix black beads made of the same material in some of their necklaces (Pl. 58, fig. 2).
 - 2 Pronounced with the final -i very brief; because the word *guini* denotes origin, the place where it is from; it is our [French] *de*, or the English *from*. Ed. comment: In fact, it means 'here, in this place,' probably because they were made locally.
 - 3 Ed. note: Literally 'real string [of beads]'.
 - 4 Literally 'children's wealth'. We will mention the origin of this word in the next section, where we will cover the social customs of the inhabitants of this country.

An article of jewelry, also much praised, but worn exclusively by rich ladies, was a whole turtle shell [*maku dudu*],¹ polished on its two sides, that was worn like an apron, tied around the waist with a twin cord. Certain precious shells and some small [pieces of] well-crafted coconut shells, also helped to adorn their waist.

The custom that the women had before of dyeing their teeth black, by rubbing them with certain herbs, has completely disappeared today.

Dwellings.

The dwellings of the ancient Marianos were roughly built, and were of two types: some were raised on stone pillars; the others, were built from the ground up. Among the latter type, we will first mention the simple shelter, built quickly to protect from the sun; it was called *akkagua*.² The *anagong* was a hut of a simple design, used to lodge the most miserable people. The *sadi gani* [covering run-aground],³ was a simple hut of conical shape, that could not have been for other than a single guard or look-out; built of wood, and covered of palm leaves, this hut has, like the *anagong*, only one door as an opening. Today, *sadi-ganis* are used as shelters for those working on the sea-side, at salt-making (Pl. 81).

There exists another type of house, of the same category, but much larger in size and rectangular in shape; it is often used only as a temporary shelter, built of wood and palm leaves, to protect the traveller from a rain storm, hence its name *guma padju*, which means storm house.⁴ It would also have been used as a temporary storage place for crops being harvested (Pl. 62).

The houses of the second category, or *guma saga* [dwelling house], were the only permanent dwellings of the Marianos; they were all supported by masonry pillars. The great number of [latte] stones that one still finds, at Guam and on all the other islands of the archipelago, makes this fact certain, and one that both tradition and history have so perfectly recorded.

In the summary of the narrative of the voyage of Legazpi, undertaken more than one century before Spanish settlement in the islands in question, the historian Gaspar says expressly: "That the dwellings of the islanders were high, properly built, and well divided into appartments; and that the whole, raised one floor above the ground, rested upon strong stone pillars. Besides these houses where they lived, the natives had some sort of sheds, also built on great stone pillars. One of these sheds, situated near the watering place, sheltered four of their big canoes."⁵

1 Ed. note: The Spanish word *caray* is now used.

2 Ed. note: Possible origin, from *akgak*, pandanus from which it was thatched. The French visitors saw two of these being built when they visited Tumon Beach.

3 Ed. note: Meaning 'beach-type shelter'.

4 Ed. note: Actually *guma pakyo*.

5 See Fray Gaspar's *Conquista temporal y spiritual de las islas Filipinas*, vol. 1, chap. 17; and J. Burney's *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea*, vol. 1. Ed. note: Better see the original primary account, by Fr. Rada, in HM2: 164.

The tallest pillars, among those that still exist as ruins, are to be seen on Tinian Island; they have been described, for the first time, in Anson's Voyage. One of our most skilful observers, Mr. Bérard, has examined them in person, and they gave him an impressive idea of the industry, taste and skill of the inhabitants of this country. Here is what he has to say about them.

[Report of Mr. Bérard]

“At Tinian, we have admired the ruins of a building situated at about one cable's length from the shore,¹ and that seemed to have belonged to a civilized nation. They are pyramid-shape pillars, ten of them, remarkable by their volume and the regularity of their spacing; seven of them being still erect, and the other three fallen down. The description that is found in Anson's Voyage is correct;² however, the roots and branches of trees that are today intertwined with the masonry, give to these monuments a very different aspect that they had formerly; the corners of the pillars have also become rather blunted, and the semi-globes that crown them no longer have the same roundness (Pl. 74). We cannot account for the fall of the three that lie on the ground;³ maybe their fall is due to some earthquake. These constructions, it is true, have no foundations and are placed on the surface of the ground; however, their voluminous proportions and their particular shape are sufficient to give them stability. Each of these pillars is made of a single block, composed of lime, sand, and, in some spots, of large stones imbedded in a common mass. It is permitted to doubt that the layer of plaster that Anson thought he recognized has ever existed; what is certain is that there is no longer any trace of it today; their surface has a gray color and even the hardness of a rock, whereas their interior is almost brittle.”⁴

“So far, I have talked about only about the great pillars that are gathered in two rows, like the remaining columns of an ancient building. We have seen others, but they were not so tall and not so big. Near the beach that is closest to the anchorage, we noticed a single pillar, rather tall, placed in the middle of a pile of ruins.”

“Not far from there, other ruins can be seen, but their pillars are much smaller. At one place, they are lined up, and form an avenue [of two rows] stretching over more than 200 *toises* [390 m] in length,⁵ in an E—W direction; one of them was wrapped by the branches of a fig tree. Moreover, all of these constructions seem to have been built of the same materials, and have been more or less eroded by the weather. On the moun-

1 It seems that it is near the village of Sunharon.

2 Ed. note: It is useless here to re-translate the quotation he gives from Anson's Voyage. Instead, see the original account, in English, in HM13: 491. Anson did not mention the number of columns (of what he thought was a temple), although another witness said there were a total of 12 (see HM13: 539).

3 This circumstance allowed Mr. Bérard to take exact measurements... Ed. comment: See Footnote below).

4 Ed. note: Such pillars were single blocks of coral limestone, cut in a quarry, and transported to the building site. In modern times, such quarries, showing unfinished blocks, still exist.

5 Ed. note: They probably had belonged to several houses, all lined up.

tains, on the plains, on any point of the island—in other words, everywhere one goes—there is a large number of such ruins, an obvious proof of the high population in ancient times.”

“I think that the tall pillars that I have described above must have belonged to a public building, because there is too noticeable a difference between its dimensions and those of the other works of this nature. Most of those that are spread on the surface of the island are not taller than 6 to 7 feet [1.95 to 2.27 m]; there are some smaller ones still. One cannot but recognize that, at former times, they were used to support the roofs of dwellings; indeed, today their ruins are still referred to as the *casas de los antiguos* [houses of the ancient].”

[Measurement of the latte stones at Sunharon, Tinian, in 1819]

[Footnote (cont'd):] Exact measurements taken by Mr. Bérard of various parts of these pillars, in French feet, and in meters (See Pl. 81, a,b,c):

Pyramid.

Lower base, rectangular:	5 x 3.5 ft. = 1.62 x 1.14 m
Upper base, square:	3.5 ft. = 1.14 m
Height of trunk of pyramid:	16 ft. = 5.20 m

Capital.

Vertical height:	4 ft. = 1.30 m
Upper diameter:	7 ft. = 2.27 m

Regarding the buildings that stood out by their superior extent and elevation, their purpose, according to local tradition, was to support the roof of huge sheds destined to shelter from the sun the canoes that had been temporarily pulled up the beach.¹ Nevertheless, mention is made of powerful chiefs who had erected buildings of this nature, to give to their dwellings a more sumptuous appearance.

By means of the information that has been provided to me at Guam, I have tried to give an idea of one of these monumental houses, and I present, on Plate 81, their elevation, plan, and profile views. A strong floor, supported by the pillars, and having in its center a big opening through which the people went up, served as a lodging for the family; there were kept the bedding, the provisions and valuables. The space under this floor was used in the daytime as a living room and work place. It should be noticed that the roof, that came down very low, provided a shelter from the sun, yet kept this lower

1 We shall see, in another part of this chapter, that the use of these large sheds still persist at Guam: as formerly, they are supported by stone pillars, but the masonry is in the European style. Generally, nowadays these sheds seem rather destined to shelter the workers, or to be used as a gathering place during their feast-days, instead of sheltering canoes.

place cool—something that is always desirable in the tropics. Probably, as is done in the Carolines¹ and in the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands, the soil was covered with a layer of stones, gravel or shells, upon which mats were sometimes placed, to make it less accessible to humidity.

Our Plate 81 also contains a sketch of the layout of the ordinary houses in olden days. On the left, on the same plate, there can be seen the elevation and plan views of one of today's houses, used by a large number of inhabitants, and already one can see the influence of European architecture. As in former dwellings, the floor is raised above the ground, but no more than 2 to 3 feet. The building is rectangular, measuring 18 feet by 10 on the side, and separated in two unequal parts: one of these, which is half the size of the other, serves as the bedroom of the heads of the family; it communicates with the main room by a door. Two small skylights serve to renew the air and let the light through. The main room serves at the same time as a living room, dining room and bedroom for the children; daylight comes through the two side entrance doors, which are reached by ladders or short stairways, wooden, like the rest of the building. The roof is covered with palm leaves, rather tightly packed, to make them water-tight.

The kitchen is always built outside, at a short distance from the lodging; its oven is made up of many stones, fashioned to receive the pots, and the whole is covered over with a light roof, that is supported by a few poles planted into the ground. There exist larger dwellings, no doubt, but all are laid out according to the same principle. The largest ones are divided into four rooms: a bedroom, a dining room, a storage room where the provisions are kept, and a work room that is also used as a dormitory. A few windows are pierced at regular intervals (Pl. 70); the kitchen is always isolated from the body of the main lodging.

This last custom is still followed by a few half-breed inhabitants, and even by those in authority, whose houses are made of stone and covered with tiles, in the European style. For instance, in the governor's house at Pago, as sketched in our Plate 80, n° 9 indicates the kitchen, which communicates with the rest of the building by the walkway or sidewalk n° 8. The houses of this type, as we can see, are not resting either on piles, or masonry pillars; yet, their floor, upon which one walks, is also raised a few feet above the ground. The empty space under the floor is neither inhabited nor habitable, because of the humidity that prevails there; nevertheless, a few persons use this space as a storage room for things that dampness does not harm. The windows of the wealthier inhabitants are made of panels of mother-of-pearl shells or of thin sheets of horn

1 Captain Kotzebue says that in the Radak [Marshall] Islands, they have simple sheds with a higher floor where they keep their baggage and effects; moreover, they have huts in the shape of circular tents. The soil is covered with small pieces of coral and shells.

material;¹ the other people use window shutters in the form of blinds, or simple mats or other woven materials of various patterns.

Ancient furniture.—The ancient Marianos slept only on top of mats [*guafak*]; the net-type hammock—a recently-introduced article—was unknown to them.² For the children who are breast-fed, they had a sort of crib [*fagapsan*] made of woven pandanus, reinforced by strips of light wood; its use and shape can be seen in our Plate 62. When they were travelling, a basket, prismatic in shape [*aktu*], fitted with two cords that crossed diagonally, served to carry these young creatures; the whole was then hung at the end of a stick placed on a shoulder. This means of transport, which is no longer in use today, was last seen at Guam in 1807.

The *alan mamaon* [betel box] is now, but was even more so in ancient times, a required piece of furniture, destined to receive the paraphernalia of this precious masticatory. This box, prismatic in shape, and surmounted by two arches that served as a handle, had an opening 8 inches square, and was made of woven pandanus leaves with much elegance and care. (See Pl. 62).

During the meals, the dishes were served on a mat [*tefan*] placed on the ground. The basket to store the food inside the house was called *alan chin-o*; the *sarghi* was a plate upon which, during certain ceremonies, the rice cake named *hinigsa sinargan* was placed, and of which we will return later. The *kotud*³ was a rectangular vessel, woven, as the preceding ones, of palm leaves, and destined to carry, from one point to another, the rice that was sent as a gift (Pl. 79, fig. 9).

There were other similar articles, for instance, the *saluu*, a sort of case with a cover, that was well crafted (Pl. 79, fig. 25), and was used, on feast-days, to place the betel balls that had to be offered to dignitaries. The *balagbag*, an average-size handbag, with a flap, and the *hagug*, an enormous basket, shaped like a case (Pl. 79, fig. 26), served to carry war and food supplies; the former was carried across one's back, at the level of the hips, and the latter, with cords or suspenders, behind the shoulders; the largest dimension of the latter was at least 3 feet. There was another bag of the same type, but only 10 inches on the side, that was called *danglon*. The *alan tugug* were baskets with two equal compartments; the *pupung* and the *ala* (Pl. 53 and 68) were baskets of woven coconut leaves, one big and the other small, meant only to contain objects of little value, such as yam roots, etc.⁴ The *gueghe*, meant to place fish that had just been caught; the *tataho* a woven pandanus bag to hold rice after the harvest (Pl. 62); the *laiman*, a large mat upon which fish, or any other type of food, was laid out to dry.

1 Ed. note: In fact, they were of translucent Capiz shells, from Panay Island in the Philippines, as some houses in the countryside of those islands still use.

2 The Carolinians of the Radak Islands lay down on a rough mat, and a piece of wood serves them as a pillow. (See Kotzebue, *op. cit.*).

3 Ed. note: Now written 'kottot.'

4 Ed. note: The *pupong* was actually a mat, stitched together; it was also used flat, as a roof ridge mat.

Calabashes of various sizes were used to store a considerable number of household articles: the larger ones, with a wide neck [*sumag*], were ordinarily reserved for drinking water, or to preserve salted fish; in the latter case, it took the name of *tagua*; the smaller ones [*linghig*] were used as buckets; finally, even pieces of calabash were used as utensils.

The trunks of bamboos were not less useful, either to contain certain substances (Pl. 68), or to carry water during a voyage (Pl. 67, and 80, fig. m).

The earthenware used by the ancient included some pots [*pitor*] of various sizes (Pl. 79, fig. 28), which, not being glazed, went directly on the fire, and served to cook certain foods; Others had an opening anywhere from 1 foot to 4 feet in diameter, and a depth equal to $\frac{3}{4}$ of its diameter (Pl. 62); there were also pots with the shape shown on Pl. 79, fig. 8. All of the pots had the generic name of *sahadyan*; the larger ones were used, on feast-days, to prepare rice.

Each household had also its own coconut grater [*kamdyu*] (Pl. 79, fig. 2), to reduce the meat of this fruit to powder; its wooden trough [*saluhan*] (Pl. 62 and 79, fig. 27), its large stone mortars [*Iusong*] (Pl. 79, fig. 27, and Pl. 62 and 71), its small wooden mortars [*putod*] (Pl. 66 and 68), and its pestles [*falu*] (Pl. 62, 66, 68 and 71).

Modern furniture.—The furniture found inside modern houses depends of the wealth of the persons inhabiting them, but it is always very scanty: a sideboard, a big chest that is used as a bench, a wooden bed-frame that is badly crafted, and some net-type hammocks (Pl. 66), are commonly what makes up that of the rich people. The local dignitaries have a few more pieces of furniture; indeed, they have chairs, benches, sometimes a mirror, and always an engraving representing a religious subject.

The household utensils are: certain vessels from China [*kahua*] of cast metal, the largest of which can be as many as 3 feet in diameter; small basins [*karahai*] of the same shape and material, but not larger than one-and-a-half feet in diameter (the sketch of one of these can be seen above the still on our Place 68). The former have the same purpose as our cauldrons; the latter replace our frying pans. One must add a brass chocolate pot and its stirring stick, one or two plates, and porcelain bowls; a few bottles, some earthenware jars (Pl. 68) made in the Philippines; a mortar to grind corn, and its pestle (Pl. 69 and 80); finally, calabashes, bamboos, mortars, pestles and baskets, as they were used in the old days. A large coconut shell at the end of a stick, placed next to a jar full of water, allows anyone to have a drink.

For interior lighting, a few inhabitants place a cotton wick, dipped into coconut oil, at the bottom of an old porcelain bowl, or in an iron lamp from Spain, or in half a coconut shell, a fresh one. Formerly, no-one used any lamp, but, when there was a need to light one's way while travelling or fishing, a sort of torch [*Iagos*]¹ which was made of, either dry reeds, or reeds mixed with coconut leaves, or else of a bunch of reeds and the dried flowers of the coconut tree. This same means of lighting is still used today.

1 Ed. note; This could be a misprint for *hachon*, the same as the modern word.

Among the modern utensils, we must also mention: a wooden plate to sift cereals or to serve as a tray (Pl. 80, fig. d); a washboard (Pl. 80, fig. g); and the iron to press clothes with. (Pl. 80, fig. h).

Occupations and customs.

Occupations of both sexes.—When the first Europeans arrived at the Marianas, the women were generally participating much more actively than the men in the hard tasks of the household; this custom has been maintained among the natives, in spite of the contrary example given by most of the settlers and the half-breeds; however, it is not rare to see women of the latter class busy themselves like their counterparts in fishing from the shore and even in cultivating the soil, yet not neglecting the numerous daily tasks inside their houses.

The two sexes, as we have said, would formerly participate together in fishing and agricultural activities; however, the building of the huts or houses, that of the canoes, navigation, the maintenance of the roads and the transport of heavy objects were done mostly by men; the work reserved for women consisted of manufacturing sinnets and ropes used with the canoes, the weaving of the sails for the canoes, that of the mats, and generally the manufacture of all the numerous utensils made of pandanus leaves, such as the baskets, boxes, baby cribs, bags, etc. etc., whose names are mentioned above; the ordinary cooking activities and the practice of medicine ere mostly reserved to them as well.

Nowadays the people of the low class do not even dream of working the soil; to supply their family with vegetables, they simply go into the woods or to the mountains in the morning, where they gather edible roots, *federiko*, coconuts, and the wood that they need, but just enough of everything for a one- or two-day supply, rarely for three days. Hunting is not unknown to them either.

Times for meals.—The widespread custom the islanders have of talking while resting, makes it difficult to estimate the average time they spend sleeping; they usually spend from 9 to 10 hours in bed, unless the needs of an evening spent torch-fishing keep them awake. Besides, they may sleep at any time of the day, without any fixed time for that. A few modern inhabitants, to imitate the Spaniards, have acquired the habit of taking a *siesta*. Formerly, one of their pasttimes was to take a walk after sunset; this usually took place for the purpose of enjoying the coolness of the air, or to check on the progress of their plantations.

Cleanliness.—Daily baths were part of the usual customs in the Marianas, at least whenever the proximity of water made it possible. The practice of rubbing one's head and body with coconut oil, not only to preserve oneself from the cold, but also to repel certain insects, was widespread; the sailors would always do so before going to sea. When there was no coconut oil handy, some grated, or chewed, coconut meat was substituted; today, a few individuals prefer to rub their head with orange juice mixed with coconut oil.

Tattooing.—It appears that the ancient Marianos had never practiced tattooing; nevertheless, what is certain is that this practice, if it ever existed, has now been com-

pletely forgotten by them. To the contrary, their neighbors, the Carolinians, have a special predilection for this type of ornament.

Betel.—Such was not the case with betel, which, unknown in the [Central] Carolines, has been, from time immemorial, an object of first necessity for the Marianos. The local chewing cud consists only of areca nut, leaves of the betel pepper and a little lime, because tobacco, introduced recently by the Europeans, do not enter into it at all.

Cigars.—It is in the form of cigars that tobacco is consumed in the Marianas, where it has become fashionable; no inhabitant of Guam goes out without his lighter,¹ and, in a carrying-case, a small piece of the light *balibago* [hibiscus] wood, which catches fire at the least spark, and makes an excellent tinder.

Manner of lighting a fire.—Earlier, we have refuted the astonishing assertion of some writers that the ancient Marianos, at the time of their discovery, did not know about fire.² On the other hand, their frequent contacts with the Philippines could make us believe that they use the same methods to make fire by rubbing; there is no comparison, however. What is even more surprising is that the Marianos used the same procedure as the Papuans of Waigiu, that we have described earlier.³ At Guam, the pieces of wood that are used for this purpose are called *dyugdyug* [fire-making sticks].⁴

In the Philippines, they placed a splinter of bamboo against a tree or on the ground, in an horizontal or vertical position; another, shorter, piece of the same wood, but with a slot perpendicular to its length and with a hole pierced at one of its extremities, is held firmly with both hands and rubbed briskly against the former; a very fine dust soon comes out of the hole, and soon catches fire.

Method used to gather rain-water.—Mr. Duperrey says: “In many villages, the inhabitants prefer rain-water to water from the rivers; however, as they cannot make cisterns, they place a jar at the foot of a coconut or some other palm tree; a leaf of this tree, bent down and tied to the trunk with a cord, has its extremity placed inside the opening of the vessel, and conducts the water along the trunk, in sufficient quantity to provide water for many families.”

1 Flint-stones, quite common today, have been left there by the ships of Captain Crozet, in 1772

2 See Chapter XXV.

3 Chapter XXI [not reproduced here].

4 Ed. note: Now written 'yokyok.'

Section VII. Man living in society.

Towns and villages

In the section on geography, we have, so to speak, said everything that could be said about Mariana towns and villages—the miserable remains of what must have formerly been in a more prosperous state of development. Few monuments are, in fact, to be seen; and as for their architecture, it has been treated on previous pages.

Guam: Agaña.—Our Plate n° 60 gives an exact idea of the relative arrangement of the houses of Agaña and the wards that sub-divide this town. Of the total number of dwellings, only one-sixth of them are built with stone; the rest are made of wood, or wood with masonry foundations, and of the form described earlier under the caption “ordinary modern house” (See Pl. 81). Today, each of these houses has its tobacco plantation next to it; oftentimes, many of these kinds of gardens do not seem to be defined by any border, but, with some rare exceptions, none has any kind of fencing to separate it, either from another garden, or from the streets bordering it.

The more remarkable buildings are, beginning at the east end, the royal College of San Juan de Letrán and its dependencies (Pl. 66); next, the church and the presbytery, the general store, the governor’s palace, and the barracks whose south part serves as a hospital. There can also be seen the house used by the governor-elect, or by the former governor awaiting his departure; this is where the officers of the **Uranie** were lodged. On Calle de la Mar [Sea Street] is the house of Don Luís [de Torres], which attracts our attention too much to remain quiet about it, on account of the feelings of gratitude that his name reminds us of. Independently of the royal college, the number of students of which is limitless, there are still some primary schools, one for boys on Calle de la Escuela [School St.], and another for girls, in the Ward of San Ramón; the premises of the latter are in a simple wooden house.

On the south side of a very pretty stone bridge, there is a large shed supported by masonry pillars, which appears to be used as a shelter for government workers, in case of urgent and extraordinary works, or as a gathering place for the inhabitants during certain games. On the north side there are two more, smaller, sheds; one is used to shelter canoes from the sun, and the other as a boat-building workshop.

Looking towards the east, one sees a second bridge that provides a connection between the Ward of San Nicol’s and the trails leading to the village of Mongmong and to the neighboring countryside. Downstream, one finds various small bridges, consisting for the most part of two coconut tree trunks placed side by side, for use by those who live along the river bank.

The two forts, whose respective locations can be seen on the map, were not armed [with cannon] during our stay at Guam.

The governor’s palace, and the two buildings next to it, share a long enclosure that is known as “the governor’s garden;” this is where we set up our observatory. A square area inside is planted with tobacco and shaded by magnificent orange trees and a few

coconut trees; at sunset, this area provided a pleasant retreat. Our Plate n° 67 contains an exact sketch of this charming site.

Merizo.—This large village, not as important as formerly, is divided naturally in two parts, one on the right, and the other on the left, of the small Paparguan River; the interval between them is only a few hundred *toises*; the inhabitants call the first division by the name of *Merizo-catan*, and the second division by that of *Merizo-ruchan*.¹ Over the past century, the number of houses in this town has changed from 63 to 39; it was 55 at the time of the visit of our skilful travel companion, Dr. Quoy. All of its houses are made of wood, but the church that existed before has since disappeared completely.

Pago.—The church of Pago, and the abandoned convent located next to it, both built by Jesuit missionaries, are about one-and-half centuries old. The governor's palace (Pl. 81), a school for boys next to the convent, and another for girls, located inside the town, are the only buildings that deserve attention.

Agat.—Only the church and the mayor's house are worth mentioning, because they belong to the king. The mayor's house is prettier than other buildings of its type, at Guam. The site of this little town is very advantageous, given the ease of communications that it offers with both Port San Luis and Umata Bay.

Umata.—Perhaps we have the right to be surprised that this town, so well situated, and so often visited by Spanish and foreign ships, should not be much larger. The governor's house, built in a style similar to that of Pago, but larger; a pretty church, an old convent serving as a hospital, a large boat shed, another, that has benches inside, and seems to be used, like that of Agaña, for public gatherings; two schools, one for girls and one for boys: those are, along with the fortress that defends the bay, the elegant or useful buildings that the Europeans notice in the small town of Umata. Its wooden houses are spread, in a rather regular pattern, amid a grove of orange trees that perfume the air and provide a pleasant shade.

The other inhabited places on the island are distinguished more or less by the beauty of their site, but they are generally of little extent.

Before we leave Guam, we will present a chronological table showing the number of houses existing, at different times, and in various localities. The large, and sudden, decreases that are sometimes noticed, are due, I think, to the destructive action of hurricanes, or perhaps—what is less probable—fires.²

1 This needs explanation. The observer, located on the sea-shore and facing it, has the *catan*, or *katan* side on his right [i.e. south]; that which is on his left, is the *ruchan* or *luchan* side [north]; what is before him or downstream, is the *rago* or *jago* [west] side; finally, what is inland or upstream, is the *haya* or *hadya* [east] side. Such words become elements of many compound words. Ed. comment: Freycinet has the north and south directions reversed; see Chamorro direction terminology, HM5: 388-390.

2 Ed. note: I have modified its presentation, omitting the yearly variations.

Chronological table of the number of houses in the towns and villages of the island of Guam, from 1710 until 1818 inclusively.

Legend: Ag = Agaña; M = Merizo; P = Pago; I = Inarahan; At = Agat; An = Anigua; U = Umata; S = Sinahaña; As = Asan; T = Tepungan; M = Mongmong; Ap = Apurguan.

Ed. note: I have added a total column, using the data from the following population tables.

Year	Ag	M	P	I	At	An	U	S	As	T	M	Ap	[Totals]
1710	---	---	---	---	---	50	---	34	28	22	52	14	---
1731	---	37	17	13	19	48	20	31	29	19	32	28	485
1753	166	42	40	38	62	33	43	27	18	9	22	19	519
1760	212	46	34	36	46	32	34	27	22	11	15	14	567
1771	243	41	32	44	41	37	43	33	25	12	9	15	575
1772	265	39	31	36	37	35	42	28	20	9	9	13	564
1778	276	39	33	36	39	35	42	28	20	9	17	13	587
1783	296	39	31	40	47	37	42	27	14	12	13	10	608
1784	316	39	32	40	48	38	42	28	14	12	19	12	640
1785	305	39	34	40	44	37	42	12	14	12	30	16	625
1786	317	39	38	40	45	37	43	29	12	9	13	10	632
1787	256	47	27	31	37	39	41	34	12	11	15	10	560
1788	309	41	41	41	45	41	45	33	11	11	14	10	642
1789	303	41	40	41	45	41	43	33	12	11	14	10	635
1790	332	47	44	39	47	43	42	43	11	14	11	9	682
1791	339	49	44	39	43	48	43	45	12	14	11	10	696
1792	342	51	45	45	45	48	47	45	11	14	11	10	714
1793	305	49	37	45	45	46	41	34	10	12	10	12	646
1795	336	46	36	42	50	37	44	42	7	11	8	7	666
1796	337	48	31	39	51	39	46	33	10	10	10	9	663
1797	351	55	38	42	45	43	51	42	12	12	12	9	711
1798	357	57	33	37	48	43	53	43	13	15	14	7	720
1799	368	59	39	40	51	35	50	40	14	12	15	6	729
1800	372	60	33	39	52	47	49	35	14	12	15	7	735
1801	377	62	30	32	53	46	49	36	15	12	15	6	733
1803	368	57	29	37	54	47	44	32	15	14	15	6	718
1804	374	58	36	32	56	41	44	30	15	13	16	3	718
1805	374	55	34	34	52	45	44	32	15	13	14	2	684
1806	381	57	39	39	54	40	44	30	16	14	15	3	732
1807	383	57	36	42	52	41	49	30	17	14	15	3	738
1808	396	59	34	44	51	44	43	33	15	12	16	0	747

¹ Ed. note: Plus Riguas, 28 houses, etc.

1809	450	59	36	44	54	44	45	33	18	12	16	-	721
1810	466	59	37	45	54	43	45	36	21	14	15	-	835
1811	481	52	40	41	54	45	42	38	23	16	16	-	848
1812	486	46	40	33	46	45	41	35	22	13	17	-	824
1813	486	47	40	33	46	46	37	35	20	13	17	-	820
1814	486	49	41	35	45	44	40	35	20	14	15	-	684
1815	443	52	40	43	45	44	34	35	28	14	15	-	793
1816	448	52	40	43	45	44	34	36	28	14	15	-	799
1817	440	55	44	43	42	39	35	33	19	14	14	-	778
1818	444	55	44	43	42	39	35	34	20	14	14	-	784

Rota Island.—Mr. Bérard, to whom we owe the observations made at Rota, has only visited the village of Sosanhaya while at this island; he counted 80 wooden huts, and a church of stone that is thatched with palm leaves. The large majority of the population can now be found gathered at this place. For the variable numbers of the houses to be found on this island, the reader may consult the population statistics below; in fact, there were 23 more houses located on other places on the island, at the time our companions visited it.

Tinian Island.—The mayor's house here bears the pompous name of *palacio* [palace]; it was the only house that Mr. Bérard saw on the site of the ancient Sunharon; next to it were five sheds where the salting operations are carried out; they are used also to store, or shelter from the weather, the corn, yams, and, generally, all the crops that must be sent to Guam. According to the census of 1818, there were 8 houses at Tinian in 1818.

Saipan Island.—That same year, the settlement of Saipan was hardly at its beginnings; there were only four houses then, all inhabited by Carolinians from Lamursek Island.

Population.

Number of individuals.—It is difficult to learn about the exact population of the Marianas before the Spanish conquest. All of the early travellers give a considerable number of inhabitants to these islands, and the narrative of the historians seem to support this idea, but without providing positive proofs in this respect.

A note written by the respectable Governor Tobias, taken from the archives of Guam, tells us that when the Spanish came to settle in the Marianas, that is in 1668, the population of Guam, Rota and Tinian alone was estimated at slightly over 50,000 [sic] souls; however, the very next year, according to the narrative of Fr. Murillo Velarde, 13,000 Christians and 20,00 catechumens, excluding the idol-worshippers. If we may be allowed to speculate on the population of the various islands of the archipelago, based on their surface areas, we may, by a simple calculation and what has just been said, assert that:

Guam had at least	35,000 inhabitants,
Saipan had	11,000
Rota had	8,000
Tinian had	7,000
Gani Islands, to the north of Saipan altogether ¹ had	12,000

Therefore, the total population of the Mariana archipelago, in 1668, or before the Spanish conquest ... **73,000 [sic] souls**
 Note: This gives 1,325 inhabitants by square league, or 229 by square mile.²

This number will perhaps be seen excessive, but attention should be given to the fact that the smaller islets of the Mariana group, such as Mañagaha, Apapa, Daneono, Bali, etc. (Pl. 59),, since completely abandoned, were then covered with buildings.

Regarding previous accounts which, though not rigorous, seemed to have some truth in them, we will now see a few others, where truth was not always the guiding principle.

For instance, the writer of Anson's Voyage thought that the population of Tinian alone had been, before the conquest, 30,000 souls, that is, more than four times our calculations. To the contrary, Crozet thought that, at the same time, the number of Indians living along the sea-shore of Guam did not reach 20,000, and the whole population of the archipelago was 60,000. Le Gobien, whom Abbé Prévost copied, ascribed fewer than 30,000 to Guam, which would have had between 15,000 and 20,000 according to Le Gentil de la Barnibais.³

Be that as it may, there still remains the problem of explaining the rapid decrease of the population to the present level. We will soon see that, in 1710, hardly 11 years after the final conquest of these islands, the number of natives had already been reduced from 73,000 [sic] to 3,559; that in 1722, when the second official census was taken, there were but 1,935. War must no doubt have killed many, but it is difficult to believe that this was the only cause of the disappearance of 20 out of every 21 individuals among such a brave and enterprising population; besides, they never had to fight with more than a

- 1 In 1669, Fr. Morales baptized 4,000 individuals five of these islands: Anatahan, Sariguan, Alamaguan, Pagan and Agrigan.
- 2 Ed. note: Needless to say, Freycinet did not help the debate. The realistic figure was about 20,000 inhabitants for the whole (See Population statistics in the earlier books of this series, and the Cumulative index).
- 3 Ed. note: In his footnote, Freycinet goes on to speculate that 20,000 for Guam was too little, considering the number of conversions reported; what he did not know was that such figures had contained either exaggerations, or errors in arithmetics. The Belgian Fathers Bouwens and Coomans, who arrived in 1672, did set the record straight; however, their Latin reports, which I found, transcribed, translated, and published in this series have revealed the truth, as it had never been known before. Amen.

very small number of Europeans. Emigration was probably another, more important, cause of this decrease; frustrated in their customs, the Marianos would have gone away to other countries, to seek the peace and independence that they no longer had at home. This opinion is not a simple conjecture: Dampier states that, as a result of the revolt of 1684, the natives of the Marianas, finding that they could no longer offer resistance to the Spanish, destroyed their plantations and fled to other islands.¹ It appears certain that the Egoy [Ulithi] Islands, belonging to the vast Caroline archipelago, was one of the places of this emigration; it was even to this cause that the death of Fr. Cantova has been attributed, at Mogmog, one of those islands, in 1731.² At the moment that preceded his martyrdom, this learned missionary had asked his furious attackers why they wished to kill him, although they did him no harm. They answered: "You come to change our ancient customs, and we want nothing to do with your religion." Then, they instantly pierced him, and his companions, with their spears. This spontaneous act of frenzy had probably been inspired by the unfavorable reports brought by some Mariano fugitives, then living in their island, many of whom may even have taken a direct part in the assassination.

Since the general peace, the causes that have affected the Mariana population are much more numerous.³ The despair that accompanied their flight away from their native islands must have led many to commit suicide, and others to voluntarily destroy the fruit of their union. Finally, among the number of annoyances that seemed insupportable to them, one must mention, firstly, the obligation of neglecting their maternal tongue in favor of the language of the victors, and, secondly, the hard labor forced upon them by often unjust and greedy masters. Some epidemic and fatal diseases, unknown until then, at various times, came to increase these causes of destruction; however, the worst, the most efficient, though least mentioned, cause was the excessive use of intoxicating liquors; indeed, uncivilized peoples cannot generally recognize the danger, as a temporary pleasure makes them ignore the fatal power of these poisoned drinks.

Census.—We will now study in detail the variations of the Mariana population. This work covers 108 years, and is presented in many tables, followed by summaries and a few general comments. In addition, we will present the statement of marriages, births and deaths of the town of Agaña, and finally a last table where the preceding data will be analyzed and compared.⁴

1 "The natives, finding they could not prevail against the Spaniards, destroyed their plantations and went to other islands." (Dampier's Voyages).

2 Ed. note: No. His death was due to treason on the part of his native interpreter, Digal, whom he had baptized previously, at Guam. There was never any emigration out of the Marianas.

3 Ed. note: They were always there.

4 Ed. note: This data, taken from the archives of Guam in 1819, have already been published in great part, and in chronological order, in this series (see HM20, Cumulative index—Population statistics). These data will be reproduced below, and it will be summarized, consolidated, and commented upon by me, in bracketed paragraphs, except for the data on marriages, births, and deaths.

[Villages and hamlets included in the various parishes of Guam and Rota, in **1710**, with the number of houses in parantheses, where applicable.]

—Agaña Parish: Apurguan (14); Mongmong (52); Sinahaña (34); East Anigua (45); West Anigua (5); Asan (28); Tepungan (22); Riguan (28).

—Agat Parish: Agat proper; Fuña; Inesu; Fiña [same as Feña, or Fena]; Sagualaylay; Apra; Lompa; Ridyug.

—Umata Parish: Toguan; Hinehit; Magugun; Saon; Fuha.

—Merizo Parish: North Merizo; South Merizo; Gheos; Heang and Surtina; Tachog.

—Inarahan Parish: Inarahan proper; Fippoko; Agfayan; East Sagame; West Sagame.

—Pago Parish: Pago proper; Sahak; Popalidyan; Ensa; Yoña.

—Rota Parish: Sosanhaya (i.e. East Sosa); East Tarag; Aytito;¹ Targua.²

1 Ed. note: Misprint for Titito, or Tetito.

2 Ed. note: Or Tatgua. **Warning:** The overall population statistics, until 1714 at least, are **under-stated**, because the people then living in the islands north of Rota were not visited by the missionaries, or enumerated. Besides, the church records included only converts.

Official Census of the Marianas, from 1710 to 1818.

Source: Agaña archives, in 1819.

Table N° 1: Population in 1710.

Parish	Houses	Male		Female		Totals	Average	
		Men	Boys	Women	Girls		Family size	
Agaña	228	349	149	281	122	901	4	See note.
Agat	---	168	117	158	73	516		
Umata	---	93	71	90	64	318		
Merizo	---	151	80	156	50	437		
Inarahan	---	148	120	165	63	496		
Pago	---	125	82	140	57	404		
Rota	---	137	77	163	90	467		
Totals: ---		1,171	696	1,153	519	3,539		

[Ed. notes: It appears that Agaña proper, with its wards, is not included in the figure for the Agaña parish. See also Doc. 1710J in HM11: 257.]

Table n° 2: Population in 1722.

Parish	Male		Female		Totals	
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls		
Agaña	220	85	184	74	563	See note 1.
Agat	109	29	76	30	244	
Umata	62	34	50	36	182	
Merizo	93	45	91	37	266	
Inarahan	86	27	60	35	208	
Pago 85	43	72	24	224		
Totals: 655		263	533	236	1,687	
Rota (approx.) ---	---	---	---	---	249	See Note 2.
General Total:					1,936	

[Ed. note 1: The apparent decrease in the total population is explained by the fact that the population of Agaña proper, with its wards, is not given here either, while many people from the other districts, quite understandably, began to move to the capital. Hence, one cannot make comparisons, including graphic representations, because individual tables are not at all comprehensive. This, Freycinet, and others after him, have failed to realize. See also Doc. 1721H, in HM12: 312.]

Note 2. The population of Rota is not available for 1722; we have fixed it approximately, by comparing it with those given for 1710 and 1726, and using the average of the two figures.

Table N° 3: Population in 1726.

Parish	Male		Female		Totals	
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls		
Agaña	242	162	235	116	755	See note 1.
Agat	115	75	117	53	360	See note 2.
Umata	53	55	49	39	196	
Merizo	69	60	77	39	245	See note 3.
Inarahan	60	50	54	28	192	
Pago	75	27	60	26	188	
Rota	74	56	96	52	278	
Totals:	688	485	688	353	2,214	

[Ed. note 1: Agaña proper and its wards are still not enumerated here.]

[Ed. note 2: In the parish of Agat, 5 outlying hamlets have been eliminated, leaving only Fuña and Inesu.]

[Ed. note 3: In the Merizo parish, a new village, called Pueblo Nuevo, or New Village, has been formed, with 60 inhabitants, most probably by regrouping the former hamlets of Gheos, Heang and Surtina.]

[Summary of the census of December 1727].

[Ed. note: For the complete census of 1727, listing the names of all the inhabitants of Guam and Rota, see Doc. 1727D in HM13: 17-45. This information can be summarized as follows:]

[Agaña Parish:	825]
[Mongmong	148]
[Sinahaña	127]
[Anigua	220]
[Asan	107]
[Tepungan	74]
[Riguan	26]
[Apurguan	123]
[Agat Parish:	345]
[Umata Parish:	201]
[Merizo Parish:	260]
[Inarahan Parish:	206]
[Pago Parish:	197]

[Rota Island:	283]	
[Sosanhaya	96]	
[Sosanrago	38]	
[Miune	71]	
[Seac	45]	
[Songtan	33]	
[Sub-total (excl. Agaña):	2,317	
[Town of Agaña:	465]	
[Spaniards and dependents	294]	
[Filipinos and dependents	171]	
[General total:		2,782]

Table N° 4: Population in 1731.

Parish	Houses	Male		Female		Totals	
		Men	Boys	Women	Girls		
Agaña	187	270	143	249	94	756	See note 1.
Agat	91	125	44	107	53	329	
Umata	45	64	29	58	30	181	
Merizo	63	99	36	85	26	236	
Inarahan	43	71	42	53	33	209	
Pago	56	82	127	92	25	204	
Total Guam:	485	701	327	626	261	1,915	See note 2.
Rota (approx.)----	---	---	---	---	---	275	See note 3.
Totals: ---	---	---	---	---	---	2,190	

[Ed. note 1: It appears that Agaña proper, with its wards, is not included in the figure for the Agaña parish.]

[Ed. note 2: Average family size of native families in Guam: $1915/485 = 4$.]

Note 3: The population of Rota is missing for 1731; an approximation has been made, by a method analogous to that used for 1726.]

[Ed. note 4: for the population statistics for 1735, when the native population hardly reached 2,000, see the remarks made in Doc. 1735C, in HM13: 386-390.]

[Ed. note 5: For the Christian population of Guam, Rota and Saipan in 1737, when it was 2,106 inhabitants, see Doc. 1737B, in HM13: 410.]

Table N° 5: Population in 1741.

Town	Male		Female		Totals	
	Men	Boys	Women	Girls		
Agaña	206	135	187	94	622	See note 1.
Agat	82	46	94	37	259	
Umata	52	25	52	24	153	
Merizo	62	48	67	26	203	
Inarahan	56	38	54	36	184	
Pago	59	29	51	16	155	See note 2.
Total Guam:	517	321	505	233	1,576	
Rota	---	---	---	---	240	
Totals:	---	---	---	---	1,816	

[Ed. note 1: It appears that Agaña proper, with its wards, is not included in the figure for the Agaña parish.]

[Ed. note 2: It appears that the parish of Pago no longer existed and had been lumped with Agaña parish.]

[Ed. note: The population estimate for 1749 was 3,000 inhabitants. (See Doc. 1749B, in HM14: 53-60.)]

Table N° 6: Population in 1753.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & Filipinos	Native Indians	Totals	
Agaña & depend.	294	155	764	550	919	See note 1.
Agat	62	---	---	277	277	
Umata	43	---	---	159	159	
Merizo	42	---	---	217	217	
Inarahan	38	---	---	186	186	
Pago	40	---	---	172	172	
Rota	47	--	-	234	234	
Totals:	566	155	764	1,795	2,714	

[Ed. note 1: Agaña proper had 166 houses, and no natives; the natives all lived in the suburbs: 66 in Apurguan; 9 in Tepungan; 18 in Asan; 142 in Anigua; 66 in Apurguan; 80 in Monmong; and 148 in Sinahaña. The Chamorro natives were only two-thirds of the population in 1753.

[Ed. note: For the population statistics of 1755, when the totals were 2,694, see Doc. 1737B, in HM13: 411.]

Table N° 7: Population in 1758.

Town	Spaniards & dependents	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña + Santa Cruz	504+	431+	---	1,000 See note 1.
Idem, dependencies	---	---	535	535 See note 2.
Agat	---	---	242	242
Umata	---	---	167	167
Merizo	---	---	190	190
Inarahan	---	---	190	190
Pago	---	---	143	143
Rota	---	---	244	244
Totals:	504	431	1,711	2,711

[Ed. note 1: Here, Agaña specifically includes Barrio Santa Cruz. This is stated in the full census of 1758, published in HM14, where the table for 1758 (p. 265) has the same total population, 2,711 inhabitants. Also, included in the number of men for Agaña are 170 soldiers, although only 156 names are given as active.]

[Ed. note 2: Agaña's dependencies are, as usual so far, Tepungan, Asan, Anigua, Apurguan, Mongmong, and Sinahaña.]

Table N° 8: Population in 1760.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & Filipinos	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	212	156	882	---	1,038
Idem, dependencies	119	---	---	756	756
Agat	46	---	---	179	179
Umata	34	---	---	159	159
Merizo	46	---	---	181	181
Inarahan	36	---	---	179	179
Pago	34	---	---	124	124
Rota	62	---	---	255	255
Totals:	589	156	882	1,654	2,692

[Ed. note: The average family size was $2692/589 = 4.6$ individuals.]

Table N° 9: Population in 1771.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & Filipinos	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	243	161	1,151	---	1,312
Idem, dependencies	131	---	---	527	527
Agat	41	---	---	193	193
Umata	43	---	---	181	161
Merizo	41	---	---	184	184
Inarahan	44	---	---	183	183
Pago	32	---	---	145	145
Rota	61	---	---	287	287
Totals:	636	161	1,151	1,700	3,012

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3012/636 = 4.7$ individuals.]

Table N° 10: Population in 1772.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & Filipinos	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	265	173	1,222	---	1,395
Idem, dependencies	114	---	---	530	530
Agat	37	---	---	186	186
Umata	42	---	---	180	180
Merizo	39	---	---	178	178
Inarahan	36	---	---	164	164
Pago	31	---	---	142	142
Rota	65	---	---	283	283
Totals:	629	173	1,222	1,663	3,058

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3058/620 = 4.9$ individuals.]

[Ed. note: For the population in 1774, when it was a total of 3,301 inhabitants, see Doc. 1774C, in HM16: 75.]

[Ed. note: For the population in 1776, when it was a total of 3,150 inhabitants, see Doc. 1776C, in HM16: 100.]

[Ed. note: For the population in 1777, when it was a total of 3,365 inhabitants, see Doc. 1777C, in HM16: 115.]

Table N° 11: Population in 1778.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & Filipinos	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	276	162	1,260	---	1,422
Idem, dependencies	122	---	---	538	538
Agat	39	---	---	196	196
Umata	42	---	---	198	196
Merizo	39	---	---	177	177
Inarahan	36	---	---	183	183
Pago	33	---	---	151	151
Rota	65	---	---	285	285
Totals:	652	162	1,260	1,726	3,148

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3148/652 = 4.8$ individuals.]

[Ed. note: In the next table for 1783, the total column for a 'previous' census, perhaps 1781, gives a total population of **3,169**.

Table N° 12: Population in 1783.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	196	157	818	648	---	1,623
Idem, depend.	113	---	---	---	500	535
Agat	47	---	---	---	191	191
Umata	42	---	---	---	180	180
Merizo	39	---	---	---	170	170
Inarahan	40	---	---	---	157	167
Pago	31	---	---	---	153	153
Rota	62	---	---	---	247	244
Totals:	670	157	818	648	1,608	3,231

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3231/670 = 4.8$ individuals.]

Table N° 13: Population in 1784.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	316	150	838	649	---	1,637
Idem, depend.	123	---	---	---	486	486
Agat	48	---	---	---	186	186
Umata	42	---	---	---	165	165
Merizo	39	---	---	---	157	157
Inarahan	40	---	---	---	174	174
Pago	31	---	---	---	152	152
Rota	61	--	---	---	263	263
Totals:	701	150	838	649	1,957	3,220

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3220/701 = 4.6$ individuals.]

Table N° 14: Population in 1785.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	305	150	858	671	---	1,679
Idem, depend.	121	---	---	---	488	488
Agat	44	---	---	---	183	183
Umata	42	---	---	---	177	177
Merizo	39	---	---	---	175	175
Inarahan	40	---	---	---	168	168
Pago	34	---	---	---	152	152
Rota	62	--	---	---	260	260
Totals:	687	150	858	671	1,613	3,292

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3292/687 = 4.8$ individuals.]

Table N° 15: Population in 1786.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	317	150	870	683	---	1,703
Idem, depend.	110	---	---	---	493	493
Agat	45	---	---	---	181	181
Umata	43	---	---	---	157	157
Merizo	39	---	---	---	166	166
Inarahan	40	---	---	---	161	161
Pago	38	---	---	---	160	160
Rota	64	---	---	---	280	280
Totals:	696	150	870	683	1,598	3,301

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3301/696 = 4.7$ individuals.]

[Ed. note: The information in this table should be copied to Doc. 1786C, in HM16: 251.]

Table N° 16: Population in 1787.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	256	156	908	643	---	1,707
Idem, depend.	121	---	---	---	509	509
Agat	37	---	---	---	190	190
Umata	41	---	---	---	167	167
Merizo	47	---	---	---	180	180
Inarahan	31	---	---	---	138	138
Pago	27	---	---	---	157	157
Rota	70	---	---	---	296	296
Totals:	630	156	908	643	1,637	3,344

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3344/630 = 5.3$ individuals.]

[Ed. note: This table has already been published in Doc. 1787I, in HM16: 327-330.]

Table N° 17: Population in 1788.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards+ Filipinos & their dependents	Native Indians	Collegians + servants	Totals
Agaña	309	155	1,554	---	12	1,721
Idem, depend.	101	---	---	495	32	527
Agat	45	---	---	179	8	187
Umata	45	---	---	187	5	192
Merizo	41	---	---	160	17	177
Inarahan	41	---	---	174	13	187
Pago	41	---	---	169	11	180
Rota	76	---	---	297	11	308
Totals:	718	155	1,554	1,641	109	3,459

[Ed. note: Of the soldiers and their officers, 22 were listed as invalids. There were also 35 old and infirm adults in Agaña. A new category appears: those serving the Fathers, 39 of whom were women.]

[Ed. note: The average family size was $33459/718 = 4.8$ individuals.]

Table N° 18: Population in 1789.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	303	151	928	664	---	1,743
Idem, depend.	120	---	---	---	560	560
Agat	45	---	---	---	191	191
Umata	45	---	---	---	191	191
Merizo	41	---	---	---	166	166
Inarahan	41	---	---	---	167	167
Pago	40	---	---	---	175	175
Rota	70	---	---	---	308	308
Totals:	705	151	928	664	1,758	3,501

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3501/705 = 5$ individuals.]

Table N° 19: Population in 1790.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	332	151	970	704	---	1,825
Idem, depend.	131	---	---	---	536	536
Agat	47	---	---	---	197	197
Umata	42	---	---	---	193	193
Merizo	47	---	---	---	169	169
Inarahan	39	---	---	---	155	155
Pago	44	---	---	---	189	189
Rota	70	---	---	---	300	300
Totals:	752	151	970	704	1,739	3,564

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3564/752 = 4.7$ individuals.]

Table N° 20: Population in 1791.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	339	149	983	716	---	1,848
Idem, depend.	139	---	---	---	571	571
Agat	43	---	---	---	194	194
Umata	43	---	---	---	192	192
Merizo	49	---	---	---	172	172
Inarahan	39	---	---	---	164	164
Pago	44	---	---	---	190	190
Rota	70	---	---	---	300	300
Totals:	766	149	983	716	1,782	3,630

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3630/766 = 4.7$ individuals.]

Table N° 21: Population in 1792.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	342	147	996	738	---	1,881
Idem, depend.	139	---	---	---	573	573
Agat	45	---	---	---	193	193
Umata	47	---	---	---	193	193
Merizo	51	---	---	---	175	175
Inarahan	45	---	---	---	165	165
Pago	45	---	---	---	196	196
Rota	70	---	---	---	304	304
Totals:	784	147	996	738	1,799	3,680

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3680/784 = 4.7$ individuals.]

Table N° 22: Population in 1793.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & depend.	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	305	147	961	710	---	1,818
Idem, depend.	124	---	---	---	570	570
Agat	45	---	---	---	193	193
Umata	41	---	---	---	187	187
Merizo	49	---	---	---	171	171
Inarahan	45	---	---	---	165	165
Pago	37	---	---	---	200	200
Rota	70	---	---	---	280	280
Totals:	716	147	961	710	1,766	3,584

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3584/716 = 5$ individuals.]

Table N° 23: Population in 1795.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	336	147	548	898	166	1,758
Idem, depend.	112	---	---	---	515	515
Agat	50	---	---	---	208	208
Umata	44	---	---	---	168	168
Merizo	45	---	---	---	207	207
Inarahan	42	---	---	---	166	166
Pago	36	---	24	---	188	188
Rota	74	---	---	---	289	289
Totals:	740	147	561	898	1,894	3,500

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3500/740 = 4.7$ individuals.]

[Ed. note: There was a new category introduced, that of Mulattos, but they were defined as children of white men and native women; I have added those with the other half-breeds, whose fathers used to be exclusively Spaniards. Many so-called half-breeds had married half-Filipinos, and those appear to have been transferred this year to the Filipino column.]

Table N° 24: Population in 1796.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	337	146	610	975	166	1,890
Idem, depend.	111	---	6	13	504	523
Agat	51	---	---	---	216	216
Umata	46	---	---	---	168	168
Merizo	48	---	---	---	213	213
Inarahan	39	---	---	---	170	170
Pago	31	---	13	---	174	174
Rota	74	---	---	---	289	289
Totals:	737	146	629	988	1,880	3,643

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3643/737 = 4.9$ individuals.]

Table N° 25: Population in 1797.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	351	144	609	1,046	123	1,922
Idem, depend.	130	---	4	9	567	580
Agat	45	---	---	27	215	215
Umata	51	---	5	4	174	174
Merizo	55	---	3	4	234	234
Inarahan	42	---	---	1	183	183
Pago	38	---	16	1	192	192
Rota	74	---	---	---	289	289
Totals:	786	144	637	1,097	1,911	3,789

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3789/786 = 4.8$ individuals.]

Table N° 26: Population in 1798.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	357	140	597	1,098	161	1,996
Idem, depend.	135	---	4	12	583	599
Agat	48	---	---	28	192	220
Umata	53	---	7	4	166	183
Merizo	57	---	2	4	230	238
Inarahan	37	---	---	1	178	180
Pago	33	---	16	1	174	191
Rota	79	---	---	---	328	328
Totals:	799	140	626	1,157	2,012	3,935

[Ed. note: The average family size was $3935/799 = 4.9$ individuals.]

Table N° 27: Population in 1799.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	368	142	591	1,100	133	2,015
Idem, depend.	122	---	6	12	576	604
Agat	51	---	---	23	213	236
Umata	50	---	6	8	171	185
Merizo	59	---	1	5	239	245
Inarahan	40	---	---	4	181	183
Pago	39	---	17	4	184	205
Rota	79	---	---	---	328	328
Totals:	808	142	621	1,164	2,074	4,001

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4001/808 = 5.1$ individuals.]

Table N° 28: Population in 1800.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	372	139	549	1,163	174	2,025
Idem, depend.	130	---	9	26	576	619
Agat	52	---	---	33	211	244
Umata	49	---	7	1	178	186
Merizo	60	---	1	5	249	255
Inarahan	39	---	---	2	188	190
Pago	33	---	15	4	185	204
Rota	85	---	---	---	337	337
Totals:	820	139	579	1,234	2,198	4,060

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4060/820 = 4.9$ individuals.]

Table N° 29: Population in 1801.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	377	140	662	1,219	184	2,205
Idem, depend.	130	---	7	26	591	624
Agat	53	---	---	33	222	243
Umata	49	---	7	---	179	186
Merizo	60	---	2	5	256	263
Inarahan	32	---	1	---	187	188
Pago	30	---	9	1	188	198
Rota	85	---	---	---	337	337
Totals:	818	140	688	1,274	2,142	4,244

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4244/818 = 5.2$ individuals.]

[Ed. note: For a slightly more detailed table, see Doc. 1801D, in HM17: 237-339.]

Table N° 30: Population in 1803.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	368	140	705	1,192	198	2,235
Idem, depend.	129	---	4	24	597	616
Agat	54	---	---	25	232	257
Umata	44	---	3	8	174	185
Merizo	67	---	2	4	252	258
Inarahan	37	---	1	---	197	188
Pago	29	---	15	---	182	197
Rota	81	---	---	---	358	358
Totals:	799	140	730	1,253	2,180	4,303

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4303/799 = 5.4$ individuals.]

Table N° 31: Population in 1804.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	374	140	691	1,242	189	2,262
Idem, depend.	118	---	5	22	579	606
Agat	56	---	---	27	229	256
Umata	44	---	---	7	179	186
Merizo	58	---	1	3	252	256
Inarahan	32	---	1	---	180	181
Pago	36	---	15	2	182	198
Rota	82	---	---	---	363	363
Totals:	800	140	712	1,303	2,153	4,308

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4308/800 = 5.4$ individuals.]

Table N° 32: Population in 1805.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	374	137	707	1,269	197	2,300
Idem, depend.	121	---	6	23	589	618
Agat	32	---	---	27	232	259
Umata	34	---	6	10	152	168
Merizo	55	---	3	7	256	266
Inarahan	34	---	1	---	196	187
Pago	34	---	14	5	173	192
Rota	85	---	---	---	364	364
Totals:	769	137	728	1,341	2,148	4,354

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4354/769 = 5.7$ individuals.]

Table N° 33: Population in 1806.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Foreign Residents	Totals
Agaña	381	149	744	1,271	172	1	2,337
Idem, depend.	118	---	5	24	599	-	628
Agat	54	---	4	34	224	1	264
Umata	44	---	7	2	172	-	181
Merizo	57	---	4	3	256	-	263
Inarahan	39	---	1	---	203	5	209
Pago	39	---	14	1	180	-	195
Rota	82	---1	1	---	370	-	371
Totals:	814	149	781	1,335	2,176	7	4,448

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4448/814 = 5.5$ individuals.]

[Ed. note: A new category appears, that of 'naturalized' foreigners, i.e. those with an official residency permits from the Governor General of the Philippines..]

Table N° 34: Population in 1807.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Foreign Residents	Totals
Agaña	382	149	782	1,301	184	1	2,417
Idem, depend.	120	---	5	24	608	-	637
Agat	52	---	3	29	234	-	266
Umata	49	---	14	3	162	-	179
Merizo	57	---	3	1	266	-	270
Inarahan	42	---	---	---	206	-	206
Pago	36	---	14	1	181	-	196
Rota	81	---	1	---	374	-	375
Totals:	819	149	822	1,359	2,215	1	4,546

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4546/819 = 5.5$ individuals.]

Table N° 35: Population in 1808.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Foreign Residents	Totals
Agaña	396	149	846	1,341	189	-	2,515
Idem, depend.	120	---	1	25	627	10	663
Agat	51	---	2	16	233	-	250
Umata	43	---	11	2	167	-	180
Merizo	59	---	2	3	273	-	278
Inarahan	44	---	---	1	211	-	212
Pago	34	---	---	4	186	-	190
Rota	80	---	11	---	382	-	393
Totals:	827	149	862	1,392	2,268	10	4,681

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4681/827 = 5.7$ individuals.]

Table N° 36: Population in 1809.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Foreign Residents	Totals
Agaña	450	150	799	1,395	256	-	2,600
Idem, depend.	123	---	5	15	648	9	677
Agat	54	---	2	9	255	-	266
Umata	45	---	7	2	176	-	185
Merizo	59	---	2	1	282	-	285
Inarahan	44	---	1	---	215	-	216
Pago	35	---	19	1	181	-	201
Rota	80	---	1	---	382	-	383
Totals:	801	150	836	1,423	2,395	9	4,813

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4813/891 = 5.4$ individuals.]

Table N° 37: Population in 1810.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Foreign Residents	Totals
Agaña	466	151	844	1,419	242	-	2,655
Idem, depend.	129	---	5	15	659	9	688
Agat	54	---	2	8	247	-	257
Umata	45	---	7	1	170	-	178
Merizo	59	---	2	1	283	-	286
Inarahan	45	---	1	3	211	-	215
Pago	37	---	13	---	181	-	194
Rota	94	---	1	---	382	-	383
Totals:	929	151	875	1,446	2,373	9	4,854

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4854/929 = 5.2$ individuals.]

Table N° 38: Population in 1811.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Foreign Residents	Totals
Agaña	481	152	874	1,454	282	23	2,785
Idem, depend.	138	---	6	11	668	-	685
Agat	54	---	1	9	240	-	250
Umata	42	---	6	2	174	-	182
Merizo	52	---	-	3	279	-	282
Inarahan	41	---	1	-	203	-	204
Pago	40	---	10	2	188	-	200
Rota	95	---	1	---	382	-	383
Totals:	943	152	899	1,481	2,426	23	4,981

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4961/943 = 5.3$ individuals.]

Table N° 39: Population in 1812.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	486	154	883	1,489	248	2,774
Idem, depend.	132	---	3	10	657	670
Agat	46	---	1	6	223	230
Umata	41	---	8	3	169	180
Merizo	46	---	7	---	268	275
Inarahan	33	---	1	---	188	189
Pago	40	---	13	1	189	203
Rota	89	---	---	---	400	400
Totals:	913	154	916	1,509	2,342	4,921

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4921/913 = 5.4$ individuals.]

Table N° 40: Population in 1813.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	486	137	893	1,537	282	2,866
Idem, depend.	131	---	5	16	669	690
Agat	46	---	1	6	230	237
Umata	37	---	15	5	134	184
Merizo	47	---	9	1	251	261
Inarahan	33	---	---	---	192	192
Pago	40	---	14	3	193	210
Rota	90	---	---	---	409	409
Totals:	910	137	937	1,568	2,390	4,049

[Ed. note: The average family size was $5049/910 = 5.5$ individuals.]

Table N° 41: Population in 1814.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Totals
Agaña	486	145	707	1,269	197	2,300
Idem, depend.	128	---	1	20	661	682
Agat	32	---	1	15	232	248
Umata	34	---	10	3	176	189
Merizo	55	---	9	1	276	286
Inarahan	34	---	1	---	196	197
Pago	34	---	15	2	200	217
Rota	85	---	---	4	431	435
Totals:	769	145	728	1,341	2,148	4,354

[Ed. note: The average family size was $4354/769 = 5.7$ individuals.]

Table N° 42: Population in 1815.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Hawaiian + Carolinians	Totals
Agaña	443	148	1,106	1,409	340	59	3,062
Idem, depend.	136	---	2	19	669	---	690
Agat	45	---	2	10	232	---	244
Umata	34	---	2	13	162	---	184
Merizo	52	---	---	10	278	---	289
Inarahan	43	---	1	---	200	---	201
Pago	40	---	13	2	189	---	204
Rota	101	---	---	4	438	---	442
Totals:	894	148	1,133	1,467	2,508	59	5,315

[Ed. note: The average family size was $5315/894 = 5.9$ individuals.]

[Ed. note: During 1815, some Sandwich Islands collected from the Northern Marianas, and newly-arrived Carolinians, were settled at Agaña. The Carolinians were soon to move to Saipan.]

Table N° 43: Population in 1816.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Hawaiian + Carolinians	Totals
Agaña	448	147	1,122	1,434	360	52	3,115
Idem, depend.	137	---	2	14	677	---	693
Agat	45	---	2	9	230	---	241
Umata	34	---	8	11	170	---	180
Merizo	52	---	---	10	282	---	292
Inarahan	43	---	1	---	203	---	204
Pago	40	---	12	2	186	---	200
Rota	103	---	--	4	451	---	455
Totals:	902	147	1,147	1,484	2,559	52	5,389

[Ed. note: The average family size was $5389/902 = 6.0$ individuals.]

Table N° 44: Population in 1817.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Hawaiians + Carolinians	Totals
Agaña	440	141	960	1,722	280	41	3,144
Idem, depend.	119	---	7	23	616	---	646
Agat	42	---	2	17	209	---	228
Umata	35	---	11	12	155	---	178
Merizo	55	---	---	10	270	---	280
Inarahan	43	---	---	---	207	---	207
Pago	44	---	10	2	188	---	200
Rota	103	---	---	7	455	---	462
Totals:	881	141	995	1,793	2,379	41	5,349

[Ed. note: The average family size was $5349/881 = 6.1$ individuals.]

Table N° 45: Population in 1818.

Town	Houses	Soldiers	Spaniards & half-breeds	Filipinos & dependents	Native Indians	Hawaiians + Carolinians	Totals
Agaña	444	145	976	1,714	302	44	3,181
Idem, depend.	121	---	5	22	618	---	647
Agat	42	---	4	13	202	---	219
Umata	35	---	11	12	159	---	182
Merizo	55	---	---	10	272	---	282
Inarahan	43	---	---	---	212	---	212
Pago	44	---	14	2	194	---	210
Total Guam:	784	145	1,011	1,774	1,959	44	4,933
Rota	103	---	---	7	404	---	411
Tinian	8	---	---	11	40	---	51
Saipan	4	---	---	---	---	11	11
Totals:	899	145	1,011	1,792	2,403	55	5,406

[Ed. note: The average family size was $5406/899 = 6.0$ individuals.]

[Ed. note: The 11 Carolinians living at Saipan were from Lamotrek Island.]

Summary table, year by year—Settlers vs. native population.

Year	Settlers (Guam)	Native population			Remarks
		Guam	Rota	Both	
1710	---	3,072	467	3,539	
1722	---	1,687	249	1,936	
1726	---	1,936	278	2,214	
1731	---	1,915	275	2,190	
1735	---	1,716	277	1,993	
1738	---	1,611	252	1,863	Information found in archives of Guam in 1819.
1741	---	1,576	240	1,816	Information taken from Murillo Velarde.
1748	---	1,551	187	1,738	
1753	919	1,561	234	1,795	Before 1753, reports do not specify settlers.
1758	935	1,532	244	1,776	
1760	1,038	1,399	255	1,654	
1771	1,312	1,413	287	1,700	
1772	1,395	1,380	283	1,663	
1778	1,422	1,441	285	1,726	
1783	1,623	1,361	247	1,608	
1784	1,637	1,320	263	1,583	MINIMUM reached for native population.
1785	1,679	1,343	270	1,613	
1786	1,703	1,318	280	1,598	MINIMUM reached for population of Guam.
1787	1,707	1,341	296	1,637	

1788	1,709	1,442	308	1,750	
1789	1,743	1,450	308	1,758	
1790	1,825	1,439	300	1,739	
1791	1,848	1,482	300	1,782	
1792	1,882	1,495	280	1,755	
1793	1,818	1,486	280	1,766	
1795	1,606	1,605	289	1,894	Decrease probably due to an epidemic.
1796	1,763	1,591	289	1,880	
1797	1,878	1,622	289	1,911	
1798	1,923	1,684	328	2,012	
1799	1,927	1,746	328	2,074	
1900	1,052	1,711	337	2,108	
1801	2,102	1,805	337	2,142	
1802	2,112	1,805	337	2,142	By interpolation.
1803	2,123	1,822	358	2,180	
1804	2,155	1,790	363	2,153	
1805	2,205	1,785	363	2,148	
1806	2,271	1,806	370	2,176	
1807	2,330	1,841	374	2,215	
1808	2,402	1,886	382	2,268	
1809	2,417	2,013	382	2,395	
1810	2,480	1,993	380	2,373	
1811	2,554	2,034	392	2,426	
1812	2,554	1,942	400	2,342	
1813	2,659	1,981	409	2,390	
1814	2,768	2,019	431	2,460	
1815	2,803	2,070	438	2,508	
1816	2,826	2,108	451	2,559	Rota Includes Tinian Island.
1817	2,963	1,924	455	2,379	Rota Includes Tinian Island.
1818	2,974	1,959	444	2,403	Rota Includes Tinian Island.
<hr/>					
Avg.	2,108	1,756	347	2,105	Average for Guam is from data for 35 years only.
<hr/>					

Classification of the inhabitants. The preceding tables provide sufficient evidence to show the diversity of the races from which the present population of the Marianas originate. Before the Spanish conquest, the natives were divided into three political classes: the nobles [*matua*], the semi-nobles [*achaot*] and the plebeians, or *mangachang*.

The latter class, which can be considered like the pariahs of the country, were not as tall as the rest of the inhabitants; they could not move up from the social rank in which they were born. In fact, they were forbidden to sail at sea; this may explain why the foreign sailors who reached those shores were thought to be nobles. On the other hand, the *achaot* had lost their noble status on account of some serious crime, and they could regain it after a proper rehabilitation; in no case, could they be degraded to the level of the common people.

The *matua*, the true local chiefs, ruled over the *achaot* and the *mangachang*, and enjoyed certain privileges that we will mention elsewhere.

As far as the usual occupations are concerned, there existed new classes of inhabitants. At the first rank, one must place the *makana*, witch-doctors, who filled the role of priests. Next came the healers, most of them female, known as *eamti*; they could be found among all classes. Every *eamti* was a specialist, curing just one disease, or a separate branch of the numerous illnesses and infirmities that afflict humankind, such as dislocations or fractures of the limbs, wound of all types, fevers, dysenteries, indigestions, colds, etc., each of which had its specific remedy. However, only female *eamti* could assist with childbirth.

The profession of canoe-builder belonged to the *matua* who, being proud of this prerogative, applied themselves to it with great ability. The *achaot* could participate in this important work; however, some severe laws prevented the *mangachang* from taking the least part.

The same restrictions applied to the military profession and the fishery; only the two higher classes could dedicate themselves to them. All the nobles living on the sea-shore were sailors; however, for long sea voyages, the warriors living inland came to join them and together they set sail aboard the canoes.

Languages.—Having similarities with Malay, spread throughout Asia, and with Tagalog, spoken in the Philippines, the Mariana language is soft to the ear and easy to pronounce; however, it has its own characteristics. Formerly, there were differences in the dialects spoken in the neighborhood of Guam and the northern islands; in fact, there were such differences between localities of the main island, and they could still be noticed until recently; even today, the pronunciation is not the same everywhere. When the various islanders were collected in Guam, in 1699, everything became mixed up, the men and their languages.¹ Father Murillo (*op. cit.*) tells us that the natives were fond of poetry, and had preserved their oral history in the form of national songs, but the history was clouded with myths.

¹ We are preparing an extensive study of the Mariano language, and it will become part of this Voyage. Such details may be of interest to those who like lexicography.

Character and customs of the inhabitants.

Character.—We have been told—and an examination of the laws and main customs of these countries has confirmed this to a certain degree—that the high classes of society were moved by the most honorable feelings, and that they praised the truth above all; indeed, it is, as we know, what characterizes true nobility everywhere. Be that as it may, the customs of the *mangachang* were far from deserving a similar praise; they were inveterate liars, cowards, inhospitable and untrustworthy; oftentimes they were blamed for not respecting the laws of the country, which the nobles were very careful to follow themselves, and encourage compliance in others.

Le Gobien has mentioned the horror that the nobles had for murders and thefts, but such good qualities were tarnished by an incredible vanity and by a pride that recalls the Japanese nobility; needless to say, it was as a result of this behavior that the common people was kept in such debasement.

The inhabitants of the northern part of Guam had the reputation of being much more savage and more warlike than those of the south coast. It is difficult to give a reason for this difference, but the reader will remember that we said something similar about the island of Timor.

Skilled at hiding their intentions in wartime, they also counted revenge as one of their favorite passions. “When they are insulted, they do not show their resentment by outbursts or words; nothing shows externally; however, they keep bitterness well hidden in their heart. They are so good at hiding their feelings that two or three years can pass without a word being said about it, until they find an opportunity to satisfy their passions. Then, they pay themselves back for their patience by unleashing everything that the blackest treason and worst vengeance can offer that is most awful. Their lack of constancy and their lightheadness are incredible. As they are not bothered by anything, and that they blindly follow their caprice and their passions, they easily can go from an extreme to the other. What they covet one minute, they no longer want the next.”¹

Humane after a victory, prompt in doing what they had promised, they used to make a war prisoner promise that he would not escape; the man who in such a case would not have respected his word, would have been killed by his own family, because such an unlawful conduct would have brought shame to them.

When an old man said to one of his countrymen, or even to a stranger, “I want us to become friends,” it was like a sacred agreement between them. However, if the latter came to act against the interests of his friend, the whole family of the former would then become the enemies of the person who broke his word. In fact, the wrongs in question could be real or imaginary, and it is only by looking at historical events from this point of view that we can explain the disputes between the Marianos and the first missionaries. The horrible calumnies of Choco the Chinaman caused a large number of islanders to become hostile toward these courageous priests; on the other hand, the

1 Le Gobien, *op. cit.*

efforts of the Spanish to extirpate the sexual freedoms and to change certain customs, managed in the end to alienate even those who had received them well at first.

The ancient islanders had lucky dispositions toward learning, not just manual skills but also intellectual pursuits in reading and fine arts.

On the other hand, few words are required to describe the modern islanders: with lazy rather than active minds, they are simple people, hospitable and generous, and generally very submissive with respect to the authorities.

Customs.—The family ties were and still are extremely tight in the Marianas; nowhere else do parents show more affection toward their children, or take care of their desires with more readiness.

In the old days, although it was permissible for a man to have relations with more than one concubine, all belonging to the same class as himself, he could only have one legitimate wife.¹ It was not only strictly forbidden for the nobles to marry *mangachang* girls, but they could not take have as concubines either. Nevertheless, some examples are given of this law having been broken; in such a case, the *matua* who was guilty of this offence, took great care to hide from his family, because, otherwise, they would have killed him. In truth, the delinquent, in order to avoid being punished, had the alternative of renouncing his status, and to live in another settlement as an *achaot*. It is even more remarkable, besides, that the plebeian girl did not receive any punishment. We were told a story that occurred after the arrival of the Spanish at Guam. A *matua* of the village of Ñaton (see Pl. 59), having fallen in love with a young and pretty *mangachang*, eloped with her, but was unable to find asylum in another village, because he was refusing to part with his companion. Pursued by the relatives of the young man, the two lovers wandered for a time through the woods and the most inaccessible rocks. Such a precarious and miserable life soon reduced them to despair. At last, they resolved to end it all. They built a stone corral, where they place the child, the sad fruit of their love; then, wild with grief, they climbed to the top of a high cliff, cut vertically in the sea side; there, having tied their hairs together, and embracing each other, they threw themselves into the waves. This cape has since been named by the Spanish, Cabo de los Amantes [Lovers Cape]; its position can be seen on our map (Pl. 59).

Before marriage, the greatest freedom prevailed between persons of both sexes. There were even in the main settlements certain houses were available to encourage such free sexual encounters; they were called *guma ulitao* [houses of the bachelors]. We have already mentioned such shameful establishments. Not at all like the places of prostitution that civilization tolerates in our towns, and where only shameless women operate in the face of public disdain, the *guma ulitao* were the haunts of the young girls, without any dishonor being attached to them, or their parents; indeed, it was a strange thing to see, in a country where the duties of couples and the degrees of relationships between classes were so clearly defined, that a brother could therein, without being blamed for

1 Le Gobien (*op. cit.*) pretends that polygamy was permitted in the Marianas, but he admits at the same time that custom dictated only one wife.

it, have sex with his own sister. Oftentimes, the fathers would, without blushing, sell the virginity of their daughters to a young libertine who would pay the price; the mothers themselves would encourage their children to follow the impulsion of their senses and would send them off to be sacrificed in those temples of indecency, with the same manner that we, in France, would allow our own children to go to a concert or to a dance among honest people.

There is still extant one of the songs that mothers sung to their daughters in such a circumstance; it gives an idea of the customs of the people so well that I will reproduce it here. I give a literal translation between the lines and a few explanations.¹

Hodyong akaga makanno!

Go out daughter (to) be eaten [to be taken advantage of]!

Sa pago ... nai um²

Because now (if) to give (yourself) [if you deliver yourself now] (you will be)

mañgi

delicious [tasted with pleasure].

Sa guin la-muna um dagi

Because when (it will be) later, (you will be) disappointed.

Ya um hago pulan sapit.

And you will keep [you will have] (some) regret.

Somewhat like the *arreoy* [rather *alii*] of Tahiti, the *ulitao* were grouped into specific clubs, whose purpose, obviously, was to provide base pleasure. They made use of a mysterious and allegorical speech [*sino gualafon*], mainly to be used in their love songs; only they could understand their meaning. On feast-days, as we have said earlier, they could be seen walking about with decorated sticks that were called *tina* among them.

It was a custom at Pago, and probably also in other towns of Guam, that a girl could not marry if she was still a virgin; ordinarily, a friend of her father was called upon to do the honors, to prevent her from being insulted later on—a rare occurrence—for being accused of being still a virgin.

Social customs.

Occupations.—We will here add a few details to those we have already given regarding the social relationships of the inhabitants among themselves.

1 The word in parentheses add the ideas that are implied, to respect French syntax; the words between square brackets are those that are required to give full meaning to the Mariano sentence.

2 Um, sign of the second person of future tense, singular.

The *matua* living on the coasts had, as we said, the exclusive privileges of navigation and fishing from canoes; each of them had a certain area of sea assigned to him, and he could not go beyond it without the permission of those owning the neighboring claims. They were also the only class allowed to trade with the neighboring islands. The inland *matua* would generally occupy themselves with agriculture and fishing in the rivers; however, to go fishing at sea, they needed the permission of those expressly authorized to that privilege by the local position.

Sometimes the *achaot*, or semi-noble, would be given a privilege, either of taking part in fishing expeditions, or in taking part in agriculture, although the master that he then served owed him only his food; however, his zeal and good conduct were encouraged by the promise of some rewards.

This did not apply to the *mangachang* who had to look after himself and had no right to any salary. The sort of disdain that was shown toward him, did not permit him to take part in certain tasks that were the prerogatives of the high classes. When his cooperation was considered necessary, he was forced to attend; it was not unknown for him to beg his lord to use his services, and to inquire from him whether or not he had been displeased, when he thought he was being neglected.

The *mangachang* had no choice but to dedicate himself to agriculture, as his main occupation. He also worked at building the large sheds under which the canoes were stored, at cleaning and repairing the roads, at transporting the food supplies in wartime, and the necessary materials for the building of houses; generally, the most abject and difficult tasks were assigned to the *mangachang*.

Fishing at sea being entirely forbidden, he had to fish only in the rivers; even then, only the eel, a fish that enjoys mud, was allowed him; that is why this excellent fish was held in disgust by the higher classes. Such an inexplicable custom, though no longer observed, still persists to this day, in that, the modern people do not appreciate this fish much. The *mangachang* was obliged to catch his eels with the hand, after he had stunned them with a stick, at night, and by torchlight; the use of fish-hooks, fishing-nets and fishing-spears were all severely forbidden to him.

The wives of the *matua* and of the *achaot* did not disdain using utensils manufactured by the *mangachang* for their persona, although they themselves preferred to make their own mats, cribs, baskets, etc. The articles made by the degraded creatures were meant for the use of visitors stopping at their houses.

There were also certain meals whose preparation they reserved for themselves, for fear that they might be spoiled by the impure hands of their *mangachang*, only the cooking of rice, of starchy roots, and of a small number of other foods was entrusted to the care of the latter.

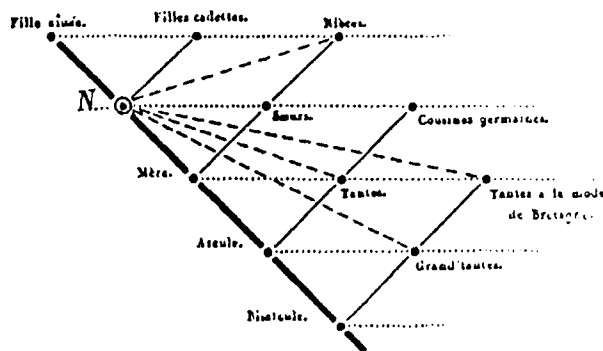
The women of the low class were usually busy with the following tasks: making sinnets and ropes for the rigging of canoes, preparing the rough tow or yarn for caulking purposes, the mats of various types, a multitude of baskets, bags, boxes and other woven works whose list we have already given.

Degrees of kinship.—Generally speaking, the family was called *mangaffa*. The relatives were distinguished by the following degrees of kinship: 1° the *achafñak* [blood relatives], who had to fulfil all the obligations within the family, as we will see;

2° the *achagma* [family friends], who had certain obligations as well;

3° finally, the *atugcha-guma* [house relatives, attached, linked by gratitude]; the latter degree originated in an important service rendered to an individual and imposed, either by a fateful event, or by a deliberate act. The man who had saved the life of the child of a friend from an imminent danger, became his *atugcha-guma*.

By reason of their great influence in business, it was ordinarily the women who determined the scale of Mariano kinship. Here is this classification, but only for the *pala-uan* [close female relative];¹ the women on the father's side were considered the closest such relatives. Let us look at the figure below:²



Degrees of kinship among the ancient Marianos.

The solid line indicates a direct relationship; the dotted lines represent contemporaneous relationships; finally, the dashed lines represent collateral relationships; the whole is with respect to the [male] individual N.

This said, the order of relationship among various female relatives, from the highest to the lowest degrees, must be denoted as follows:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Great-grandmother. | 6. Sisters. |
| 2. Grandmother. | 7. Aunts, Brittany-style. |
| 3. Mother. | 8. First cousins. |
| 4. Great-aunts. | 9. Nieces. |
| 5. Aunts. | 10. Daughters. |

1 Taken literally, the word *pala-uan* means 'women', but the expression *pala-uan ho* [my women] is used to denote one's closest female relatives.

2 Only the lineage on the side of the husband is shown; that on the side of the wife would have been but a useless repetition.

The social consideration granted to the female relatives of a same denomination depends on their age; the older ones coming first; however, a married relative takes precedence over an unmarried one, though the latter may be of a higher degree of kinship, to such an extent that an aunt, daughter or widow without children must fall behind a married sister, etc. The daughters-in-law and brothers-in-law are not at all regarded as relatives; they belong to the family to which they are linked by marriage.

It is a curious fact, worthy of notice, that a nation whose language is so abundantly endowed with expressions to denote the various aspects of many words, possesses very few words to denote the various degrees of kinship, although they are obliged, every day, not to confuse them.

[Footnote:] For instance, about twenty different words are used to denote a fruit, according to its various degrees of maturity, or that has such and such quality, such and such defect. Here is the case of the **coconut**: *nidyuk* or *niu* applies both to the coconut tree and the coconut in general; *apluk* is a young coconut that contains milk, but not yet any cream; *manha* is a tender and sweet coconut; *dadik* is the same fruit when it has not yet reached maturity; *mason* is a coconut that is more mature than the manha, but not yet completely ripe; *kannon* is a coconut that is still soft and good to eat as far as its first envelope; *matapang* is a coconut that is tender and soft like the manha, but whose milk is not sweet; *gafu* is a coconut that is completely ripe; *puntan* is a ripe coconut that begins to dry upon the tree; *nagao* is a coconut that is completely dried up; *bangbang* is a coconut whose cream has been reduced to a solid pulp; *bubulung* is a coconut that is completely empty; *sufang* is an empty coconut but still clinging to the tree; *chauchau* is a dry coconut that rattles when shaken; *bulen* is a coconut internally rotten; *chuhut* is a small coconut; *baba* is a coconut produced by an old tree that is without leaves and about to stop producing; on account of their small size, the latter are ordinarily used to serve as a lime container, for betel chewing; *faba* is a coconut that is about to germinate; *chehdok* is a coconut that begins to germinate; *haigui* is a coconut whose leaves begins to grow.

In order to refer to the great-grandmother, one is forced to use the following periphrase:

I umasagua dyan i lumilis sainan saina-ta.
She who got married with the one who begot (the) mother of mother ours.

The word *guila* for grandmother obviously comes from the old Spanish word *aguelala* [now written *abuela*], which has the same meaning. *Saina*, word that is used for either 'father' and 'mother', really means 'master', lord'; to be more specific, fuller expressions are used, e.g. *i lumilis* [he who has begotten], *i fumañago* [she who has given birth]. The [modern] *si nana* [Mother] is an imitation of the Spanish *mama*, with the addition of the article *si* which denotes consideration and respect.

Similar periphrases must be used to express the ideas of great-aunt and aunt, Britany-style. For aunt, the Spanish word *tía* is [now] used, or rather *si tia*. The word for brother, and also sister, is *chelu*, but there is no word to say first-cousin, niece or nephew, other than with the expression *chilu dya hodyong* [born of brother/sister]. On the other hand, words abound to qualify children: *hana* means daughter; *lahi* means

boy, or son. The father, when speaking of his son or daughter, says *ninis ho* [my begotten], but the mother says *fiñañago ho* [my offspring]. *Ninis-ña* means legitimate son, or daughter, or literally, begotten mine; we note here that the word *ninis* means son or daughter only with respect to the father, since a child is always legitimate with respect to his mother. The expression *ninis hegui* means bastard son or daughter; *pinigsai* means adopted son or daughter; *maga* or *magchaga* means the first-born son or daughter, and also eldest brother or sister; *sologña* means the cadet, or youngest of the family; *isologñan inatñan* means the cadet (with respect to the eldest); *achañag* means twin brother or sister; *madyana ña pagon* means abandoned child.¹ There are no words to say grand-children, great-grandchildren; periphrases must be used to express these ideas here also.

Various customs.—As we will mention later, when discussing the government of the ancient Marianos, each of their islands was formerly divided into a certain number of villages, under a specific authority; each of those was a single village or a groups of united hamlets. When there was a need for communal works, the entire population of the village took part in it. Such works were, either the building of the large sheds to store the canoes, of the houses for some inhabitant unable to do so himself, or for a newly-married couple who did not have one already; either the sowing or harvest of some field belonging to an incapacitated person, etc. The expression used for such a common effort was *hodyong songsong* [outing of the village].

If some rich man from a neighboring village happened to come by near the people thus gathered for communal work, the women would run and grab hold of him; a leaflet from a palm tree was tied around his arm, to mark him as a prisoner; then he was led to a house and shown all signs of politeness. Advised of his captivity, his family would hasten to put together a ransom, which they took upon themselves to make as rich as possible, and then his nearest relatives took charge of delivering it with full ceremony. This ransom became the property of the chief of the village of the workers, and in exchange he outdid himself to treat the prisoner in a splendid fashion; besides, this chief was free to refuse the ransom, and to assert that his only wish was to maintain the peace and amity between the two villages. In any case, whatever was his decision, the noble captive was immediately released; all the inhabitants of the village where the *hodyong songsong* was taking place, loaded with the most precious and useful articles they owned, such as mats, fish, starchy roots, betel, etc., led the way to the village of the former captive and offered the whole to the chief of that village. Adorned with their best ornaments, men and women made the march pleasant with songs and dances. At their arrival, the happy band would do honor to the banquet that had already been prepared for them. Once the moment to part had arrived, a debate took place; the hosts would insist to accompany their guests home, but the latter would say that they did not expect such honors; finally, to end the discussion, it was agreed that they would accompany them only half-way.

1 Ed. note: Perhaps it was the word for orphan.

The old custom of making a prisoner in this fashion during a *hodyong songsong*, far from being an act of hostility, was considered an appropriate means of maintaining friendly relations among the islanders; indeed, even when the ransom of the prisoner was accepted, he was always sent home with gifts exceeding in value that of the ransom.

If the person thus taken to task let them know that he was on some urgent errand, he was let go, but after he had promised to maintain mutual union and friendship, a promise that was considered inviolable. In any case, such constraint was exercised only against people enjoying some high consideration, was always taken as a friendly gesture, and was even regarded as an act of flattery by the person in question.

No-one took part in disputes between two men, but if a woman was engaged in some fight with another, everybody took side on her behalf. This was a consequence of the high esteem that the Marianos had for their women, who exercised command in everything, except in wars and the handling of canoes.

Should help or assistance be requested of a relative, he came right away, but if such a request was made to the highest-ranking woman in the family, according to the degrees of kinship that we have outlined above (the mother excepted), then the whole family, relatives, in-laws included, had to come.

Upon the simple remark, made by a married man to the oldest woman in his lineage, to the effect that his house was in a bad state, all his relatives were called to repair it, or to contribute to the building of a new one.

It was a sacred custom that any person who saved the life of a child and gave him back to his parents, had the right to receive the gift of a shell necklace named *guineha famaguon* [children's wealth], as a reward for his service. In such a case, if the father did not have the means of paying this debt, his family, and, if need be, his whole village would satisfy the duty they had of intervening to help him fulfil such a sacred obligation. Sometimes, the rescuer would refuse to accept any reward; this mark of disinterestedness and this well-meaning refusal were then the guaranty of the sort of relationship, or rather alliance, that we have mentioned under the name of *atugcha-guma*. As of that moment, they became his adoptive family and were linked with respective obligations. A high-ranking man who would rescue a child in imminent danger could, with the assent of his parents, make him wear his own name. An important gift made to a child was sufficient to establish the same sort of alliance.

Politeness—The ancient Marianos did not have any of the manners of greeting that are familiar to us in France, except for the custom of kissing someone's hand; still, instead of kissing the hand, they would sniff it; this act of civility was called *ngingi* [to sniff]. Reciprocal kissing, so to speak, was called *chumiko*, which means "to sniff each other's noses." We have seen the same custom among the Carolinians, the Papuans and the Timorese. When entering a house, the only hello said was the phrase *adyin dyo*, which means "Here I am," but the implication was: I am here to serve you; the master of the household would answer, *atti hau!* which literally means "Pour you!" but really means "Do you want me to pour water over you?" and the implication was that the

water was to wash his feet with. To refuse, the visitor would say *tiguailadyi* [not necessary], and, to accept *adyan* [here].¹

In the latter case, according to the rank of the visitor, the host would fetch the water himself in a gourd, or ask a servant to bring it; then either of them would pour the water, outside but near the entrance door, over the feet of visitor, who would rub his own feet.

[Footnote:] Le Gobien (*op. cit.*) asserts that when the people met each other, they would greet with the words *ati arinmo?* which he translates by the expression “let me kiss your feet.” This is an obvious mistake; indeed, the above-mentioned expression, that must be written *atti ading-mo?* (at least in the dialect of Agaña), means, literally, “to pour water (on) feet-yours?” and must be translated by “Do you wish me to pour water” or “do you want water to be poured, on your feet?” In fact, this phrase is used upon entering a house, not upon meeting on the street.

When they met on the street, the ceremony was limited to addressing each other thus: *Manu hau?* [where are you going?] or *Guini meno hau?* [where are you coming from?]. However, if the person approaching was of higher rank, or at least of equal rank, and that he or she was carrying a load, etiquette demanded that an offer of assistance be made. No such pleasantries took place if the person met with was of lower rank; in fact, the latter, to be polite, was the one who had to offer to help him with a part of his load.

As a sign of esteem or friendship, an islander who saw someone pass by his door would invite him to come in and offered him some betel nut or some other tidbit. It was a great mark of respect to pass one’s hand over the belly of someone else; on the other hand, to spit in his presence would have been the summum of rudeness; indeed, the Marianos went to extreme, not to commit such an uncivilized act, as they would rarely get rid of their spittle, or did so only after they had taken meticulous precautions. For instance, they would avoid doing so near someone else’s house, for a reason that must remain unknown.

A *mangachang* would never have passed a noble or *matua* with his head kept high; rather, he would bend over, so low that he seemed to be walking almost on all fours (see Pl. 62). To speak, he had to remain in a squatting position; on the other hand, a *matua* could not remain seated in the presence of an inferior, not without degrading himself. However, the *mangachang* did not have to perform such humiliating gestures in the presence of an *achaot*.

Ever since the definitive conquest of the Marianas by the Spanish, most of the inhabitants of Guam have adopted many of the Spanish customs. Mr. Guérin says: “These days, when a young person meets a superior or a parent whom he must respect, in the street or at home, he kneels on one knee, and kisses the hand that this person presents to him in a formal manner.”

“In the evening, after the angelus, it is the custom, at Agaña, to wish good night to the persons who happen to be nearby; and this custom is strictly adhered to by the child-

1 Ed. note: So says a Frenchman, but I fancy that the word *adyang* meanst 'OK, alright fo ahead,' which was a polite way to acquiesce without saying Yes outright.

ren toward their grand-parents, to whom they simply say: *Señor* or *Señora*, while they bend their head slightly, but without adding *buena noche* [good night].”

Education in ancient times.—In ancient times, education was limited to a few physical attentions on the part of the parents; later, the young people would get their instruction by watching the skilled tradesmen at work, as long as the latter allowed it. A skilled canoe builder, for instance, would usually be jealous of his talent, and would not divulge the tricks of his trade to anyone who happened to come by; the first requirement for a would-be tradesman was potential ability, as assessed by him, the would-be teacher, and this applied to all, even to his own son. Only then did he resign himself to teach. As an inclination for a profession seldom declares itself in childhood, the candidate had to have reached manhood before he began his apprenticeship.

The young pilots, who intended to become long-distance navigators, would receive, under the same conditions, the instructions of their relatives. Almost always the son inherited the job of his father, because it was thought that the child of a man who was successful in his enterprise would also be successful at it. However, nothing was obligatory, and it was not uncommon for young men to follow a career opposed to that of their fathers.

Education in modern times.—The historical narrative that precedes this chapter gives a sufficient idea of the efforts that the missionaries made, as soon as they arrived at Guam, to civilize and instruct the inhabitants. Besides religious education, they sent tradesmen to the villages to teach the people to manufacture thread and cloth, to sew, to tan leather, forge iron, cut stone, build, and to encourage better methods of agriculture.

Nowadays all the villages of some importance have their royal primary school for boys and an autonomous and free school for girls; the children are sent there as soon as they are old enough to benefit from it. They are taught the basics of religion, reading, writing, Spanish, arithmetic; as for the girls, they also learn the domestic arts.

In addition, at Agaña, they have the royal college of San Juan de Letrán, where an unlimited number of students are taught; there were 30 of them in 1818, taken from the most distinguished families of the island, or from those who had chosen a career as tradesmen. Above what is taught in the primary schools, they are given lessons in music, voice and instrument, as well as the mechanical professions, such as carpentry, blacksmithing, locksmithing, shoe-making and tailoring. They are in turn obliged to sing and play instruments in the church of Agaña, on holidays. “It was always a pleasant surprise for us,” says the author of the Voyage of Marion [Dufresne, 1772], “when we attended a divine service, on Sundays and holidays, to find the church full of musicians, and to hear a symphony of all the instruments.”

Calendar.

In the manner of the Chinese, the ancient Marianos counted the great divisions of time, in days [*haan*], in lunar months [*pulan*], and in years [*sakkan*]. It is probable that they also gave names to the days of the month, as the Carolinians from Lamursek still

do (see above); however, such names are now completely unknown. The year consisted of thirteen lunar months. The Spanish, since their arrival, have tried to assimilate their names with the months of our calendar, a correspondence that is impossible. Nevertheless, here is the sort of information that I have taken from three different sources, to establish the list in question:

1. January	TUMEGUINI. Word that means 'thus, in this manner.'
2. February	MAINO.
3. March	UMOTARAF. Literally, 'to go and catch guatafi.' It is perhaps the season for fishing the fish in question.
4. April	LUMUHU. Means 'to go back to the charge.' Perhaps this was to mark the beginning of a new year.
5. May	MAGMAMAO.
6 June	MANANAF, or FANANAF. 'To walk on all fours, to drag the body.'
7. July	SEMO.
8. August	TENHOS, or TENOS.
9. September	LUMAMLAM. 'That gives lightning.' Was it the storm season?
10. October	FAGUALU. 'Season for sowing the field.' ¹
11. November	SUMONGSUNG. 'Season for repairing the fishing-nets.'
12. December	UMADYANGGAN. 'Disturbed, dull.' Perhaps a time of frequent rain showers.
.....	UMAGAHAF. 'Crab-fishing season.'

A look at the dictionary proves that our islanders had some knowledge of the astronomical and nautical sciences; indeed, the names of some stars can be found in it, but it seems that only a very small part of their knowledge on these subjects have come down to us, too little to be mentioned further.

Religion of the Marianos.

Beliefs.—There is no word in the Mariano language to denote the divinity. Naturally, one is led to believe that the inhabitants had no concept of a supreme being; Le Gobien seems to be even sure about that.

However, according to Fr. Murillo Velarde and Don Luís de Torres, here are their ideas about the origin of the world. Puntan,² they said, was a very ingenious man who lived for many years in imaginary spaces that existed before creation. When he died, he

1 This moon, or month, is called by three different names by the authorities that I quote from: *fagualu*, *maiñaof* and *paguan*, names that undoubtedly belong to different dialects of the Mariano language. I have adopted the version that seemed to me as belonging to the customs of Agaña.

2 Don Luís pronounce it Funtan.

asked his sisters to make the sky and the earth out of his chest and shoulders, to make the sun and the moon out of his eyes, and to make the rainbow out of his eyebrows.

They recognized the immortality of the soul and, according to them, the man who died quietly and without any pain went to heaven, and enjoyed there the trees and fruits that are there abundant; whereas the man whose last moments were violent and agitated, went to hell, which they called *sasalaguan*.¹ The devil was called by them *kaifi* or *aniti* [bad spirit]. They believed that, if anyone were to push over the pillar of a house, the soul of the man who had built it would certainly come invisibly to take vengeance against such an action. According to them, the devil went about among the living, and spent his whole time doing evil. To the contrary, the souls of their ancestors were opposed to him and even came to their assistance in case of danger.

There were souls that were stronger than the devil, others that were less so; the former belonged to old and courageous men, while the latter were those of lazy and cowardly men. Women also had souls, but it is not certain that souls were assigned to the *mangachang*. The feminine soul was regarded as being less strong and less powerful than that of men.

“These peoples,” says Le Gobien, “are persuaded that the spirits return after death; either the devil fools them by taking the figure of their deceased parents, or their disturbed imaginations make them see what others say they see. It is certain that they complain of being mistreated by ghosts that frighten them, sometimes terribly. That is why, when they have recourse to their *aniti*, that is, the souls of the deceased, it is not so much to obtain some favor, as to prevent them from doing them some harm. It is for the same reason that they keep quiet while fishing, and that they make long fasts, for fear that the *aniti* will mistreat them or appear to them in their dreams, which they interpret literally.”

The power they attributed to the *aniti* was considerable. They ascribed to them the power of changing the order of nature, preventing the land from producing and the sea from giving fish. Some horrible diseases were spread by them among mankind; finally, it was easy for them to create abundance and repel diseases.

“Completely ignorant as they were,” says Le Gobien, “they did not believe that the world lasted forever. They gave it a beginning, and they narrate on this subject some fables, conceived rather badly, which they repeat in bad verses sung at their meetings.”

“They say that all nations have their origin from a place in Guam; that the first man was made from earth from there; that he was later changed to stone, and that it was from this stone² that all other men came from, before they went away to settle in other countries...; that these men, being banished and far from their country, soon forgot their language and the manners of their countrymen. That is how, they say, the other nations do not know how to speak, and do not understand us. If they manage to speak

1 Writtten *zazaraguan* by both Le Gobien and Fr. Murillo... This word means 'place where (something) is distributed', that is, where punishment is distributed to the guilty...

2 This is the rock at Fuña, mentioned earlier in this volume.

a few words, they speak like idiots, without understanding one another, and without knowing what they say.”

A fact that is worth mentioning is the superstitious fear of the sudden appearance of the Carolinian bird called *utag*.¹ As its appearance was due to bad weather, its presence was generally regarded as the worst of omens. Indeed, so many shipwrecks had coincided with the accidental arrival of this animal.

Cult.—The *aniti* were invoked in times of danger or need. Firstly, the prayer was addressed in a normal voice, because these islanders believed that the souls of their ancestors were always at their side, ready to help them; however, if, in spite of this prayer, the danger continued, they began to shout, moderately at first, then with all their might, thinking that these tutelar spirits had strayed momentarily from their side, to help someone else. Such shouts, still being heard in the countryside, but that are now for the purpose of revealing one’s position to hunting companions, are very piercing. “*Hu! hu!*” they said, “*N.* (the name or names of the relatives whose souls they were invoking), *it is now that your help is necessary; Help me now, if your family was ever dear to you!*” and such words were repeated during the whole time that the danger lasted.

When an individual wished to settle in a village other than his own, he ordinarily looked for an abandoned house to use as his dwelling, abandoned as a result of the death of its owner; however, the new occupant lost no time in attracting the goodwill of the relatives of the deceased, so that, through their intercession, his soul would not do him any harm.

The *makahna*, a sort of witch-doctors who were very honored in the country, and about whom we have already talked, exercised among their countrymen a sort of priesthood. There were two classes of *makahna*: some did nothing but bad things, and they were *mangachang*; the others, who did good things, belonged to the class of the nobles. Among the latter, some provided good fishing, successful voyages, the cure of diseases; the others made the fields fertile, the harvests abundant, the weather favorable, etc. The *makahna*, to help themselves in their predictions, kept at home the skulls of their deceased, and stored them in baskets. “They leave such baskets here and there in their house,” says Le Gobien, “without paying the least attention to them, unless some fool come by to consult them.”

“When someone dies, a small basket is placed near his head, to collect his spirit, and it is begged, since it is leaving his body, to please go into this basket and make it its dwelling place, or at least to use it as a resting place when it comes to visit them.”

Ceremonies on great occasions: Weddings.—Marriage, considered as a social and temporary contract, will be covered elsewhere; here, we will describe only the ceremonies that preceded or accompanied the wedding. Everywhere where men live in society, the act of marriage constantly takes on a character of solemnity; indeed, this important institution exists, not only to strengthen the natural tendency between the two sexes, but also to preserve religiously and to perpetuate the relationships between

1 Ed. note: Now written 'utak.'

families, a powerful means of preventing disorder and confusion from upsetting the social pact—an idea that has not escaped even the most backward of nations.

As soon as a union was planned, the mother of the would-be groom, or in her absence, his grand-mother, or else his closest female relative, having equipped herself with a betel box [*saluu*],¹ would go and visit the mother of the would-be bride. Once there, without giving the latter time to offer the customary betel, she would offer the one she had brought along. This behavior immediately alerted the mistress of the house that marriage was the object of the visit; still, she asked what was the motive of the visit. It is about your daughter, answered the go-between. I come to ask for her, on behalf of so and so. In the case where this proposal was not objectionable, the young person was consulted immediately to know her answer. If her grand-mother was still alive, the mother would hasten to answer that she could not promise anything, without her consent, and the proposal had then to be made to her also, with the same ceremony. Generally, before giving a positive answer, all manners of delaying tactics and pretexts that decorum allowed were used to delay authorisation, in order for the whole family to have time to inform themselves and reflect on the suitability of the party in question.

At the appointed time, the female go-between would make a second visit. If the daughter had, in the meantime, showed herself favorably disposed, assent was then given; from this moment on, the would-be groom was obliged to provide his future bride with sustenance. The man whose wealth did not allow him to fulfil this duty, undertook to serve in her house as a domestic servant, until the day of the wedding, which never took place right away. It was therefore a period of trials. If he was a farmer, inquiries were made about the importance of his fields and harvests, his ability to work alone, etc. The fisherman had to show, in the presence of his future bride, how skilled he was at fishing, and at managing a canoe.² If the results of the new investigation were favorable, the marriage was a sure thing; there was no need to debate which of the two families would pay for the wedding feast; we will suppose, in what follows, that it was the responsibility of the groom.

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- 1 This box contained the arca nuts [*pugua*], some betel leaves [*pupuludyau*], and the small coconut [*baba*] where were kept the pellets of lime, which was usually chewed with them. The size of these pellets were such that only one of them was sufficient for each chew of betel [*mamaon*]; because it would have been dishonest to touch the lime that others were to put in their mouth. To prevent such disadvantage, the pellets were made of the size that we have mentioned; and after they had been given their shape, they were rolled in the dust of some charcoal, made from burned coconut shells.
 - 2 The test in question consisted in the following steps: make the canoe capsize, right it up and put back the mast and sail, then continue his route, while bailing out the water at the same time. Such maneuvers had to be carried out without the least help from anyone. However, what was much more difficult, and always received the applauses of the spectators, was to sail for a considerable time, while holding the *licha*, or float, of the canoe some two or three feet above the water.

First of all, time was taken to acquire the necessary rice, fish and other food supplies that had to be eaten at the feast; only after this was the precise date of the wedding fixed. Three or four days before that, the two families together would get busy at threshing and cleaning their own supply of rice, as well as that sent ahead of time by the future guests; this gift rice was usually one *kotud* each.¹ Once these preparations were completed, the relatives, where the wedding was to take place, distributed betel to the guests, while they placed, in the mortars where the rice is cleaned, a certain quantity of this cereal, in water. As soon as it had been dampened enough, it was ground with care, and coconut meat was added; the result of a thick paste from which were made as many balls as there were guests present. The latter would each take his ball and dip it in water from a young coconut [*manha*] in small wooden mortars for that purpose; this gave them a clear porridge, called *laulau*, which he ate with pleasure, right away, or took home, as he wished.

On the eve of the wedding, the relatives of the future couple would hasten to prepare everything necessary for the solemnity of the day. The women cooked the fruits of the *rima* or *dugdug*, the starchy roots, the fish, etc. The men would take care of the firewood, as well as the lumber and thatch shingles [*higai*] which they used to build a building to shelter the guests, and to build the kitchens for the preparation of the feast. The women would then offer them some betel and *laulau*.

During the night preceding the wedding, the two families gathered once more to transport the *chinchuli* to the house of the mother of the groom. Such is the name given to a gift which consists of starchy roots, *rima*, bananas, rice, fish, salt, betel, etc. The friends also had to provide their *chinchuli*.

In the evening, the betel had once again been distributed and supper had been served, but, to clear the house, and give the host the possibility of receiving all visitors, everyone was allowed to take out his supper. Such comings and goings lasted all night, amid dances and games.

At daybreak, the relatives of the groom, after they had left a small number of individuals at the house of the mother of the groom to help with food preparation, went joyfully to the house of the young girl; there they were offered betel and it was then that the new bride was turned over to his husband. Breakfast was then served. The dishes were laid out, according to custom, on a mat measuring three feet in width and a length proportional to the size of the apartment; the dishes were served in as many portions as there were guests; the relatives of the groom were called to the first sitting; they lined up in the order of precedence, as assigned by their degree of kinship; the men then took their places, while observing the same order. Each guest then did honor to the meal, and took home what he had not had time to eat. The mat was again covered with new dishes, and so on, until all the guests had taken part in the feast.

¹ Large vessel or square basket, woven of pandanus leaves (Pl. 79, fig. 9), whose capacity will be mentioned below.

Once breakfast was over, the bridal party went to the house of the husband, where dinner soon appeared and was served in the same manner and with the same ceremonies, except that this time it was the turn of the relatives of the bride to eat.

In all the Mariano feasts, much use is made of the *hinigsa*, which is the name given to certain cakes of rice that has been boiled in water. There are three kinds of such rice dishes. The first one, called *hufot*, has a round shape, about two inches in thickness; about half a chupa [1/8 liter] of rice goes into it; it is served wrapped in balibago leaves to less distinguished guests. The second one, called *pacha*, has a pyramidal shape and contains about 2 gantas [4 liters] of rice; it is given to distinguished guests. Finally, the third kind, *hinegsa sinargan*, has the same shape as the *pacha* but contains at least 7 gantas [14 liters] of rice. The ceremony included the practice of the mothers of the two new spouses, each one separately, being carried by two men, on a sort of litter [*chunai*], with a *sinigsa sinargan* placed on a tray [*sargi*], to be offered to the eldest sisters of both. They, in turn, had to send this gift to the eldest sisters of their own husbands; and from one sister to another, the *sinargan* continued to circulate until it arrived at the dean of the relatives, who alone could distribute it to her female relatives, where the gift had been offered. However, she rarely could exercise this privilege, because the cake would spoil before it even reached its final destination. Still, this was not an excuse to prevent it from travelling; because the person who alone had the right to dispose of it, would have complained highly, had it not reached her; such a lack of decorum would certainly have been the cause of some dispute between the two families.

Once the marriage ceremonies were over, if the new husband did not have a house of his own, his relatives gathered to build him one, equipped with all the basic household utensils; this was called *guhadyi* [to endow, to enrich]. We shall see, when referring to Mariana laws, what became of all such property, upon someone's death.

Today, the above practices have almost become obsolete; however, traces of them can still be seen among the descendents of the ancient natives, but with this difference that the marriage is always blessed, as part of the ceremony.

Birth of children.—Formerly, as soon as a woman felt the first birth pains, a message was sent to the wife of the chief of the village, or *magalahi*. She, in turn, communicated with the female relatives of the ascending branch of the husband and of his wife, up to and including the aunts. All had to hasten to come to the house of the sick woman and to take care of her during childbirth. The female relatives of a lower category, such as the sisters, cousins, nieces, had already been warned by the husband, and they also came without delay. His sisters, bearing calabashes full of water, were entrusted with making the customary ablutions, not only on the new-born, but also on his mother. Her brothers¹ took charge of bringing in the food that the relatives of the woman had to provide. On their part, the family of the husband made sure that the house of the

1 It is remarkable that on this occasion, as in many others, only the women were advised. The men must have been warned by their wives, or by public broadcast, if they were not yet married.

sick woman was in good condition, well sheltered, and provided abundantly with utensils, furniture and other articles appropriate to the circumstance.

It was customary for the relatives of any age to offer, upon their arrival, one *kotud* of rice, with a dried fish on top, to provide food for those attending the mother-to-be. The women who brought the water calabashes were the only ones exempted from this duty.¹

When the new-born belonged to a high-ranking family, some rice was ground very fine, and it was thrown under the feet of the father, as a sign of respect.

Children were given names taken, either from the talents or personal qualities of their father, or from a fruit, a plant, etc.; for example, Gof-sipik [good fisherman]; Tai-añao [fearless]; Tai-gualo [lazy];² Faulos-ña [expert navigator]; Gof-tugcha [good with the spear]; Misngon [patient]; Nineti [ingenious]; Masongsong [settler]; Gof-higam [good with the *higam*];³ Agad-ña [expert at finishing canoes];⁴ Ki-igi [peerless];⁵ Matapang [soft coconut];⁶ Puntan [ripe coconut]; Dyoda, or Chod-a [banana tree]; etc.

Funerals.—Local tradition has preserved few details of what went on formerly in the Marianas during funerals; however, although history does not come to our rescue here, one could nevertheless suppose that, in a country where everything that had to do with the family was so carefully respected, where the laws themselves made a crime out of the simplest omissions, in such a country, the woe of the relatives at the death of one of them must have been expressed by signs of a deep sorrow. Let us see what the author whom we have so often quoted has written on this subject.

“There is no nation more eloquent in marking their sorrow, nor more expressive in their behavior and their manners. Nothing is more lugubrious than their burials.⁷ They shed torrents of tears; they utter cries capable of piercing the toughest hearts; they fast for a long time, and wear themselves out with their crying and their long abstinences that they are not recognizable. The mourning lasts seven or eight days, and sometimes longer, as they make it relative to the affection they had for the deceased, or to the fa-

1 There was a kind of shame attached to a person visiting a sick friend without bringing him a *kotud* of rice and a dried fish.

2 Ed. note: Literally 'without a farm.'

3 *Higam*, tool to dig canoes, a sort of adze; see Plate 79, fig. 1.

4 Agad-ña, and by corruption, Agaña; it was the name of the chief who founded the town with this name. Ed. comment: Specifically, the reference is to a canoe builder who was expert at giving it its longitudinal curve, “tonture” in French. Also written Agat-ña, as some missionaries heard, and wrote. Hence, Agat, another village of Guam, meant 'canoe finisher.'

5 Ed. note: Literally, unbeatable.

6 A phase of the coconut, when it is soft, but with milk not yet sweet. Ed. comment: Hence, not interesting, uncivil, discourteous. On the other hand, in Filipino, Matapang means 'courageous, brave.'

7 The whole family of the deceased was in attendance.

vors they had received from him. This whole time is spent with tears and mournful chants. They take a few meals around the grave of the deceased,¹ because a grave is always built at the place where the body was buried, or at least next to it.² It is loaded with flowers, palm branches, shells, and everything they have that is most precious. The grief affecting the mothers, who have lost a child, is unconceivable; as they try only to maintain their sorrow, they cut some hair for a keepsake, and they carry a cord around their neck, in which they make as many knots as there are nights since their child has died.”

“If the dead belonged to the high noble class, their sorrow was then without measure. They went into a sort of frenzy and despair; they uprooted trees, burned their houses, broke their canoes, tore their sails and hung the pieces in front of their houses. They littered the ground with palm branches and erect funeral arches in honor of the deceased. If the deceased was expert at fishing or warfare, which were two honorable professions among them, they adorned his grave with oars or spears, to mark his valor, or his skill at fishing. If he had been illustrious at these two professions, the spears and the oars were intertwined, and held as trophies.”

“All of this was accompanied by lively wailings and touching lamentations that pain inspired in them, and made them express in a very spiritual manner. For instance, one might have exclaimed: *There is no more life for me; there only remain boredom and affliction. The sun that animated me has gone down. I will be shrouded in a dark night, and drowned in a sea of tears and grief.* He had no sooner finished that another intoned: *Alas! I have lost everything! I will no longer see what made my days happy and my heart glad. Why? Because the valor of our warriors, the honor of our race, the glory of our country, the hero of our nation is no more! He has left us! What will happen to us? What will become of us?* Such lamentations lasted all day long, and continued well into the night, everyone trying to mark his sorrow by lively expressions, and by praising the deceased.”³

On the advice of their *makahna*, the Marianos respectfully kept at home, in baskets, the bones and skulls of their ancestors, as well as their figures, crudely drawn on barks or pieces of wood.⁴ A few preferred to place these bones in caves next to their dwellings, and they called this sort of charnel houses *guma alumsig* [houses of the dead]; as they did not wish to be separated from their ancestors, they thought it was their duty to have their own bones placed there after their own death.

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- 1 His nearest relatives provided, when necessary, food to the persons present at the ceremony, while respecting an order and conditions that we will soon explain.
 - 2 Usually the burial took place very near and outside the dwelling of the deceased, sometimes also under the house itself.
 - 3 Le Gobien, *op. cit.*
 - 4 Ibid.

We have said that the meals took place near the grave, and that the family had to provide the food for the subsistence of all those who had to attend the funeral.¹ In this case, the procedure to follow was rather complicated. To illustrate it, let us suppose that the deceased is a sister of the individual *N*, and that she was not married.

In the figure opposite, *n* represents the wife of *N*; *B*, his brother, married to *b*; *d*, one of his sisters, married to *D*, etc.; *n* has a brother, *G*, married to *g*, and a sister *f*, married to *F*, etc.

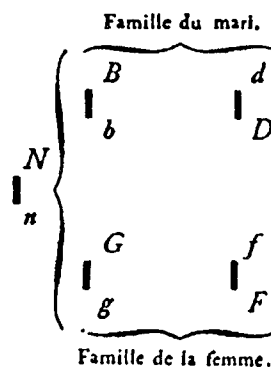
Here is what happened in this case: *B* provided food supplies, according to his possibilities, but did not take them himself to the house of *N*; it was his wife *b* who fulfilled this duty. As a token of his gratitude, *N* had to give one shell *alas* to her, either a *lukao-hugua*, or a *gintus*,² but it was usually the latter that was given. However, as we have supposed that *N* was

not rich, it is his sister *d* who had to do it. Therefore, she brought an *alas* to the house of *N*, and thus gave to him the means of satisfying what custom dictated.

What the family on the husband's side of the family did, as we shall see, was repeated on his wife's side: *G* provided food; *g* was to give it to *n*, who, in turn, received an *alas* from *f*. Now, to simplify the explanation, we have mentioned only the brothers and sisters of *N* and of *n*, but all their other close relatives, male and female, had to fulfil similar obligations; this we will explain only briefly.

Widows and widowers were not obliged to make gifts; however, most of them did so. Therefore, if *B* was a widower and wanted to give food to *N*, he had to entrust one of his close female relatives—for instance, a sister—with the task of delivering it. However, it was not necessary to present the *alas* on the same day as the food; everyone knew that they were owed, and that this obligation would be fulfilled soon after the ceremonies were over.

We have seen what means were successively put in place by the Spanish, to spread among the natives the precepts of the Christian religion; the nature of the difficulties that they had to overcome; finally, to what sort of missionaries to whom the instruction and the conduct of the neophytes were successively entrusted.



1 Supposing, of course, that the head of the household of the deceased was not rich enough to bear the expense by himself.

2 The *gintus* was but a piece of *lukao-hugua*, (See, above, what we said about the latter, and below, in Section XI, what we say about Mariana moneys.

The implantation of numerous schools, the necessary annexes to the churches, were one of the first measures taken by the Jesuits; they were followed by the Augustinians, and by the Doctrinary Fathers who continued this custom.¹ The instruction that was given, far from being superficial, included religion, reading and writing, music, useful trades; and, in spite of the ever decreasing number of priests, these institutions were never abandoned. Nevertheless, one must admit that the colony has been suffering for a long time of an almost complete lack of priests; one lone curate for Agaña and the whole archipelago cannot possibly look after the needs of the population. So, in a great number of cases, even religious instruction has been entrusted to lay people who, in spite of their zeal, are far from having constant successes. Nevertheless, everywhere the faith is alive and the respect for sacred things absolute: everyone tries to comply with his religious duties as best he can, and we have been told about some devout families in Tinian and Rota who, when their pastor has been unable to make his yearly round through the archipelago, have taken the risk of sailing in their frail canoes, to come to Guam to fulfil their devotions.

Agaña, Pago, Agat and Umata are today the only towns where mass is being said;² still, this is on a rotating basis, as we have said.

Mr. Guérin says: "Besides the masses on Sundays and holidays, as prescribed by liturgy, some other devotions are practiced: 1° The Angelus is announced, at sunrise and sunset, by the church bell and the drum; upon hearing this signal, all conversations and occupations stop, everyone uncovers himself, turns towards the church, and recites his prayer, while standing and in a low voice."

"2° At 8 p.m., the church bell advises the people to pray for the repose of the soul of the dead; at the first bell, all the inhabitants kneel and respond, aloud, to the prayers said by the head of the family, or rather, the oldest man in the house."

"3° Every Saturday evening, after nightfall, the churchwardens of the parish and the students of the College of San Juan de Letrán lead a procession in Agaña, by torchlight; an image of the Virgin is displayed, rosaries are said, and her protection is also sought with canticles or her litanies."

Fun and games.

Public feasts.—The general feasts, called *gupot*, were held to celebrate a number of occasions: a marriage or the birth of a son in the family of some chief, the conclusion

1 Ed. note: The last two groups were, in fact, Augustinian Fathers. The Recollects were discolored (wearing sandals, instead of shoes), or so-called *ermitaños*, or hermits. By 'doctrinary,' I think that Freycinet means regular Augustinians (wearing shoes). However, only one or two of the latter came to the Marianas, and this, I suppose, for lack of available Recollects at Manila at the time. Both groups followed the 'rule of St. Augustine,' and all were regular priests (belonging to an order of monks, under superiors), as opposed to secular clergy (under bishops). All were Catholic, of course, but not cloistered.

2 There are chapels in the leper hospitals, where mass is said and the sacraments administered when urgent circumstances make it necessary.

of a peace agreement, the launching of a newly-built canoe, the capture of a turtle or a big fish, etc. Dancing and singing were part of all of these ceremonies.

Let us suppose that the occasion was one of the latter type. Before entering the port, the fisherman would make a specific signal which, as soon as it was sighted, would attract the people of the village to the beach, carrying wreaths of flowers and young palm leaves. The crowd would lead him home in a sort of triumph, and while congratulating him on his success. Once there, he presented the marine monster to his wife, who hastened to her closest female relative, who in turn sent it to another woman, and so on, until the fish in question arrived at the house of a woman who, according to the established order, could no longer send it to anyone else. The fish was then cut up and distributed among the fisherman and the persons to whom it had been offered successively. Inviolable rules were scrupulously adhered to for the circuit that the fish had to follow before getting to its destination; to break such rules would have been to expose oneself to attract implacable enemies. Besides, it did not matter whether the fish, at the end of this long ride, was completely putrefied or not.

When a turtle had been caught, it was sent on its way, along the same route, to the closest female relatives of the family. The woman whose privilege it was to make the distribution, sent some shell to all the persons who had a right to it. If a single man was responsible for the capture, the **thirteen scales** of the shell were first pierced, each with a circular hole of the size of the fist. The second time he caught a turtle, each scale was pierced with two holes, one of the previous diameter, the other of the size of the little finger; three holes were pierced when it was his third catch, etc. Finally, the more holes such shells had, the more valuable they were. (See Pl. 79, fig. 16).

When, as happened most often, many fishermen had been involved in catching the turtle, the piercing of the shell did not take place; they shared equal portions of the animal among themselves, and each one presented his portion to the various female relatives in his family.

In the great feasts, motivated either by political reasons, or by family considerations, the rich and distinguished persons made it their duty, and even a point of honor, to send successively, to all his close female relatives, a sizeable amount of cooked rice, which, after the usual ride, was distributed among the persons who had a specific right to this sort of favor.

Family gatherings, games, music.—The family reunions, that is, those to which the whole village did not have to attend, were called *gupti*. The reasons for them were generally the visit of a friend or a stranger, an abundant fishing expedition, or the success of some enterprise of great importance.

Great believers in fun and pleasure, the natives happily entertained one another in their meetings, and even acted as buffoons to spread hilarity. If they were sober, it was by necessity more than by inclination, because they often met to partake fish, fruits, and a drink called *laulau*. Among their favorite games, one was the swimming competitions, of which there were many kinds. Here is one example.

Two swimmers, A and B being in the water and facing each other, let us imagine, for each one of them, an imaginary line perpendicular to that which would link them, as in the dotted line, opposite. One of the partners, A, for instance, shouts *amima!* [catch (me)!]¹ to which B answers, *Dyuti ha* [throw yourself].²

—A. *Mano dyo* [where do I go?]³

—B. *Adyin ha* [there, go].

So, A dives and must come out near B, beyond DD'; in this case, he can be pursued and even caught by his adversary, but as soon as he gets back between the lines CC' and DD', he is in safety, since B cannot catch A inside these limits. B must make efforts to prevent B from escaping him and to try and catch him, either under water, or on the surface. Each of these players shows, in this circumstance, how good and strong a swimmer he is.

Rarely is the number of champions so limited, as there are usually many more: evenly divided between two opposing bands, they line up along the lines CC' and DD'. When the contest begins, one of the players shouts, *Amima!* and one answers from the opposite side, and the contest immediately begins. Two other swimmers do the same, then two others, until everyone is in movement. When the game is played in this manner, it appears both more lively and more pleasing.

Running, jumping, wrestling on the field, conversation,⁴ dancing, were still more games that the Marianos played to spend their leisure time. There were dances of various types, to which singing was generally adapted. The only that I witnessed was a demonstration of a round dance for solemn occasions. The men and the women took part alternately; in the center, was the place of the chief of the village, of the family, or else the person who was being honored. Sometimes the words had to do with the purpose of the ceremony, sometimes they were but expressions of happiness. To mark the end of a war and during the festivities that took place to celebrate renewed peace, the following song was used:

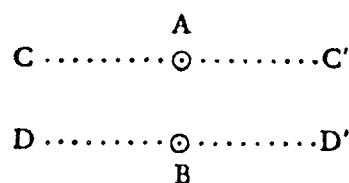
Hasngon gof-dya pala-uan - ho,
Deliberately, good-looking woman mine,

1 *Amima* is the name given to the game itself; this word literally means 'to catch', i.e. to catch someone pursued in the water. Ed. comment: Or *amema*. There could be a misprint here, as the word is now written 'menha', so that 'a-menha' would mean '(let's) catch each other.'

2 Ed. note: Now written 'yotte hao'.

3 Ed. note: Now written 'manu yo.'

4 In such meetings, according to Le Gobien, they took much pleasure in narrating, rather singing, the adventures of their ancestors.



*Nga*¹ *ho saddi*, *gui mina-ho*;
 I place (you) on my lap, in presence mine;

Ho suuni *ngu mamaon*,
 I enflame (your desires) with (a chew of) betel,

*Ngu plupludyon*² *dyan puguaoon*.
 With (the) betel pepper leaf and (the) areca nut (chewed).

These words were followed with mysterious words, whose meaning only a few people could even then understand, but that were easily made understandable by the gestures that accompanied the singers, and always excited the spectators to a universal and noisy gaiety. Such words today have no meaning at all.³

Here is the complete song, transcribed, music and words:⁴

We will not go back to the modern dances that we have described in our Chapter XXIV, as part of the narrative of our personal adventures. We believe, however, that it might be of interest to the reader to reproduce here the original tune that the orchestra played during the ballet of Montezuma. Here it is:⁵

Among the musical instruments of the ancient Marianos, tradition mentions two reed flutes, two-and-a-half feet long and of the size of the little finger. One, cut like a whistle, had three holes above for each hand and one below for each thumb; it was played as our recorder, but the notes were sweet and low-toned; it could not produce shrill notes. The mouth piece of the other was much like that of our standard flute,⁶ with this difference that it was blown with the nose. That is all that is known about these instruments, no longer in use today. Don Luis has told me that there were still a few samples in 1760, and that they were called *silag* and *bangsi*⁷ respectively. However, this last word, being purely Tagalog, makes one believe that the nose flute in question may have been formerly brought to the Marianas by the Filipinos who came to settle there. It is difficult today to decide this question for sure.

Independently of a few instruments from Europe, introduced by the Spanish, such as the flute, bass, violin, guitar, etc.,⁸ there are also some Jew's harps and some one-

1 *Nga*, a conjunctive particle, mentioned earlier.

2 By a process of elision, *pupuludyon* becomes *plupludyon*.

3 When I asked Major Luis [de Torres] about it, he answered, after some reflection: it is the *falalira dondaine* of your French songs.

4 Ed. note: See next page (top).

5 Ed. note: See next page (below).

6 Ed. note: "Flûte traversière," or flute with a hole at the upper end.

7 Ed. note: Not *banai* as wrongly transcribed in HRAF.

8 Most of the guitars are manufactured by the natives themselves with a skill that is truly surprising. The strings are made of threads from the fibers of the *balibago*, or hibiscus, tree.

Chant.

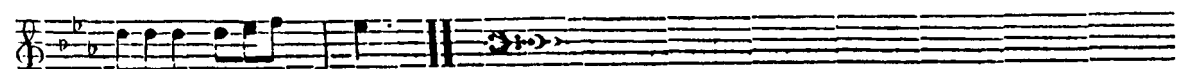
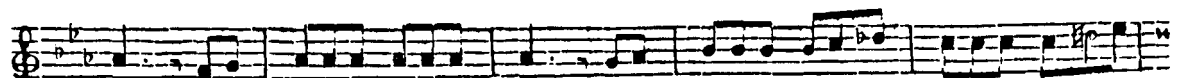
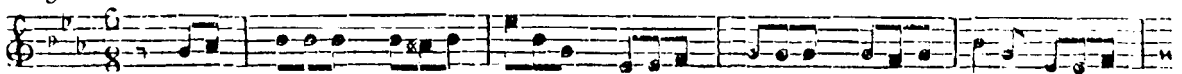
♩ = n.º 108 du métronome.



Refrain.

*Allégo.*

♩ = n.º 88 du métronome.



string instruments in the shape of a bow, ending with a gourd; it is about five feet in length, and is played with a stick touching the cord stretched across the bow; the result is a weak and monotonous sound. This instrument bears the Tagalog name of *belimbao*, which makes one presume that it came from Manila. By the way, it is the same instrument as the one called *bobre* at Ile-de-France.¹

The natives used, and still use, the conch-shell trumpet (Pl. 58, fig. 7), either ashore or at sea; however, it is used by them, as by the Carolinians, as a means of broadcasting their position at sea to other canoes sailing in company, and to transmit orders at war, rather than as a musical instrument. We shall return to this subject.

In ancient times, the Mariana women had specific meetings to which they went well adorned, and were the only sex admitted. Le Gobien says: "Twelve or thirteen of them would gather in a circle, standing and without moving, they sang the fabulous verses of their poets, with a harmony and precision that would please their listeners in Europe. The harmony of their voices is admirable, and is comparable to the best concerted chorus. They have some small shells in their hands, and use them to mark time, much as they would with castanets. However, what is more surprising, is the fact that their voices are maintained while they accompany their song with lively movements and expressive gestures that charm those who hear them."

The cockfights are due to the Spanish, and above all to the Filipinos, and so are certain games of chance, and of combination,² and especially the playing cards. At Agaña, they say, there is one house that is reserved for those who do not fear to entrust their fortune to the cards.

1 Ed. note: Ile-de-France is not an island, but the French heartland, the central region that includes Paris.

2 One of these is the *chonka*, but I was unable to find out its local name. Ed. comment: It is now called *sungka* in the Philippines.

Section VIII. Agricultural industry.

We will dedicate this section to the knowledge of the ancient Marianos in the arts of agriculture, and to the development of a few practices that have been recently introduced by the Spanish. Agriculture proper, hunting, and fishing will be the main subdivisions.

Agriculture.

The primitive character of the agricultural practices today is due to the limited needs of the population, the almost absolute lack of possibility for marketing such products, and finally, to the carelessness and the laziness of the low classes of society.

Agricultural tools.—Formerly the natives used a few simple tools, among which the *dagau* was the most important; it was a stick, 2-1/2 inches in diameter and 4-1/2 feet in length, usually of hard mangrove or *gago* [casuarina, or ironwood], and cut like a whistle, on two planes, at one of its ends (Pl. 79, fig. 4). It was used not only as a mattock, but also as a pick-axe, as a bar to carry loads, and even, if need be, as a weapon. The *tanum* was a cylindrical tool of the same dimensions, used to plant the *suní* [Caribbean cabbage] and to break open the coconuts meant for the manufacture of coconut oil. The *akoa* had some resemblance with our spade; its handle, 5-foot long, was equipped, instead of an iron blade, with a stone, 3 inches in width by 1-1/2 inches in thickness, flat, hard and sharp, fastened to the wood with a strong cord made of twisted coir. (See Pl. 62).

Among the tools introduced by Europeans to enrich the agricultural industry in the Marianas, there were: the *cubo*, whose handle, from 1 to 2 feet in length, has a piece of iron at one end (Pl. 80, fig. o); it is used advantageously to replace the *dagau* in digging starchy roots; the pick-axe, a well-known tool; the *fociño*, a sort of weeding tool with a long handle that one pushes before oneself (Pl. 80, fig. b); the tracing line, to line up the tobacco plants, and the rake, that is mostly used in the cultivation of rice. The *fociño*, a tool commonly used in Galicia [in Spain], was introduced early to Guam by the missionaries; it is used to prepare a field for light cultivation.

Formerly, there was a sort of cutlass called *damang* which consisted of a wooden handle equipped with a stone or a sharp bone; it was used, not only in agriculture and war, but also in a very large number of other circumstances. It was abandoned a long time ago by the islanders, in favor of the Spanish *machete* (Pl. 80, fig. a). Every inhabitant today carries a machete by his side, with a scabbard and leather belt (Pl. 68); it is used, while clearing ground, to cut the plants (Pl. 67) and the bothersome roots; to cut the branches of trees, when clearing a path through the woods, because the pruning of tall trees is here something that is completely unknown; finally, to replace the billhook and the hatchet in every case where they would otherwise be used. The persons who manage the *tubarías* [tuba, or coconut brandy, factories] make use of our small bill-

hook to operate and refresh the excision of the spathes of the tree, to make the sap that produces this liquor, flow.

Formerly, when the rice was but partly ripe, the harvesting of the good heads was made with the help of a mussel shell [*palos*], which was held in the right hand, and the stem of the plant was pressed against its sharp lip, and the heads fell into a basket held under the left arm (Pl. 71). During a general harvest, another, faster, method, and tool, were used; the tool was a sort of scythe, a very ingenious one, whose design can be clearly seen in our Plate 71, fig. 13; it was made with the shell (same plate, fig. 12) which was shaped and sharpened by rubbing it on a flat stone with a rather rough surface; it was called *sainan dogas*.¹ The Spanish settlers have substituted the small, toothed, iron scythe for it (See Pl. 80, fig. i); it differs somewhat from ours, as to its shape, but is handed very much in the same manner (See Pl. 70).

Among the containers used in agriculture, the ancient Marianos had some square baskets of various sizes, the largest of which were called *kotud kumukka*; they were used, with the woven pandanus bags (See Pl. 62) to collect the crops at harvest time. Some huge mats, upon which the rice was placed after it had been harvested, was almost always present under the sheaves when they were being stepped on, either upon the ground (Pl. 62), or on a platform [*palapala*] raised 3 to 4 feet off the threshing ground. This last method, more suitable on account of its cleanliness, was preferred by the rich farmers. In all cases, this operation was reserved to the women.

A mat-type plate [*bilao*], 2-1/2 feet in diameter, and encircled by a 1/2-inch ridge, was used to scoop up the rice and to put in into the bags; it is now used in winnowing grains, as we shall see.

I have already spoken of mortars and pestles; they are used in agriculture to rid the rice of its envelope. This operation, however, takes place only when the rice is about to be consumed, given that it is best preserved when it is still in its shell, thus protected from humidity and insects.

To water plants, water was transported, either in large gourds, or in bamboo pipes, 10-foot long, one end of which was cut whistle-like; this means of transporting water is still used today (See Pl. 67 and Pl. 80, fig. m).

Everything that the Marianos use by way of more complex agricultural tools have come to them from Europeans. Our Plate 70 gives an idea of the plough that is used here, at certain places; it is simply the Chinese plough, as at Manila, when it came. Usually only one ox is used here, and it is only at the royal farms that two oxen are used.

The harrow (Pl. 70), which seems to have the same origin, is a sort of large take, at the end of which are two wooden hooks for harnessing purposes; two vertical handles,

¹ *Dogas* is the name given to this shell, known as *strombus* [conch] or *pterochera* by the botanists. Our sketch reproduces it at one-third its natural size. *Sainan dogas* means literally, "which comes from the dogas, tool made with the dogas."

equipped with a cross-bar at the top, enable the ploughman to maneuver this machine. The use of the roller is still unknown.

At Guam, a few carts are used, but most of them are small, with a bamboo frame; from one to four oxen are harnessed to them. Their wheels, built in the Portuguese and Spanish style, are full and without spokes. The narrow width of most of the roads limits the use of these vehicles; in fact, there are only about 12 or 15 in the whole island, including the royal farms. Some of them have been modified for use as dumping carts, by the addition of certain pieces, rather well designed I might say; these are used to transport rice and corn to the stores in the capital.

A small number of wheel-barrows are also used, in agriculture as well as by the masons.

The ladders are not at all common; indeed, today they still climb to the top of coconut trees by making notches on the trunks themselves.

Fertilizer.—The practice of fertilizing the soil is something new in Guam, and only at the royal farms. Manure from horses, mules, cows, etc. is the only type of fertilizer used; guano from birds is known to be a very powerful fertilizer, but it is difficult to procure.

Agricultural tasks.—Two methods are used to clear virgin land: to cut the trees, or to burn them. The tearing up of the surface is unknown, in a country where the only kind of preparation is limited to scratching the ground, so to speak, and where the population is so little that one can always find good pieces of land that are open and free of tree roots and stones.

In the culture of rice, in the rich lands of Asan, Sasa and Fonti, the ploughing is done with ploughs; everywhere else, in Guam and in the other islands, only the machete and the pick-axe are used. For corn, the land is prepared with the machete and the *fociño*, and, for starchy roots, with the *tanum* and the *cubo*. The preliminary operation consists almost always in ridding the soil of bad plants that would prevent the use of the *fociño* and the other tools. The machete is also used to poke the surface of the fields where rice and corn will be planted, when the *fociño* could be maneuvered only with difficulty.

It is customary to weed the various crops, specially tobacco, corn and rice fields; this operation takes place twice, for the latter grain, between the time the plant has been replanted until it will be harvested.

At places where there is no running water, in order to water the plants, some wells are dug up a nearby slope, to make this operation easier; it is true that such wells are generally not very deep.

The ancient natives cultivated only rice, a few starchy roots, coconut trees, pandanus trees, areca palms, banana trees and breadfruit trees

Nowadays, the people also cultivate corn, the cycas or *fedeng*, tobacco, grapes, and a rather large number of vegetables.

The historical period when agriculture was most flourishing in the Marianas was during the term of the famous Governor Tobias. Captain Crozet said: "During his ad-

ministration, the Indians of Guam have all become farmers. Each family has its own land, which is sub-divided into a garden, an orchard, and a plot that has been ploughed with the mattock. In the gardens, one finds most of the known European vegetables, specially the delicious melons and watermelons which are very refreshing. Ships may find there, for their ship's provisions, cabbages and gourds in very large quantities."

We did not see any such prosperity; it is true that, when we stopped there, an obstinate drought was devastating the country, and that, wherever water was rare, the cultivation of vegetables was specially difficult.

Rice is grown here in two ways: in dry land and in damp ground. For the second method, a piece of ground is chosen that is already a little damp; once the soil has been prepared and suitably loosened, the grain is sowed, in November and December, because the great rains are then over with, and there is no longer any risk of losing the seeds that have just been planted. Care must be taken to cover the seeded ground immediately with coconut leaves; the plant germinates and comes out yellowish; it is then called *sinagua*. Fifteen to twenty days later, these young plants are pulled up and replanted in a rough, muddy, field, where they must grow to about 1-1/2 feet in height; this process takes about two to three weeks. At this time, the rice plants are again pulled up, the heads are cut off about 6 inches from the top, and they are replanted in a field divided into squares, where they will stay until they reach maturity. As soon as this operation is finished in one square, water is led into it, until it reaches 2 inches below the top of the young plants, when they were replanted. Experience has shown that, with this triple operation, the result is much better than with any other method.

To cultivate dry rice, it must be sowed in July, August and September, due to the rains that prevail then and which are useful to its growth.

The soil of the Marianas is appropriate to the cultivation of corn. Its early introduction was hampered by the lack of care on the part of the inhabitants and the wars that intervened, until they were definitively subjected to the Spanish government. Corn was re-introduced by Governor Tobias, and it has since flourished. This cereal is much easier to grow than rice; it requires no other care than weeding the field, making holes in the ground at appropriate intervals and depths,¹ then five seed grains are placed in each hole, and an average of 4 ears of corn are expected from each seed. In his journal, Lieut. Lamarche raves over the beauty of some corn stalks that he saw in these islands: "I saw a field where most of them were from 10 to 15 feet tall, and their leaves had the same gigantic proportion."

Among the starchy roots peculiar to this country, some grow naturally without cultivation; such as the *gapgap*, *nika*, and *dago*, and the arums *papao* and *baba*. Indeed, the inhabitants simply burn, or weed, a piece of savannah, and soon after, an enormous quantity of starchy roots grow spontaneously, specially the *gapgap*, along with other wild plants. No-one here cultivates the *gapgap* [arrowroot], although it is a plant that

¹ Corn does not need much vegetable matter to growth, and the presence of tree roots does not bother it; hence, little clearing is required.

is much appreciated; however, it is not rare to see people take care of such wild plants as grew spontaneously in their gardens.

[How *suní* is cultivated]

Among all the starchy roots that are cultivated in the Marianas, the *suní* or Caribbean cabbage is the one type that deserves the most attention, and also the one that is most taken care of. Its cultivation is much the same as our potato in France; indeed, if I understood well, before it is sowed, each root is cut into pieces, with at least one eye left in each piece.

To make holes in the ground, in order to sow these seeds, the ancient Marianos used the *tanum*, or the *dagao* turned upside-down; today the *cubo* is preferred, on account of its iron tip. No matter whether the ground is dry or damp, it would be a mistake to dig it up in advance; the plant grows much better when the earth where the hole is made is strongly packed. Far from growing laterally and below the surface, as the other roots do, the *suní* develops upwards. If it is sown in January, in a swampy area, it must be at one foot in depth, because the rains have stopped at that time and the plant will have time to grow before the next rains come; water would not drown the plant, but slow its growth.

In April, the hole does not need to be made so deep; 4 inches are enough, since the shoots must be out of the ground before the arrival of the wet season, in June and July.

When the *suní* is cultivated in a dry soil, it is proper to sow it only after the winter rainy season, and that the holes be made from 9 to 12 inches in depth. A field of *suní*, prepared as I have just described, in swampy ground, not only will last as long as the life of a man, but also will produce much more than if it had been sowed in dry ground. The latter must be renewed every year, whereas, by the first method, the farmer may only pull up the roots that he needs on a daily basis, get rid of the shoots and clear the ground of weeds.

Nowadays, it is a rare occasion when the *dago* and the *nika* are planted, because a sufficient number of them grow wild, in a large number of places; however, those who want to cultivate these species, take care to sow their shoots in deep earth, not swampy, from February until May. The ground is prepared as for the *suní*, and I think that they do the same for potatoes which, by the way, are all exotic. I forgot to ask when they sow their potatoes.

Mr. Quoy writes: "No other people have better cultivated the coconut tree as the Marianos. This tree is planted between July until October, by burying the nuts at a depth hardly equal to their diameter. Oftentimes, one sees coconuts that have fallen naturally from the tree, taken root and producing beautiful stems, without the nut being buried at all. Since the introduction of the large cattle, it is indispensable to surround these young plants with fencing, to prevent the animals from attacking them. The coconut grows well in sandy soil, even if it is accidentally drowned by sea-water. After four to five years, it already bears edible fruits, that improve in quality as the tree de-

velops. When, at last, the tree becomes dried up with age, it can no longer provide any fruits, the top of its trunk offers the last meal that man can benefit from. The cabbage that grows on top of the young coconut would be much better, but, by getting it, one would kill the tree, and people rarely make such a sacrifice.”

The pandanus and the *rima*¹ were, then as now, the object of an interesting and steady cultivation; suffice to plant a branch that has just been cut, and that is all. To obtain young transportable plants, some prefer to expose parts of the roots of a mature breadfruit tree, make light incisions in them and wait for new shoots to appear; then they cut off part of the big root to lift each shoot, which can be replanted elsewhere. However, what is remarkable, the inhabitants take care to make such plantations only at times when the moon is in its growing phase.

The multiplication of the banana tree is made by a rather defective method; they dig a hole and therein place a shoot that they have just cut from the mother plant; the tree that issues from it produces only one bunch of fruits, then dies. According to Governor José de Medinilla, the method used in Peru, in the neighborhood of Lima, is much better: there, they dig a trench from 7 to 8 feet in diameter by 1-1/2 feet in depth, they work the soil well, then plant three shoots, about 9 inches apart, the soil is raised one foot about each one of them, in order to maintain dampness around them. When they are growing, these plants produce other shoots which, growing all together, seem to form only one individual; thus cultivated, the banana tree gives fruits during an indefinite number of years.

The abaca, little cultivated so far, could offer great advantages, if trade ever grows significantly in the Marianas; the climate is perfect for it, and the excellent fibers that would be produced would amply reward the work of the farmer. Such must have been the intention of Governor Tobias, when he imported this plant from the Philippines to Guam.

Although it is indigenous to the Marianas, the cycas remained for a long time a food resource that was not exploited, until such time as the inhabitants were taught how to extract the precious starch from its marrow and its fruit. Before then, its care and reproduction had been entirely abandoned to nature. Today, its cultivation is one of the main concern in agriculture.

Mr. Gaudichaud writes: “Nothing is easier and simpler than to multiply this palm. Some pieces of trunk, pieces of the stem, even some simple wood chips can be pushed into the ground, where they take root, and give birth to new trees. According to Don Luis, it is not even necessary to bury such sprouting materials; they can simply be spread on the surface of the ground.”

“Some young cycas, from one year to 18 months old, may also be sacrificed for reproduction. At that age, they have the shape of big fusiform roots, like potatoes; they

1 The *dugdug* is not planted, because it is a species that is not appreciated as much as the *rima*; therefore, its multiplication is left to nature.

are cut into pieces, each of which having one eye or germ, then such pieces are stuck into the ground, or even simply thrown on the surface.”

Indigo is perfectly suitable to the soil of the Marianas; though completely neglected today, it grows everywhere spontaneously. This was not the case formerly. Governor Tobias, knowing better than everyone else how important this plant would be, introduced it, and made sure that the farmers took care to multiply it. Indeed, to grow well, the indigo plant requires a soil that is not only clayish, but also loose, freshly ploughed, with a careful weeding of other plants around it. Some holes, from 2 to 3 inches deep, are made with the mattock, about one foot apart, to receive from 10 to 12 seeds each. It is preferable to sow indigo when the weather is a little damp; the seed then germinates a little faster, and with more probability. Three to four days later, the plant can already be seen sprouting out of the ground. Three months later, the plant will have attained its full maturity; however, during this interval, a constant weeding must take place; it must also be protected from an invasion of a sort of caterpillar that attacks the leaves, the small branches, and even the bark, thus killing the whole plant in a short time. When cared for, the indigo plant lasts two years; it is then pulled, and seeded again.

Garden vegetables are given special attention, but there is nothing remarkable to say about them, other than they are usually sowed in freshly-turned soil which is also free of stones and located near sources of water, for watering purposes.

The same thing can be said about tobacco. Each inhabitant cultivates this plant carefully, for his own use and that of his family.

The soil of Guam is suitable for the cultivation of grapes, but no care is given to these vines. I have seen some magnificent vines, with stems bigger than one's arm, but they were not trained, and were overloaded with creepers. Some huge bowers that can be seen at Agaña, Umata and Pago, show what could be done, in this line, with an active and expert cultivation.

The same thing can be said about the cotton plant, the orange tree, the lemon tree, and many other fruit trees which are now completely abandoned to nature; they flourish only because of the excellence of the soil and the influence of a favorable weather.

Fences.—At Guam, a few properties are encircled, a few with walls, but most with a fence made of coconut tree trunks, cut in pieces 6-7 feet in length, planted in the earth very close together, and reinforced with cross-pieces, or else they are made with bamboos, reeds, stems of cycas. As the latter can easily take root in the soil, they are considered to be the best and most durable of all fences

Undoubtedly, some hedges of *limoncito* could also be made, as this bush has solid roots, and its numerous thorns would discourage those who steal from gardens.

Harvests.—Rice from wetlands is more productive than rice from drylands, but it takes more time to mature. From 5 to 5-1/2 months are required for the former to fully ripen, whereas it takes only 4 months for the latter. The best places in Guam for the cultivation of rice give 100 to 1, when it is tended carefully. Major Torres has measured this yield in the Fahasgu plain, situated to the southwest of Pago (see Pl. 59).

Formerly, when the sheaves had been threshed underfoot, either on the platforms, or on mats [on the ground], the rice was picked up, without the chaff being removed, in pandanus bags that were then stored in a loft inside a hut or shed. It keeps better this way than when cleaned first.

The old method is still used, except that the practice of winnowing the rice, borrowed from the Spanish, is used, before it is placed in the bags in question. The winnower places himself in a draught, and lets the grain drop from a height of 4 to 6 feet; the wind carries away the pieces of straw and the dust, and the rice, being heavier, remains at the feet of the worker.

To keep humidity and animals away from corn, the ears are hung inside storage rooms, whenever possible. At Guam, for each measure used in sowing, 175 to 1 can be harvested; however, if the soil is of first quality, and the rats and domestic animals can be held at bay, the product obtained can be 250 to 1. Generally, corn can be harvested four months after it has been sown.

Certain starchy roots can provide food to consumers all year round: such are the *nikas*. The *sunis*, independently of the method of sowing that was used, are pulled up in December; the *dagos*, from November to January; the *ikamas*,¹ from November to March; and the *gapgaps*, from December to January. According to Lieut. Lamarche, "in the latter part of this season, the leaves of the *gapgap* are falling, so that they roots are then pulled up, because otherwise all traces of them would disappear from the surface of the ground, and then, one would have to dig up haphazardly all over the field. Moreover, if these roots are not dug up in time, they become hard and provide much less starch. When the rainy season begins, the *gapgap* rots rather quickly; however, before it disappears, it produces some new shoots that ensure its survival."

The ancient Chamorros used to preserve the newly-dug roots by piling them up in their fields, surrounding the piles with stick fences, and covering them with coconut leaves, where they could stay for as long as one year; they would then dig up other roots for their usual needs, in order to make the regular supply lasts longer.

We must also classify as agricultural products the gums and resins obtained from some local trees, such as the *cycas*, *rima*, *dugdug* and *takamahaka* or *daok*.

Mr. Gaudichaud says: "It has been known for a long time that the fist-mentioned tree secretes a gum. In the Papuan islands, and above all in the Marianas, it can be observed on the trunk, and sometimes, though more rarely, on the spadices of the plants. However, the spadices produce little gum, and that rather accidentally, whereas the trunks are often covered with it; this particularity applies to the female *cycas* and never to the males."

"At Rawak, we had a hard time collecting some, because it was soft and gelatinous—something that was undoubtedly due to the humidity of the air in those neighborhoods. This was not the case in the Marianas, where all the female *cycas*, loaded with almost ripe fruits, in March, April and May, had the upper part of their trunk full

1 Ed. note: Rather *jicamas*.

of this substance. Many of them showed, according to my estimation, as many as five to six pounds of gum each.. The substance that oozes from the *cycas* in this way seems to have much in common with gum arabic, and could easily replace it; such a circumstance is the more desirable that the latter product has a rather high price in the marketplace. I think that this useful tree would grow well in our colonies located within the tropical zone.”

A type of balm or liquid varnish is extracted by incision from the breadfruit tree and from the *dugdug*. It is sufficient to hit the trunk of the tree with an axe, or with a machete, to see this resinous substance, which has a milky look, flow readily, the more so, if the cut has been made early in the morning; by noon, nothing can be got anymore. This milky substance from the *rima* or *dugdug*, when still fresh, can be used as paint, by mixing it with coloring powders; however, one must hurry, because it dries quickly. By reducing it on top of an oven, one gets a solid resin, appropriate for many uses, as it melts in a fire; in fact, it burns readily when thrown into a flame.

The tree that has been so cut does not seem to suffer from it, and it has been observed that the more incisions a tree has received, the more fruits it produces. After each cut, the mild of the *erima* or *dugdug* flows for about a quarter of an hour, then a scar automatically forms by itself. It is possible that the resin of the *takamahaka* is obtained by a similar process, but I was unable to verify this.

Animals that are harmful to agriculture.—In the Marianas, as everywhere else around the globe, man has to be continuously fighting a crowd of animals, oftentimes hardly perceptible, that wish to take away the fruit of his labor with a perseverance that he cannot always prevent.

At the foremost rank one must place the rat, whose agency here is a real plague for agriculture and the storage of products; although many rats are caught in traps, the reduction of their numbers is hardly noticeable. The cats, whose behavior here resembles that of the fox, prefer to attack, without risk, the peaceful fowls on the farms than fighting with foes whose size and audacity are indeed redoubtable.

The dogs, that have become wild, attack both game animals and plantations; too often they are seen in the corn fields, where they seek a supplement of food that the forests do not always provide.

The lizards, the domestic fowls, the small birds themselves, destroy the products of the vine, which they seek avidly, and sometimes consume, in newly-sown fields, most of what had been the hope of the farmer.

The bad influence of the cockroaches and ants are well-known; these insects are numerous and excessively bothersome here. In spite of infinite care being taken against them, it is impossible to get rid of them completely, and a continuous activity is necessary, not to be the victim of their ravages. The stinking fly, called *tagaña*, and a sort of caterpillar, are two more terrible enemies of the farmer; the former lays its eggs in the young ears of rice and makes them abort; the other devours the young corn. One cannot fight the pernicious effect of these animals only by constant visits to the plantations, and by careful cleaning of the affected parts.

Extent of agriculture.—The farms that have been established in the most suitable locations, and those that have been cultivated with the most intelligence and care, are due to the old Jesuits who were their former owners. They became the property of the King of Spain after the expulsion of these religious, and have steadily lost much of their value since, as a result of less assiduous care, perhaps even less intelligence applied to their exploitation.

Tachoña (Pl. 59 and 71), one of the most extensive farms, is now only used to raise cattle. Santa Rosa is not used any more adequately, although its soil is excellent; it is true that the means of irrigation are rare and not easy to provide.

The farms that are most productive belong to the districts of Agaña, Asan, Agat, Umata, Inarahan and Sinahaña. The plains of Merizo, Umata, Agat and Asan provide, in general, most of the rice; those of Agaña, most of the corn; finally, those of Agaña, Sinahaña, Mongmong and Agat most of the starchy roots, such as the *suní*, *dago*, *nika*, etc.

Besides, the following tables will provide many more details about the present conditions of agriculture in Guam. However, one remark must be made about them; only part of the fields reserved for agriculture are in fact lie fallow; if this is not taken into consideration, one might form a rather unfavorable opinion of the activity of the farming population; indeed, the area of the lands listed in these tables are not totally used every year, and part of them is abandoned to the natural reproduction of starchy roots.

Agricultural table for Guam, showing the extent of lands under cultivation, and their products, in 1818.

Editor's note: To reduce its size, the table has been simplified, e.g. the areas are mentioned only in (modern) hectares, and not in square nautical miles, or French royal acres.

Localities		Area in ha.	Products		Remarks
Royal	Private		Vegetable	Animal	
Agaña District:					
Toto	...	686	Corn, dago, nica.	Fowl.	See Note ¹
...	Toto	1,543	Id.	Id.	Note ²
San Antonio	...	1,543	Id.	Id.	Note ³
Ritidian	...	86	Corn	...	Note ⁴
Sasa	...	171	Id.	...	Id.
Sasa	...	86	Rice	...	Id.
Fonte	...	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Fonte	129	Note ⁵	Fowl.	Note ⁶
...	Apurguan	21	Id.	Id.	2 farms.
...	Tutuhan	686	Id.	Id.	6 farms.
...	Pulan	772	Id.	Id.	6 farms.
...	Mangilao	686	Id.	Id.	7 farms.
...	Lalo	1,543	Id.	Id.	23 farms.
...	Tillan	514	Id.	Id.	5 farms.
...	Tumon	1,372	Id.	Id.	13 farms.
...	Unaguan	4,115	Id.	Id.	30 farms.
...	Hilahan	21	Id.	Id.	2 farms.
...	Ritidian	1,543	Id.	Id.	8 farms.
...	San Antonio	686	Id.	Id.	4 farms.
...	Apurguan	514	Id.	Id.	9 farms.
Anigua District:					
...	Mahina	772	Various.	...	5 farms.
...	Anguag	107	Id.	...	2 farms.
...	Tumag-lago	343	Id.	...	1 farm.
...	Anaga	343	Id.	...	1 farm.
Asan District:					
...	Machogchog	21	Id.	...	1 farm.
...	Tehera	21	Id.	...	2 farms.
...	Hanian	86	Id.	...	2 farms.
...	Kalagag	86	Id.	...	1 farm.
...	Hop-hup	343	Id.	...	2 farms.
...	Tanmi	86	Various.	...	2 farms.

- 1 The royal farms that are located here have stone buildings with tile roofs, and have a cistern. The land begin at Mapas, include Maladi, Chuchugo, and ends at Chalan Pago.
- 2 This farm belongs to the College of San Juan de Letrán.
- 3 Royal farm which includes Ruano, Takpuha, San Antonio, Lalo, and the entrance of Unaguan.
- 4 It is a parcel of land without buildings.
- 5 Corn, dago, nica, suni, bananas, tobacco, potatoes, beans, tomatoes, eggplants, chili pepper.
- 6 There are 4 private farms in this locality.

...	Margui	343	Id.	...	No buildings.
...	Hinadpu	343	Id.	...	Id.
...	Palasan	343	Id.	...	Id.
...	Hagu	86	Rice.	...	Id.
...	Maganay	343	Id.	...	Id.
Tepungan District:					
...	Riguas	343	Various.	...	3 farms.
...	Mañila	514	Id.	...	5 farms.
...	Gaan	86	Id.	...	1 farm.
...	Sasa	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Tayhapu	171	Id.	...	3 farms.
...	Sinenson	86	Id.	...	2 farms.
...	Ninemug	171	Id.	...	3 farms.
...	Tadgua	257	Id.	...	No buildings.
...	Fanodgan	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Macheche	86	Id.	...	Id.
Sinahaña District:					
...	Taygigan	171	Id.	Fowl.	2 farms.
...	Hedtun	686	Id.	Id.	1 farm.
...	Anag	86	Id.	Id.	2 farms.
...	Talag-Katan	21	Id.	Id.	1 farm.
...	Afame	514	Id.	Id.	3 farms.
...	Dikligi+	343	Suni	...	Note ¹
...	Hedtun+	343	Rice.	...	Note ²
...	Chaud+	343	Roots, corn, rice. ...	...	Note ³
Mongmong District:					
...	Maite	343	Various.	...	1 farm.
...	Utan	129	Id.	...	4 farms.
...	Mapas	686	Id.	...	13 farms.
...	Bahasa	343	Id.	...	5 farms.
...	Sienaga+	86	Suni	...	Note ⁴
Agat District:					
Palagua ...	...	...	...	Cows, pigs.	Note ⁵
Talisay ...	...	...	...	Pigs, fowl.	Id.
... Sumay	...	...	...	Cows.	Note ⁶
... Chonay	...	...	...	Id.	Note ⁷
... Fata	...	...	...	Pigs, fowl.	Id.
... Madpu	...	...	...	Pigs.	Id.
... Ghellan	...	...	...	Pigs, fowl.	Id.
Apra ...	343	Grains, roots.	...	...	1 farm.
Fena ...	21	Rice.	...	...	Id.

1 Diligi, plus Agus, and Flaghellor. The area of these three plots are granted as a single concession.

2 Hedtun + Hilahan. Single concession.

3 Chaud + Papatu, Hinali, Chuchugu. Single concession.

4 Sienaga + Malagan, Utan, Manaynay. Single concession.

5 Undefined area, entirely for raising cattle.

6 This estate, of an indefinite area, belongs to Don Luis de Torres and is used for raising cattle (see Pl. 81, Private Farm).

7 Indefinite area, for raising cattle.

...	Apra	257	Various.	...	6 farms.
...	Henud	171	Id.	...	3 farms.
...	Finili	171	Id.	...	2 farms.
...	Tarayfa	514	Id.	...	Ploughed, no buildings.
...	Alari	343	Id.	...	Id.
...	Tumli	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Libugun	343	Id.	...	Id.
...	Sagualao	64	Id.	...	Id.
...	Chaligan	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Sasa	257	Id.	...	Id.
...	Malinao	21	Id.	...	Id.
...	Chouay	43	Id.	...	Id.
...	Hulupagu	86	Id.	...	Id.
Umata and Merizo District:					
Sehya	...	...	...	Cows, pigs.	Estate of indefinite area.
Lagu	...	...	...	Pigs, fowl.	Id.
...	Fuha	343	Various.	Fowl.	1 farm.
...	Toguan	171	Id.	Id.	Id.
...	Hautan	343	Id.	Id.	Id.
...	Hati	...	...	Id.	Estate of indefinite area.
...	Liyu	...	...	Id.	Id.
...	Hahallan	...	...	Id.	Id.
...	Gheos	86	Various.	Id.	3 farms.
...	Tachug	86	Id.	Id.	2 farms.
...	Maneno	514	Id.	Id.	3 farms.
...	Salogña	129	Id.	Id.	Id.
...	Guatata	86	Id.	Id.	Id.
...	Hinagao	257	Id.	...	Ploughed land, no buildings.
...	Hahmu	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Lati	171	Id.	...	Id.
...	Magua	171	Id.	...	No buildings.
...	Fontan	171	Id.	...	Id.
...	Sumay	257	Various.	...	Id.
...	Mañaña	86	Rice.	...	Id.
...	Gheos	257	Id.	...	Id.
...	Salogña	171	Id.	...	Id.
...	Guatata	86	Id.	...	Id.
Inarahan District:					
Dandan	...	...	...	Cows, fowl. cattle.	
Tarofoto	...	...	...	Pigs.	Id.
Falahlug	...	257	Various.	Fowl.	2 farms.
Hoño	...	343	Id.	Id.	1 farm. [Same as Yoña?]
...	Matala	171	Id.	...	No buildings.
...	Panilla	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Tipoko	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Agfayan	...	...	Pigs, fowl.	3 estates .

...	Papadguan	...	...	Id.	1 estate, idem.
...	Lanehi	...	...	Id.	Id.
...	Ghigan	...	...	Id.	Id.
...	Agfayan	86	Various.	Fowl.	2 farms.
...	Tipoko	43	Id.	Id.	Id.
...	Hoño	86	Id.	Id.	3 farms.
...	Paulla	21	Id.	Id.	1 farm.
...	Ñañagun	86	Id.	Id.	Id.
...	Megud	43	Id.	...	No buildings.
...	Chagami	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Tinaga	171	Id.	...	Id.
...	Nomña	343	Id.	...	Id.
...	Pañugun	257	Id.	...	Id.
...	Charsigam	21	Rice.	...	Id.
...	Guaguagun	11	Id.	...	Id.
...	Agfayan	11	Id.	...	Id.
Pago District:					
...	Tachuña ...	...	...	Cows, fowl.	Estate with an indefinite area.
...	Ilic ...	...	...	Pigs.	2 estates, idem.
...	Dagua ...	...	...	Horses, mules.	1 estate, idem.
...	Lonfiid ...	129	Various.	Fowl.	1 farm.
...	Mago ...	86	Id.	Id.	Id.
...	Fagtu ...	86	Id.	...	No buildings.
...	Tagun ...	43	Id.	...	Id.
...	Hodhud ...	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Fahasgu ...	25	Rice.	...	Id.
...	Hensa	...	...	Pigs, fowl.	1 estate of an indefinite area.
...	Laguña	...	...	Pigs, cows, fowl.	2 estates, idem.
...	Balandra	...	...	Pigs, cows, fowl.	1 estate, idem.
...	Soupodña	...	...	Id.	1 estate, idem.
...	Maaga	...	...	Id.	Id.
...	Lonfiid	86	Various.	...	6 farms.
...	Asinan	86	Id.	...	4 farms.
...	Tahi	271	Id.	...	Id.
...	Hañan	21	Id.	...	No buildings.
...	Soupudña	86	Id.	...	Id.
...	Pulentad	86	Rice.	...	Id.
...	Mañengun	86	Various.	...	Id.
...	Hinaladu	21	Id.	...	Id.
...	Sonlagu	343	Id.	...	Id.
Santa Rosa District:					
...	Santa Rosa ...	...	...	Pigs, fowl.	Estate of an indefinite area.

Summary of lands under cultivation on Guam in 1818.

Districts	Total area
Agaña	16,804 ha.
Anigua	1,564
Asan	2,100
Tepungan	1,886
Sinahaña	2,508
Mongmong	1,586
Agat	2,808
Umata and Merizo	3,472
Inarahan	2,207
Pago	1,436
General Total:	36,371 hectares

Cattle breeding.—Except for cows, pigs and chickens, the animals that depend on rural exploitation or the barnyard do not have much relative importance in the Marianas, and few persons dedicate themselves to raising them; so, their numbers are not extensive. Indeed, mules and horses are not indispensable when agriculture and transports are limited; they are considered as luxury animals. As for the goats, which had successfully propagated themselves in Guam and become wild, they have been so pursued by hunters that their kind has almost disappeared. Finally, the sheep, deprived of adequate care, have never prospered.

The true usefulness of the bovine cattle, in the eyes of the inhabitants, is their use as food; it is mainly for this reason that they breed them at places that are inhabited. There are some that are left to roam by themselves, in the forests of Guam, Tinian and Saipan, but their numbers cannot be estimated with precision.

Commodore Byron, in his Voyage around the World, tells us that his men saw, on the last-mentioned island, many wild pigs and *guanacos*, but no trace of other cattle. During the many conversations that I had with Major Luis [de Torres], in order to find out what each island of the Marianas offered that was remarkable, he has never told me anything regarding the presence on Saipan of the Peruvian animal known under the name of *guanaco*; Don Medinilla himself, whose willingness to help was boundless, would certainly have mentioned this important fact, had it been correct. Therefore, the statement of the English captain surprises me very much; that is why I think that his companions were mistaken. Be that as it may, one can state with certainty that, today, there is no trace of such quadrupeds.

In 1819, there were still a few wild cattle on Guam, specially near Agat, Pago, Tachuña, San Antonio, Merizo and Umata, but in a much smaller number than some persons have estimated. Tinian and Saipan are, on this score, much more favored, although on the former island, during years of drought, many of the animals perish. According to the information gathered at Tinian by Mr. Bérard, there were no fewer than 2,000 cows there during his visit. Saipan, with more abundant sources of water, must have a lot more.

We have said that cows are part of agriculture in Guam, but, one must admit that such care amounts to very little. As we shall see below, Dandan is the place which the government uses for raising cattle; many pigs and fowls are also to be found on the farms in the district of Umata.

Some enclosures have been set up in the open air to collect the cows and bulls at night; in the morning, they go and graze in the savannas, under the watchful eyes of the cowboys whose duty it is to ensure their survival. When a cow has reached the end of her gestation period, she often disappears into the woods, to give birth, then, after a while, she comes out to the plain with her calf.

The young bulls are castrated after two and a half or three years, and the result of a calculation demonstrates that 1 in 10 dies after this operation. The method used consists in tying the testicles and, soon after, cutting them off with an ordinary knife; the wound is then cauterized with a hot iron.

If the cows can stay or not in the open air, it is not at all the same with the pigs which, to be fattened up, need to be well sheltered. The yard, or rather the shed, under which they are collected, is called *rancho* in Spanish.¹ The feed given to these animals is only meant to secure supplies of salted pork and fat. Mr. Quoy says: "Coconut meat is almost the only substance that they are given to eat, and almost the only food that is also given to the dogs."

It is customary to castrate the male domestic pigs, and sometimes, at Tinian, the same operation is also carried out on wild pigs. Mr. Bérard has seen this done, and reports it as follows: "The Tinianese do not need either cord or scalpel; they simply use their huge machete. After they first uncover the two glands by a double incision, they then cut them off with much dexterity. In order to mark the animal that has been operated, the better part of one ear is then cut off as well. What is astonishing is that the pig tolerates this painful mutilation without uttering the least cry, and that not a single drop of blood comes out of the wound."

The same islanders have let loose their roosters and hens, and the countryside is full of them. They are treated almost the same way on Guam, where they are nevertheless given less freedom. Generally, few capons are made; one can hardly notice a few of them at some farms.

The ancient Marianos used to raise, near their dwellings, a type of gallinaceous bird, very rare today, called *sesenget*, to which we have given the name of megapode; this bird has the same habits as our domestic hen, but there is no visible difference between the male and the female.

We will end this article by presenting a detailed² and chronological table of the cattle belonging to the government of the colony.

Summary table of the number of domestic cattle existing at different times, at Guam, on the royal estates.

Localities	1801	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818
Cows:								
Toto	...	33	29	27	22	17	10	2
Agat	...	32	36	38	25	27	24	24
Umata	...	70	68	58	41	39	44	44
Dandan	388	291	149	147	140	159	158	159
Tachofña	298	110	102	91	42	35	34	25
Santa Rosa	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Totals:	718	536	384	361	270	277	270	254

1 Ed. note: The word *rancho* here has the meaning of thatched hut, not that of a country place.

2 Ed. note: Only the summary table is given here.

Localities	1801	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818
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Pigs:

Toto	...	1
Agat	151	128	52	56	41	53	70	106
Umata	40	89	69	81	119	141	160	189
Dandan	66	117	67	83	90	99	105	129
Tachofña	180	118	26	53	50	51	67	77
Santa Rosa	164	137	92	128	118	105	92	122
Totals:	601	590	306	401	418	449	494	623

Chickens:

Toto	625	800	285	69	134	77	91	95
Agat	151	365	180	130	46	143	168	156
Umata	212	145	130	188	87	126	144	200
Dandan	298	477	313	201	81	210	206	182
Tachofña	404	263	148	145	76	76	77	90
Santa Rosa	217	132	132	98	91	102	108	98
Totals:	1,907	2,183	1,188	831	515	734	794	821

Horses:¹

Toto	7	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Agat	...	...	...	...	11	9	11	8
Dandan	...	22	17	...	...	...	...	...
Tachofña	69	13	12	22	7	7	7	7
Totals:	76	36	30	22	18	16	18	15

Mules:

Toto	2	11	10	10	7	7	6	4
Agat	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Umata	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	1
Dandan	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tachofña	25	2	2	2	2	3	3	4
Santa Rosa	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Totals:	27	16	15	16	13	14	13	11

Donkeys:

Toto	9	9	7					
Dandan	...	...	...	8	9	10	11	12
Tachoa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Totals:	10	10	8	9	10	11	12	13

¹ Umata and Santa Rosa did not have any horses.

Hunting.

Types of hunting.—Hunting, which was entirely unknown to the ancient Marianos, began in the Marianas after the introduction of the large cattle by European settlers, and its prodigious propagation. All methods of hunting are therefore modern. The animals that are targeted in this exercise are the wild cows, pigs, deer and goats; however, the number of goats has been so reduced, as we have already said, that hunters avoid shooting at them, for fear of eliminating the species.

As the wild cows and pigs are the property of the state, it is severely forbidden to hunt them, without the permission of the governor.

Mr. Bérard reports: "A detachment of 20 men, who have been posted to Tinian, is charged with the care of procuring for the garrison of Guam the meat necessary for their food supply. The bulls are ambushed near the water sources and killed with firearms. The hunt for pigs being done with running dogs, it cost a little less than the previous. We were surprised with the ease with which they capture this animal: only two men, one armed with a pike, the other with a machete, are necessary. Firstly, the dogs are let loose; as soon as the barkings are heard, the pikeman urge them all in the direction whence the noise was heard. Soon the pig is surrounded by the pack, which tightens so much that it cannot escape. When it is big and fat, it is killed; otherwise, it is released. Usually a part of the first pig taken is fed to the dogs. Even though the beast puts up a terrible fight against the dogs, nevertheless the pikeman manages, without too much trouble, to grab its hind legs. These men are so used to this hunt that they can tell, by the barkings of the dogs and their way of reacting, whether the pig is big or not."

The weapons used to hunt deer are the rifle, the stick and the machete; oftentimes a balibago cord with a slip knot is also set up at the end of trails that have been opened up on purpose through the forest, knowing that these animals prefer to follow them. Generally, the deer is ambushed when it comes down from the mountain to graze on the plain. Either the dogs make it come out of the wood and force it to pass in front of the party in ambush, or the dogs are let loose after it. If it is pursued near the sea-shore, it throws itself into the water, goes offshore, and comes back only after the danger has passed. In any case, the hunt is easier when it is windy than when it is calm; I have been told that the meat of the deer tastes better between June and October, i.e. the rainy season, rather than at any other period of the year; this is surprising, in view of the fact that the rut occurs at the same time as in France, as I have been told.

Doctor Quoy, who witnessed this type of hunting in the neighborhood of Agat, reports the following details:

"At dawn, we went to a small wood not far from the village, one that is surrounded by savannas on all sides. A few hunters, armed with rifles, took their places at a short distance from the edge of this wood, while other, followed by dogs, criss-crossed it. In less than two hours, six deer came out and headed for the heights without running much, because the dogs did not pursue them vigorously; although the inhabitants who dedi-

cate themselves to this kind of activity are such good marksmen that they seldom fail, nevertheless they killed nothing that day.”

“The next day, as I was hunting on the nearby mountains, I met a hunter who had just shot a deer; he had only wounded him, as his dog went after him, both animals soon disappeared from sight. After one hour of useless search, I separated from this man and, as I sat down not far from there, to take my lunch near a brook, I suddenly spotted the deer lying down, dead, on the grass 10 feet from me; the dog, lying down nearby, was waiting for his master. If he had not come, this animal would have gone, I was told, that night to his house to lead him to the spot where the prey was down.”

“When a lone hunter has killed a deer, he cut the animal in two parts with his *machete*, places each half at the end of a stick, made from a tree branch, and sets out with this stick across his shoulders; loaded with this heavy load and a rifle that is often very heavy too, he sometimes covers a distance of one to two leagues before reaching his home (Pl. 75, fig. 3).”

“It was estimated that the quantity of deer killed every year at Guam, at the time we stopped there, was one thousand. In spite of that, their number did not seem to be lacking, although neither the females nor the fawns were spared. Some of these animals that have reached their full growth may sometimes weigh as many as 300 pounds [147 kilograms]. The months of April and May are those when the females give birth.”

Fishing.

Types of fishing.—The products of the sea were formerly, and still are, the most essential part of the animal food eaten by the inhabitants of this country. The methods used in fishing are varied and often even very ingenious. Before we go on to describe them, let us begin by mentioning the various tools that the fishermen use.

As is still being done in the Carolines, the ancient Marianos used fish-hooks [*haguit*] made of shell, mother-of-pearl, bone and even coconut shell (Pl. 58, fig. 9, 10, 11 and 12); however, since iron fish-hooks have been introduced into the archipelago and the inhabitants of Guam have learned to manufacture similar ones, they are almost exclusively preferred. They have different hooks to catch different fishes; they differ only by their size and shape.¹ The fishing-lines, then and now, are made of coconut coir, balibago, and banana fibers; today they are also made of abaca, or hemp.

A sort of floating line, called *kinachit gumaaga*, which consisted in a master line kept afloat by small squashes [*taguadji*], and having additional lines fastened to it at every fathom or fathom and a half, was an equipment used only, as its name indicates, to catch flying-fish.²

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- 1 Here are the names of a few hooks: *guatas*, big hook to catch the *guatafê* or sword-fish; *nuchon*, hook of mother-of-pearl or shell; *anuchon*, hook to catch flying-fish; *okka*, or *si-ip*, hook to catch dorados; *chon-u*, big modern hook made of iron.
 - 2 *Kinachit* means equipment, tool; *gumaaga*, made up of *gaaga*, flying-fish, and the particle *um*, means 'to catch flying-fish;' hence the whole expression, *kinachit gumaaga* means 'tool to catch flying-fish.'

In some circumstances, the slip-knot, or snare, was used; in others, the stick, or *damang*, and the wooden spear with barbs (Pl. 79, fig 11), but the iron spear, with one, two or three prongs, has since been substituted for the former.

The *poi*, a curious sort of tool, deserves a specific description. It is shown in Plate 63 and Plate 79, fig. 17; it is used to catch *achuman*, a sort of mackerel, by training this fish, which usually swims a few fathoms below the surface, to come up and be caught with a net, rather than having to use a line instead. Here is a description of this contraption:

The hemispherical stone *fge*, from 3-1/2 to 4 inches in diameter, has a flat part, *ef*. A half coconut shell, *edf*, as big as the stone, is fixed to it at *e* and at *f*, with cords that pass through the holes made into the stone and shell. The latter is empty, and has a small opening *d* that was made in it, through which chewed coconut meat can be introduced. A coir net, *efcha*, also fastened to holes *e* and *f* of the stone, serves as a handle to the instrument; to it is fastened a cord of 4 lines in diameter, long enough to let the instrument down to 8 fathoms, the depth at which the *achuman* usually swims. We will soon mention the use and advantages of this equipment.

There are many kinds of fishing nets.¹ The most important ones, called *lagua pula*, are used to catch small fish near the beach, and consists of three rectangular mats arranged end to end; those of the ends are 1 fathom in height by 3 feet in length, whereas the mat in the middle is 2 fathoms in height by a length that varies from 20 to 30 feet; in view of these differences in the heights of the mats, the middle one must naturally be adjusted to the end pieces, has to be fixed with cord at both ends. Each end of the overall net is similarly fixed to a stick that keeps it tight in the vertical direction (Pl. 63). The head and the foot of the *lagua pula* are bordered with ropes; the upper rope has floats made of light balibago wood, while the other has stones, or lead weights, to act as sinkers; the use of lead is a modern modification.

This net is handled much like our small seine, to which it is similar, but it is much more like our *trémil* in design and shape; however, it is not exactly like either of them. Various types are built, but they differ only by the size of their mesh; those with a smaller mesh are used to catch the *mañahak*, the others to catch fish that are not so small.

A special kind of net is used to catch the *achuman*; it is a type of net of the category that, in France, we call *chaudière*, *caudrette*, etc.² but is called in the Marianas *lagua achuman*. Its shape is that of a wide bag, equipped with a hoop at the top, but without a handle; it is 9 feet in diameter by 4-1/2 feet in height. The hoop, usually made of *ludugau* wood, is one-inch thick. Four taut ropes, fixed to its circumference, join together in the center, at a point to which the line that is used to lower the net to the correct depth is also fastened. The person shown on the extreme left of Plate 63 carries a *lagua achuman* on his back.

1 A net, in general, is here called *lagua*, and fishing nets are called *halul*. They are mainly made with thread of *loo*, a substance that resists the destructive action of sea-water rather well. Ed. comment: *Loo*, rather *lo-o*, or *ro-o* is some kind of sea grass.

2 Ed. note: Pail-shaped scoop net, to catch lobsters.

Another net, similar to the preceding one, but much smaller and fitted with a long handle (fig. 63) has been in use here since times immemorial; it is called either *lagua popo* or *lagua umo-suhu*; it is like our scoop-net, and is used the same way. It is very much in fashion at Tinian, where the large number of rocks and corals strewn along the coast make the use of the *lagua pula*, or seine, very awkward. This net, whose hoop is oval in shape, has an opening of 1-1/2 feet by 2 feet, and about a foot in depth. Its handle is at least 5 to 6 feet in length.

The Marianos also know the use of the conical net, which they call *lagua yuti* [throw net], and they use it to scoop big fish as well as small ones.

The fish weirs [*gigau*] were known to the ancient Marianos; tradition says that they were built with dry stones near the shore; however, they are no longer in use, at least none that are so built. Instead, fish traps are now made of reeds, which are placed at appropriate places, and provide a lot more fish. The most elaborate of these constructions can be seen between Apapa Island and Guam, facing the space that separates Mañilao and the mouth of the Maso River (see Pl. 59). Each is made up, along its length, of three, and sometimes only two, chambers; the whole thing is tied securely to gates GH and IK, made of trellis, reinforced with stakes and cross-pieces, the same as the chambers themselves.

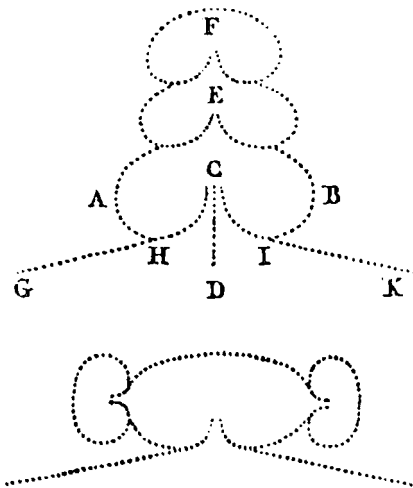
In the sketch opposite, which represents one of these weirs, the space AB is about 15 feet; the throat of the first chamber, divided into two equal parts, lets the fish come in through either part; the fish can proceed through narrow throats, into the other chambers E and F. Built as shown, with flexible funnels, these throats offer an easy access, but once inside, the fish cannot escape.

Some of the weirs have a different design, although they are also made up of three chambers; they are not so effective as the preceding design to retain fish; such a design is shown opposite.

When people wish to pick up the fish caught in these tanks, they use the *lagua popo*, or else, if the fish are too big, they pierce them with a spear.

The *mañahak*, a remarkable fish on account of its singular habits, is caught regularly near the beach during the months of April, May, June and sometimes—a rare occurrence—in September and October, but only during the three or four days that precede the end of each lunar month. The inhabitants call *mañahak ababa* [crazy mañahak] the fish that come in September and October, because this event occurs perhaps once every 25 years.

However, whatever month the fish comes, they always come in large numbers. As soon as they appear, the inhabitants living along the shore rush to the beach, and hasten



to make ample provisions of these fish. Our Plate 63 shows some details of this fishing exercise. On the right-hand side can be seen some persons who are dragging a *lagua pula* that has been stretched at a short distance from the shore; on the left, the fish that has already been caught has been placed on a mat, where some women filling pandanus-woven bags, hasten to carry this fish to the place where they will be salted.

At the beginning of the appearance of the *mañahak* on the coast, say the fishermen, this fish has not yet eaten; as soon as it eats, it changes color, and no longer stays with the others, as it stays among the rocks. Two species of *mañahak* are recognized; one is slightly bigger than the other. When those of the small species arrive first, it is expected that the next day, more will come, either small or big ones; if the small ones continue to come the second day, there is no doubt that the big *mañahaks* will come the next day; if, otherwise, those of the big species should come on the second day, no more of them should be expected to come later.

When the big *mañahaks* arrive on the first day, the small ones do not come; to the contrary, one can expect that they will appear in large numbers the next day, and maybe even the day after that, if the big and small ones arrived together. However, should the small ones come first, and then the big ones follow them on the same day, none will come the next day. Generally, it is very rare that the big ones do not come after the small ones, but it has happened. Usually, the first wave is not too numerous, as those fish are like a sort of vanguard, enough to warn the fishermen to prepare for the next day.

The *aschuman* is caught outside the reefs, from half a league to five leagues from shore; closer to shore, none would be caught, or almost nothing. The operation begins during August and continues until October, at a time when this fish has already reached full maturity. The first concern of the fisherman, as we have said, is to train this fish to come and live at the surface of the sea, where it is easier to catch. Let us follow the operation in detail.

The fisherman fills a *poi* full of the chewed pulp of a young coconut, and drops it, with the help of a line from which the instrument is hanging, down to a depth of 6 to 8 fathoms; the line is jiggled from time to time, to make a few pieces of chewed coconut come out of the *poi*; the *achumans*, which are very fond of it, gather around in large numbers to eat. When the *poi* is thought to be empty, it is taken out, filled anew, dropped down to its previous depth, where it is left until sundown, when it is taken out for the last time that day. The next day, the fisherman returns to the same spot as the previous day, and repeats the operation, but this time with the *poi* about 1 to 2 feet up from the last time. Every day after that, it is kept further up by the same distance, so that at the end of one month and a half, or two months, if one takes into account the days when bad weather makes this maneuver impossible, the *achuman* ends up by coming up near the surface to get the perfidious food that attracts it. It is about at a depth of one fathom that the operation stops.

It should be said that the training of the *achumans* lasts only as long as a very abundant fishery is desired; if the operation were to begin only in September, at a time when

the fish has already reached full maturity, 15 days of feeding might be sufficient. In this case, instead of reducing the length of the cord by 1 to 2 feet, one should shorten it each day by a much greater distance.

When a depth of one fathom has been reached, with the *poi* still in movement, the fisherman or his helpers place the above-mentioned large net [*lagua achuman*] in the water; this net, in the shape of a bag, is slipped carefully under the *poi*, which continues to lure the fish, and raised little by little until its hoop reaches the surface. It is then that some strong men, who had been waiting, pull out the net and throw the captured fish into the canoe. The operation is begun once again; the *achumans* return numerous around the *poi*, and a second, and even a third, capture can be made that same day. That is usually enough, because the fish must be quickly delivered to the women who are busy laying it out to dry in the sun, after it has been slightly salted. This productive fishery, to which the ancient dedicated a few hours every day, continues until the *achuman* has migrated away from the island.

By alignments taken on shore, the boundaries for each canoe were fixed, but, nowadays, since only the inhabitants of Rota Island continue the process that has just been described, such restriction have been abandoned.

Fishing for *laguas*.—The fish that bears this name¹ gives rise to two fishing methods: one at night, and the other in the daytime.

At the time of the new moons in August, September, October, November and December, a canoe leaves the shore by itself after sunset, when the tide is low and the sea calm; a man in the bow, carrying a torch in one hand, can easily spot the sleeping fish near the outer limit of the reefs, where it is accustomed to be. The fisherman, formerly equipped with a spear, but now with a multi-prong iron spear, pierces the *laguas*, throws it into his canoe, and continues this maneuver in silence and with precaution.

More ingenious and more fun, the capture of the *laguas* during the daytime can only be considered a recreation. After one of these fishes has been captured alive, the bone of its lower jaw is pierced and a cord of a few fathoms in length tied to it. This operation, which does it no harm, is done in such a way that the fish cannot cut the line with its teeth.² In this state, the animal is taken on board the canoe, either with some water, or without, because the *laguas* does not easily die when it is out of the water. The fisherman then heads for the natural pools formed by the corals within the reefs, places the captive fish in the sea and lets it swim within range of the cord. As soon as other *laguas* spot it, they attack it furiously; generally, just one other fish begins the attack. The fisherman then pulls the line a little toward him, bringing the captive fish little by little toward the canoe, where it is taken on board. After a slip-knot has been fitted at the place where the fish was wounded,³ it is immediately put back into the water. The attacker renews its charge and, as it attacks always the same part, this habit is its undoing; the

1 Ed. note: It is the parrot-fish.

2 It has two teeth below and two above, that occupy the whole mouth.

3 I have not seen how exactly this knot is fitted.

fisherman pulls the snare and catches the attacker, which is normally caught between its pectoral fin and its lower fin, a most painful situation that causes it to make no effort to cut the line with its teeth.

The captive *laguas* seems to excite horror in the others; some have been seen that were fleeing before the canoe, but turned back to attack it furiously. The poor animal rarely defends itself.

If, to begin this fishery, there was no live specimen on hand, it would be possible to replace it with a fish of the same species, salted recently, by inserting a pebble in its stomach to give it ballast.

A skilful fisherman takes only 6 to 8 *laguas* in this way in one day. By placing the live fish that has served as bait into a pen near the shore at night, it can be preserved and used during a whole week.

This curious fishing method is used today only at Rota, an island where the old methods have been better preserved than elsewhere.

Fishing for flying-fish.—As we have already said, to catch the flying-fish, a sort of net whose main rope is kept on the surface of the water by small gourds fastened near each hook line; the hooks were formerly made of shell, but today they are made of iron. As soon as a flying-fish has bitten one of the baited hooks, it swims to windward, and causes the gourds to move in that direction; warned by this clue, the fisherman hastens to paddle toward its prey. By the way, to make this maneuver less cumbersome, he takes care to keep his canoe to windward of the net.

Fishing for anaho [dorado?].—Formerly the *anaho* was caught with a snare or slip-knot, similarly to the *laguas*, with the difference that, here, a recently-caught flying-fish was used as bait. The extreme vivacity of the *anaho* forced the fisherman to make use of much skill to seize the right moment to entrap it prey.

Fishing for eels.—Formerly only the *mangachangs* could fish for eels. Today an iron spear is used to catch them. The inhabitants of all classes, less superstitious, no longer disdain this kind of fish.

Fishing for crabs.—The barbed spear was formerly used to catch these crustaceans; the iron-tipped spear is now used. During the daytime, only the male crabs can be caught; the females, much bigger and more delicate, appear only at night, and it is only by torchlight that they can be caught.

Fishing for turtles.—To capture this kind of amphibians, either on shore or at sea, the inhabitants have always used only one method: that of flipping them on their backs. The use of nets with large mesh is still unknown to them.

Fishing for shell-fish.—A few shell-fish, that are good to eat, are collected by the women upon the rocks or among the sands of the beach. The mother-of-pearl has always been used by the Marianos to make fish-hooks; they used to dive to the bottom of the sea near the shores to get it. As far as the pearls are concerned, they have always been too small for this type of fishery to be of concern. They say that, by carefully piercing one of the valves of this shell-fish and putting it back into the sea, the animal con-

tracts a disease that makes the pearls that it secretes reach a considerable size, but I was unable to verify this claim.

Fishing for beche-de-mer.—It was only recently that this type of fishery has been tried in the Marianas. This mollusk had been completely avoided until then, although it is susceptible to provide a useful article of export. It is taken by hand, by diving to the little depth where it usually lives, and it is dried in the sun. Mr. Bérard saw a large number of these animals, so prepared, at the house of the mayor of Tinian; they were awaiting a suitable opportunity to be shipped to China. Local use is almost non-existent; only the Spanish settlers sometimes eat them.

Section IX. Manufacturing industry.

The subject matters that make up this section will be divided into three main aspects: chemical, mechanical, and ship-building. As before, we will take care to differentiate between the primitive industry of the natives, from what is due to their more recent contact with the Filipinos and Spanish.

Chemistry.

Coconut brandy.—We have already said that the ancient Marianos did not have any kind of alcoholic drinks; to the contrary, they have now become very available in their islands, and it is mainly from the coconut tree that they get them from. At the age of 4 to 5 years, this tree has reached maturity and can contribute to supplying a *tubaría* [coconut brandy factory]. A short time before they flower, the tips of the spaths are cut off.¹ Then the tip is inserted into a container made of a piece of bamboo meant to receive the flow of sap that flows from the wound very abundantly. These containers are emptied every morning into some larger ones that are carried to the factory (See Pl. 68). The harvest may continue for as many as 5 or 6 months, without badly affecting the tree; however, it is superfluous to add that it will not bear fruits.

When we spoke earlier about Timor, we have already mentioned how this sap was transformed into wine at first, then into vinager; however, we should give additional information here to explain the processes by which the spirit is extracted from it.

Lieut. Lamarche reports: “The still equipment consists of four main parts: 1° a jar or barrel without a top; 2° a cast iron cauldron [*kahua*], upon which rests the jar or barrel; 3° an iron basin [*karaha*]; 4° finally, a wooden pallet (see Pl. 80, fig. l and k, and fig. 68). Here is how this works.”

“After having placed the cauldron upon three rather big stones, in order to keep it about 6 inches off the ground, the barrel is placed into the cauldron itself, so that it rests almost exactly upon its border; it is cemented tightly to it with a mixture of clay, banana leaves or cow dung. The apparatus being prepared, the coconut wine is then poured into it until it gets to about two-thirds of the height of the container, then it is covered completely by the basin that will hold the refrigerant; this done, any crack is filled with the above-mentioned cement; after the basin has been filled with cold water, one only has to start a fire under the apparatus and distillation is ready to begin.”

“I was forgetting to say that, before the refrigerating basin was installed, the wooden disk destined to receive the drops of steam which, condensed against the walls of the basin, must fall by their own weight. Figure l of our Plate 80 shows this pallet in profile view; its ends in a tail that ends up in a bamboo pipe, where the various grooves dug into its interior surface also end up. Two cords, fixed to the other end, each support a

¹ Usually the machete, or cutlass, is used for this purpose. The scythe is also used, but specially to renew the cut, an operation that takes place every morning, in order to maintain a more abundant flow of the sap.

small stone to give the pallet an inclination of 30° to 40°, considered necessary to accelerate the flow of the liquid. It is clear that the opening of the bamboo pipe must in every case be placed above the level of the liquid contained inside the apparatus; the condensed liquid, firstly received in a bottle, is then poured into larger vessels. It is necessary for two persons to be continually kept busy, one to remove the water from the basin when its temperature reaches too high a degree, the other to replace this hot water with cold water (See Pl. 68).”

“The alcohol that is obtained in this way is colorless, clear, but, in all counts, inferior to our European brandy, even that made from cider. The inhabitants with better means distill this brew a second time; it then acquires a better taste.”

Dr. Quoy, who watched this process, concluded that it gave four bottles of brandy per hour; it is a quantity more than double that mentioned by Mr. Duperrey, who saw one apparatus produce only from 12 to 14 bottles in 9 hours, that is, from 1-1/3 to 1-5/9 per hour. By the way, both may have made precise observations, as the difference may be due to variations between the two apparatus in question.

Sugar.—The process of manufacturing sugar from coconut in Guam has certainly been brought from the Philippines; and, as it is identical with the process followed all over insular Asia, the reader may refer to our Volume I.

Although sugarcane is indigenous to the Marianas, sugar has not yet been made from it, in 1818; a few trials had been made by Major Luís [de Torres] but without success.

Oils.—Coconut oil has been known in the Marianas since times immemorial. The ancient inhabitants had two ways to procure this substance: by putrefaction, and by boiling; the pressure method has only been introduced recently.

The first method is called *punni*.¹ A certain quantity of coconut meat is grated, with the *kamyu* (Pl. 79, fig. 2); the result is placed in a trough or wooden bucket [*saluhan*] (Pl. 76, fig. 27, and Pl. 62), where it is left to rot during four or five consecutive days, while it is stirred with a stick every 12 hours. At the end of this time, the oil begins to float on top; the mash is shoved to one side of the trough with the hand, and the oil collecting on the other end is collected with a coconut shell. The mash is then stirred, kneaded, and laid out once again in the trough; the next day, and on following days, more oil can be collected, in the same manner. The oil obtained in this way has a green color and a rather unpleasant taste.

The second method, called *tika*, is completely similar to that used at Cupang [Timor], as we have already described in our Vol. I.²

Oil obtained with the first method was formerly used to make caulking for canoes; it is now used in oil lamps, although it is not as good for this purpose as the oil obtained by boiling; however, since the oil made by boiling can also be used to fry food, when still fresh, it is preferably reserved for this purpose instead. They say that to get one

1 Ed. note: The word *ponne* now means only 'stale coconut meat used to lure coconut crabs.'

2 Ed. note: Grated coconut is boiled, then filtered.

ganta [2 liters] of oil by the rotting process, it takes 30 coconuts. Twice as many as that are required to make the same quantity of oil by boiling.

In addition to the above methods, still in use among the natives, the settlers have preferred the pressure method. Lieut. Lamarche says that, after they have grated the coconut, as before, it is put into a tightly-woven cloth bag, which is then placed between two boards, that are then loaded with heavy stones; the oil that escapes all around is channeled into a wooden trough.

Major Luis and a few other persons have also tried the screw-type press. It was more useful to them in extracting oil from the fruits of the *nonak* and the *kastor*, used in paint. It is probable that they would get similar results with other oily fruits, for instance, those of the *haabang* and the *hayu-lago*, but this has not yet been tried.

Federico starch.—We have already said that they have the same means and take the same precautions as the Papuans to extract from the marrow and the fruit of the cycas palm, a starch perfectly free of the corrosive substance which, as for the casava of our colonies, would otherwise make it a poisonous food.¹

Lieut. Lamarche says: “When the nut has been freed from a fibrous envelope measuring from one to two lines in thickness, it is crushed and placed in a wooden trough to macerate during about 10 days, while taking care to change the water every 24 hours. However, instead of throwing away this water, already loaded with a little starch, it is poured into a vessel where it sits; the starch separates as a sediment, which is then removed and dried, to yield a very fine and very white flour. When the ten days have elapsed, all fragments of the cycas nut are removed from the trough; they are exposed to the sun upon some loosely-woven mats, to dry them well, then they are pounded on a hard stone, in the manner used by our chocolate makers. This second flour, almost as beautiful as the first, is however less tasty. The wealthy people mix it with coconut sugar, some eggs and fat, to make some small breads that, once baked in an oven (Pl. 68), are not at all disagreeable.”

Gapap [arrowroot] starch.—“This root is grated, either with the *kamyu* (Pl. 79, fig. 2), or with a very rough stone, such as a piece of coral; the grated mass is placed in fresh water until it has absorbed some humidity, then it is poured, with the water that it contains, unto a sieve, made with either a mat or a loosely-woven cloth; the already dissolved parts filter through this and collect in a trough that has been placed underneath. The sediment is sprinkled with water until the water that seeps through becomes clear. The floury substance has then become completely dissolved; it is poured off, and washed anew with a lot of water, in order to remove a certain bitter taste that it still has, and it is left to sit. Finally, it is poured a last time; the residue is left to dry in the

1 Dr. Quoy reports: “It is important to note here that, when the poisonous substance is not all removed, this food may become very dangerous. We have been told that a ship, that had taken a batch of this food, badly prepared, lost within a short time over half of her crew.” We can add very little to that, to describe the method used by the Marianos to benefit from this useful vegetable product that they had neglected for so long.

sun, and the result is a food product that is healthy as well as pleasant to the taste. The small cakes that are made with this flour are sparkling white and have a perfect taste.”

Meat and dry fish.—The ancient Marianos knew how to preserve fish. When it was big, they first opened it, almost the same way we do it with codfish. They gutted it, rubbed it slightly with salt, then let it dry in the sun upon mats. The small fish were simply placed in brine. These means of preservation are still used today, but experience has shown that fish prepared in the first manner stay longer at sea, and is often preferred for this reason.

Since the introduction of the large cattle, the settlers have also given some thought to the means of drying beef and pork. Dr. Quoy says: “The meat is cut into thin slices, that are dried in the sun, after which, they are stored in the skin of the animal itself.” This preparation, to which is sometimes added a little salt, gives a meal that is not too pleasant, because it has absorbed the taste of old untanned leather. The tongues, dried separately and with care, have not acquired such an awful taste. Besides, for the use of long voyages, many people prefer such dried meat to the salt meat that is so often consumed aboard our ships. In insular Asia, the name of *dendeng* is given to food supplies prepared in this way, and it is there the object of a prosperous trade.

Salted meats.—By using all the good tricks known in the art of salting meat in tropical countries, it is possible to put away a few barrels of salted pork at the Marianas; however, such meat can only be used at the beginning of the voyage, as we have had the misfortune of finding out ourselves.

Dyes.—Many indigenous and exotic plants here may provide colors for dyes. Formerly only curcuma was used to provide a yellow color, and the condensed steam and liquid from burned coconut shells for black dye; this dye is still used to dye the strips of pandanus leaves that are used to make mats, hats, baskets, etc. However, two colors, more essential and more precious, the *roucou* and the indigo, are being added to the means available to the dye-man and the painter. Be that as it may, the consumption of these matters is excessively restricted.

One lone man in Guam spends time preparing indigo. The method he uses, they say, is the same as that followed on a larger scale in Guatemala and at Manila; however, the coloring starch that is produced, though light, is not of the first quality. The surface of the tablets is dull, and when broken they do not have the copper look that is a well-recognized index of superiority. Mr Charenton Senior, one of our main dealers in Paris, for such matters, has estimated the value of the sample that I have submitted to him as being from 14 to 16 francs per kilogram; the high prices then [in May 1829] for indigo went from 10 to 30 francs.

The vats used by the Mariano manufacturer to prepare this substance were three in number, and were placed one next to another, but one above the other, so that the second one, placed lower than the first, could receive the outflow from the first, etc. To this effect, each tub has one or more tubes coming out of the bottom itself. The first basin, the largest and highest of the three, is called *pujridero* [Spanish for ‘rotting vat’];

the second, half the size, is the 'battery' and the third one, the smallest, is the 'resting vat'.

The names given to these vats are completely appropriate. In the large one, indeed, the plant is left to macerate, digest and ferment, until it has become as rotten as manure. The water having absorbed the whole dye matter contained in the leaves and the bark, is then made to pass into the second basin, where it is agitated and beaten during a certain time with large shovels with holes in them. Once it finally reaches the third vat, the starch separates from the water, and deposits itself in the bottom, where it forms a compact paste that only remains to be dried and cut into cubes before it becomes a trade item.

The water poured in the rotting vat must entirely cover the plant; that is why a large piece of wood is kept handy to keep the plant submerged. Its complete maceration usually lasts from six to ten hours, as long as the plant is well ripe; from 18 to 20 hours would be required otherwise. As soon as fermentation is well established, the water, that was clear at first, thickens little by little, and soon becomes blueish, more like purple; it is at this time that the taps of the rotting vat are opened. As for the mash, it is not touched at all; being of no further utility, it is simply discarded.

It is left to the manufacturer to properly judge the moment at which the water, saturated with starch, must flow into the resting vat. The quality of the product depends in large part on this decision being correct. For this purpose, a sample of the mixture is placed in a cup; as soon as it is noticed that the coloring matter is precipitated, instead of swimming on top, it is time to stop the stirring.

From then on, not much time passes before the colored flour is seen to accumulate at the bottom of the vat and the water becomes clearer; it is then the right time to open the side taps of the battering vat, to let the water escape; those underneath this vat are opened a little later, to let pass the liquid mud into the resting vat. Next, it is placed inside some cloth sleeve bags, from 15 to 16 inches in length, where the process of oozing out the remaining water is completed. Finally, this soft matter is laid out in crates that are exposed to the air, in the shade, so that it dries up completely. The separation of the indigo into bars, or tablets, is done a short time before it becomes completely dry.

Tanning leather.—The cow hides are tanned in Guam with the bark of the mangrove or that of the kamachile; the latter is used to prepare yellow leather; the other brown leather. Lieut. Lamarche who saw a government tannery in operation at Agaña, probably the only one in the city, reports:

“Two pits only were then used to clean the skins, and a third one for tanning them. Each of them was about 5 feet 6 inches [1.8 m] in length by 2 feet 6 inches [81 cm] in width, by 3 feet [97 cm] in depth.”

“The science of the tanner, like all the other sciences, is here absolutely in its beginning; the leathers are badly cleaned of meat and still more badly tanned. When the skins are remained in the pit for ten to twelve days, they are scraped and thrown into the tanning pit, where they are left for a period of one month to 2-1/2 months at most, after which they are judged fit for use. Naturally, with such a defective method, the leathers

are very permeable to water; so, the boots and shoes made of them are good for use only in dry weather."

"The only knife used in this tannery, to remove leftover meat and to scrape the skins, is the two-hand scraper; the *gueuse* is used only when the leather is completely tanned, and some leftover muscular fibers left by the knife must be removed; still, most often, only a pumice stone is used for this purpose."

Soap.—"Every family in Agaña presently manufactures its own soap; the process of manufacture is simple, but the quality of the soap is very mediocre."

Lieut. Lamarches continues: "In a sufficient quantity of water, ten parts of ashes from the combustion of branches, leaves and even bark from the coconut tree are used, to which five parts of quicklime are added; the whole is stirred with a stick for a while, before it is left to sit. When they judge, by tasting the water, that it is sufficiently saturated with alkali, they pour it off carefully, for fear that a few pieces of lime or ash may pass. This done, this wash is made to boil until its volume is reduced to one-third, when an equal quantity of coconut oil is added to the residue; this oil can be old or new, it does not matter. After this, the mixture is boiled once again. As soon as it is seen that the mixture is thickening and becoming viscous, it is taken from the fire, and the operation is over: there remains only to pour the mixture into molds and to let it solidify."

"The inhabitants of Agaña give to these soap cakes the shape of our chocolate tablets, and they usually weigh 5 ounces [153 grams]. Although they mostly use old and rancid coconut oil during the manufacturing process, the resulting soap does not keep this bad odor. Its color is ashy yellow. Though inferior in quality to our soap, it can nevertheless be a substitute for it, when needed."

Mr. Guérin adds: "We have been truly surprised with the perfection with which the women of Agaña and Umata wash and even iron clothing; a few of them, instead of soap, only use lemon juice, or coconut meat."

Lime-making.—Mr. Duperrey reports: "The Marianos make lime by burning coral, a substance that is very abundant around their islands. A first and a second layers of coconut trunks are laid out, between which a quadrangular space is left to serve as an oven. Above it a third layer of trunks is placed, to serve as a platform, and the whole is topped with a quantity of coral stones that are to be burned. Fire is set and the calcination takes place in the open air."

Pottery-making.—The manufacture of pottery, now completely abandoned, was practiced by the ancient Marianos from times immemorial. They used to knead the earth with their fingers, to give shape to various vessels that we have previously described. Although such vessels were not glazed, they could be placed on the fire, retained water, and could be used in the kitchen. It is said that they were baked to a certain extent, but to what degree, they can no longer tell. However, it is probable that the process followed was the same one that is still current in the Philippines, as follows:

On a level ground are placed, side by side all the pieces of equal dimensions and shape that have been dried in the sun, and are now ready to be fired; above these, others are placed, while all the cracks between the vessels are filled with rice straw, packed as firm-

ly as possible. A third, and even a fourth, layer of pots may be laid out on top, but always in the same manner. The whole is covered with a solid pack of straw, the fire is set, and in a few hours the combustion is complete. Nevertheless, the pots are taken out only the next day.

When they first came to the Marianas, the Spanish tried to manufacture the tiles and bricks that they needed for their buildings, and they did so successfully; a very beautiful oven, built for this purpose, can still be seen at a place next to the village of Asan, called Texera [Tile factory]. Today, we do not know why they prefer to import them from Manila at great cost.

Charcoal-making.—This manufacture is completely modern. After they have cut some logs of equal length, they are laid out vertically, so as to form a cylindrical course; above this, a second layer is laid out in the same manner and shape, but with a smaller diameter; the diameter of the third layer is even smaller, and so on, so that the whole pile looks like an irregular cone. After this has been covered with earth, and some openings left free to act as chimneys, fire is set and the wood left to burn for 30 hours, more or less, according to the volume of wood in the pile. When it is judged that carbonization is complete, they breathing holes are plugged to stop the fire inside, then, after a certain time has passed, the earth is removed.

When it is desired to get more charcoal and faster, a pit is dug into the ground; firstly, some small and dry wood shavings are placed at the bottom of the pit, then the logs that are to be carbonized; when the whole has caught fire very well, the surface is leveled as best as possible, and it is covered with large tree leaves, then a layer of earth is placed on top to put out the fire, and the next day the charcoal is done.

Gunpowder.—As there exists some saltpeter in Guam, and that sulphur can easily be got from the volcanic islands of the archipelago, nothing could prevent the Marianos from manufacturing their own gunpowder for the use of the colony. A few persons have tried it, and have succeeded well; however, for safety reasons, they prefer to import same from Manila.

Salt-making.—The method that is generally used today to make salt by boiling seawater was unknown to the ancient inhabitants; they simply collected the salt that had formed naturally and that they found on the coast and among the rocks. The famous Governor Tobias, hoping to develop a branch of such an important industry, had ordered the construction of salt marshes at Guam; however, today no traces of them can be seen, and a less productive, but less tiring, method is used, by which salt is made by boiling. Nevertheless, at the time we left the islands, they were still importing some of the salt they needed from Manila. This imported salt, of a superior quality, is preferred for the preparation of salt meat.

By keeping a fire going night and day, one can obtain in two weeks, for each *kahuas* sheltered from the wind,¹ one *tinaja* [about 34 liters] of salt. This salt, newly-made, is

1 The workers who make salt by this method usually live in small conical huts, similar to that shown at the bottom of our Place 81.

known locally under the name of *asiga*, but it takes the name of *Iurgan* as soon as it has been preserved for at least one year.

Tow-making.—From times immemorial, the Marianos knew how to prepare the coir that envelops the coconut, to make the coir ropes that are well known throughout the Indies and the Asian archipelago. The work consists in beating and washing, with plenty of water, this sort of fibrous mass.

Here is how Lieut. Lamarche describes the method used to extract fibers from various other vegetable matters: “As soon as the bark fibers of the young balibago branches have been removed, as we do in France with the bark of the willow and linden, at the time of year when the sap is rising, they are left to seep in quiet water during 10 to 12 days; after such time, they are taken out and dried. The result is a tow that is very supple, very silky, and appropriate for as many uses as our own hemp.”

“To extract the fibrous substance from the abaca and other banana plants, each layer making up the trunk is removed one at a time, and each leaf is scraped on both sides with any cutting tool. When the fibers are bare, they are washed with sea-water, to get rid of the woody part that remains interposed between them. They are then left to dry.”

“By the same process, white and silky fibers are obtained from the leaves of the pineapple, and they are very appropriate for works produced by weaving and sewing.”

Mechanical arts.

Wood-workers.—The ancient inhabitants, very skilled in the art of carpentry, excelled in the art of building canoes; we will return to this subject later on.

The modern carpenters of Guam include some men who are very skilled carpenters. The saw, axe, adze, and a small number of other tools of European origin are known to them; nevertheless, one has to admire their intelligence and their resourcefulness, when, devoid as they are of the tools or machines that we would consider indispensable to achieve more precision in their work, they know how to make do with some ingenious means of their invention. Generally, the same man is here not only a carpenter, but also a joiner, a cabinet-maker, and a lathe-operator.

There are no guitar-makers as such, but many workers are skilled enough to turn out flutes, violins, guitars and bass guitars. The Rota islanders excel in making the last-named instruments; that is why it is not rare that they come to Guam to sell their wares. The settlers who have come from the Philippines are also rather skilled and inventive; they almost never show themselves baffled by something they have to duplicate.

Metal-workers.—There is presently only one master blacksmith-locksmith at Agaña, but he has five assistants and from 3 to 4 apprentices, which makes a total of 9 to 10 persons who work iron and can transform themselves into gunsmiths and even into knife-makers, if need be.

The town is richer in goldsmiths; there are from 6 to 7 of them. Some medals of saints have been produced by the stamping method, some rosaries, some earrings, some rough rings, with shapes that are almost the same; such are the routine objects that they are commissioned to make.

Should we mention the presence of an unlucky tin-smith, more apt, they say, to patch old cauldrons than to make new ones?

Masons.—There are about 30 masons in Guam, who are also roofers at the same time. Under skilled supervision, they work reasonably well, and they are good at shaping stones as well. Some brick ovens, built by them, seemed to us to be well made indeed (see Pl. 68).

Rope-makers.—Every man makes his own ropes, from sinnets [*filag*], that serve for mooring boats. The coir, formerly supreme, has now been replaced by balibago, that produces a more supple tow, and is therefore easier to handle; I believe I can assert that the rope-making operation was made formerly, as now, with the hand, without the intermediary of any machine. However, ever since the Carolinians regularly bring to Guam almost all the coir material necessary for the rigging of the Mariano boats, the laziness of the inhabitants incites them to neglect this kind of work.

Weavers.—Most of the cloth used in the Marianas today is imported from Manila; only one or two persons, who have imported some looms from Manila, have managed to manufacture a very common cotton cloth, for local use.

Shoemakers, tailors.—There is only one shoemaker at Agaña; he manufactures shoes and hats with locally-made leather. There are a few tailors, rather skilful, but not at all fashionable, like our own tailors.

Shell-workers.—There was once at Tinian a village, now destroyed, where they had the privilege of manufacturing shell disks and necklaces, used both as money and ornament; the place was called *Fanutugan-alas* [place where the *alas* is threaded] (see Pl. 59). The skill of the workers, the extreme precision with which all their pieces were polished and assembled, truly deserved admiration. Their handiwork can hardly be seen any more; only a few loose pieces can still be found.

Handicraft made of pandanus and bamboo.—There is not one class of workers dedicated to the manufacture of the multitude of objects that are made with pandanus leaves and bamboo; I have already given elsewhere an overview of such works.

Ship-building.

History and tradition concur to show us that the ancient Marianos were skilful and daring sailors, who owned marvelous canoes, designed to sail close to the wind and navigate speedily; some have been known to make crossings greater than 400 leagues at sea, and using talents and resources that were astonishing.

Here is what Gemelli-Careri said about them, when he had the opportunity to examine them in person, in 1696, at the time when the canoe-building art was at its climax, when decadence had not yet begun.

“The little boats¹ of these islands are very strange, as well for their make, as swiftness. They are made of two crooked bodies of trees hollowed, and sewed together with

1 We will see that Gemelli-Careri obviously speaks here about the canoes called *duduli* by the Marianos; there were some that were much larger, and whose length could probably exceed 30 feet.

Indian cane. They are about five or six yards long, and because the breadth of them is not above four spans, and they woud easily overset, therefore they join to the sides pieces of solid timber, which poise them; and as for passengers, the boat being scarce able to contain three Indian sailors, they therefore lay boards across in the middle, hanging over the water on both sides, where those that will be carried from place to place sit. Of the three sailors aforesaid, one is always in the middle to ladle out the water, which certainly comes in over the sides, and at the seam; the other two keep one at head, and one at stern to move and steer the boat. The sail is like those we call lateen sails, that is, triangular, made of mat, and as long as the boat, which being therefore easy to overset when the wind is astern, they keep out of it as much as they can... When they are to return from any place, they remove the sail without turning the boat about, so that which was the stern becomes the head, and he that was in the prow, is steersman.”¹

One must conclude that, based on the above description, the canoes of the ancient Marianos were very similar to those of the Carolinians, their neighbors, who still use them today; indeed, this was confirmed by information we collected at Guam.

Our islanders called *sagman* their large canoes or proas; when they were ready to sail, they were given the name of *layak*, which really means 'sail.' The canoes of a smaller capacity were called *lelek*, then there came the *duding*, a canoe of average size. The *duduli* was a canoe still inferior in size, but able to carry a sail; a canoe of the same size, but without a sail, was called *panga*. Finally, the *garaide*, that occupied the last class, is the only one that is still seen at Guam. Mr. Duperrey has made an exact sketch of one, which can be seen in our Plate 80, fig. r and s.

The boats that are used now for inter-island communication are Carolinian canoes, and they are even maneuvered by sailors of that same nationality. Nevertheless, there are other boats of different designs.

Mr Duperrey reports: “The canoes called *garaide* locally, never use a sail; both ends are raised as in a gondola, and covered of a small, arched, part-deck, whose border lies athwart, and whose purpose, it seems, is to prevent the foot from slipping. Equipped with a single outrigger, which is held in place by two curved poles, they are maneuvered only with oars.”

“The boats of a higher class, also dug out of a single piece of wood as the preceding, look like a ship’s boat, rather like those made in Spain and France; the bow is very long, but the stern is cut almost vertically; it can be equipped with 5 or 6 pointed oars, which can be doubled, at will, by linking them up two by two (see Pl. 80, fig. p and q). On the port side, they carry a huge outrigger, whose length is the same as that of the boat itself, and this can be either on the windward or lee side. A trapezoidal sail, made of cotton cloth, and sometimes also a jib sail, are accessory means of locomotion that are used when the winds blow astern or from aft quarters. The Marianos would not dare sail close to the wind with such heavy barks, that are such bad sailers; the result is that

1 Ed. note: Translation taken from HM10: 47.

their journeys at sea are limited to coastal trips, between sheltered harbors, either for fishing or, more rarely, to transport passengers from one place to another.”

For the service of the colony, the governor has at his disposal three large and excellent Spanish launches, as well as a big ship's boat and a yawl, all well made and well equipped, destined for his private use. These vessels use either sail or oars indistinctively.

A brig, of about 40 tons,¹ was ordinarily used for transport at Guam, either among the various islands of the archipelago, or to go to Manila; she was armed with four small guns, and rigged the European way. When we visited the Marianas, in 1819, this ship had just recently been captured by a frigate from the rebellious provinces of Spanish America, and Mr. Medinilla had a schooner on the stocks to replace her. An English ship carpenter, residing at Guam after he had lived for many years at the Sandwich Islands, was supervising the project. He took an active part in the work, but he also had a large number of local carpenters to assist him. If the work did not proceed very rapidly, at least the work was done carefully and with intelligence.

We have observed a curious process that allows freshly-cut wood to be used right away, without the fear of seeing it becoming warped, split, or eaten by worms; it consists of a procedure to submit the wood, when still green, to a high temperature, inside a sort of Mariano oven that we have described previously; the larger the pieces of wood, the longer they remain in the oven; usually one day will suffice for the largest pieces. The same preservative methods are in use at the Sandwich Islands: would this method have come from there? I do not know, but it is worth noting that a multitude of practices exist that are almost identical all over the islands of the Polynesian ocean, although we cannot be sure of the direction of their historic propagation. Would man in future ever be able to clarify the origin of these wild nations?

Carpentry tools.—The workshops of Agaña are provided with the main tools that our own carpenters use; however, the adze is one special tool here. In Europe the iron of this tool is pierced with an oval-shaped hole, to receive a straight handle, and these two pieces are fixed into an invariable position with respect to each other; on the other hand, in the Marianas, the handle ends with a hook, and the iron with a round shape, so that their respective position can be changed at will. When fixed as shown in our Plate 80, fig. c, the tool resembles our ordinary axe; but when the iron part is turned a quarter turn, it resembles our adze. Besides, it is very easy to give it an inclination between these two extreme positions, as needed by the work being done. Under certain circumstances, this Mariana tool is therefore superior to that used by our own carpenters.

The ancient Marianos did not have iron; so, they used a cylindrical stone, made of very hard lava, which had a cutting edge but was rounded at the other end; it was fastened with a small coir braid [*filak*] to an elbow-shaped handle, in which a groove had been made to receive it (see Plate 79, fig. 1). The cylindrical shape of the top of the stone

1 Ed. note: The Dolores (see Doc. 1818K).

allowed it to be turned in all directions, so that the tool could be alternately an axe and an adze. Such was the *higam*, which was made in various sizes, but always with the same shape. They also used some sorts of rasps, made of pieces of coral stone.

Sails, rigging.—The sails of the ancient Marianos, similar to those used by the Carolinians today, were made of strips of mats [*guafak layak*] sewn together. The same arrangement existed between them for the masts, the yards, and for the rigging [*talín gapu*].

Caulking and paint.—The big canoes, being made up of many pieces of wood sewed together with a sort of rough coir braid [*inama*] that was then caulked with a mastic made of lime powder and coconut oil. Some breadfruit milk, reduced on the fire, would give a sort of solid resin, and must have been used for the same purpose; Major Luía thinks that the ancient inhabitants were using it in some cases.

However, it was above all to paint their canoes that the milk of the *ríma* was useful; we have already said how it was procured. By mixing it with coloring earths, or with the sort of black that results from the combustion of the coconut shell, they had some dyes, more or less dark, to apply upon the wood, by means of an ingenious and simple brush—a piece of coconut coir (Pl. 79, fig. 21). This same varnish was also used to paint certain household utensils made of wood, to make them perfectly waterproof. The colors that were most generally used were black and brownish red. The same paint can still be seen today in the Carolines (see Pl. 50 and 58).

Section X. Commercial industry.

Nothing is more undeveloped in the Marianas than commerce. Formerly, there was only barter, although it is now impossible to estimate the importance it had. Tinian had its *alas*¹ factory, and such products, exported to the neighboring islands, were probably paid for with turtle shell which, up to a point, seems to have been here, in ancient times, a sort of value standard. If one adds to these transactions the exchanges of food products, caused by local droughts, one will have a rather complete idea of the trading operations of the first inhabitants.

Today, they are limited to providing refreshments to the ships that visit Guam; to delivering a small quantity of beche-de-mer [holothuria] to those that are bound to insular Asia or to China; finally, to bartering the usual articles among the inhabitants.

The fertility of the soil, the small extent of the local needs, are in these countries motives for indolence too powerful for anyone to hope for increased mercantile interest to grow here, not for a long time yet. Nevertheless, nature has arranged everything to provide unlimited food. Various natural substances, now neglected, would offer right now precious means of exchange; agriculture, further improved, would be apt to produce on a much larger scale; cattle breeding, hunting, fishing, the manufacturing industry itself, could be given a push, and become little by little the basis for wealth and prosperity. However, many obstacles would have to be surmounted first. Here is what the future should give to the Marianos: a population that would be invited to buy more consumer goods to improve their own welfare; some outlets for the products of their activity, arranged for by a benevolent and more active government; an authority that protects everyone; the abolition of an unjust and discouraging monopoly; a more equitable fiscal policy; public works and services that would be distributed more evenly. Then, and only then, the people will come out of the lethargy in which we saw them wallowing.

By taking a look at the following summary lists, the reader will remember what are the local resources, in the form of agricultural and manufacturing industries, and what they can offer to passing ships, and find out what are the trade articles that could be sold locally.

1 Shell necklaces and money.

List of the merchandise that could be exported, or supplied to the ships visiting Guam.¹

Abaca.—Until now, not only in the Marianas, but also in our own tropical colonies, too little attention has been paid to the type of banana tree known under the name of *abaca*.

Lieut. Lamarche reports: "This plant could be cultivated on a large scale, and give products that would compensate the owner of a field in a large measure for the sacrifice he makes. The abacas can produce as of the second year. What a resource for a country at war, when fiber is so rare and so dear! What an advantage, even in peacetime, for the farmer, since it is well known that the ropes made with the fibers of this plant are stronger and more durable than those from hemp! There is, however, one drawback: one must not let these ropes lie in fresh water for too long a time; when they are exposed to it, they should be washed with sea-water as soon as possible, as otherwise, they would rot too soon."

Bamboo.—The Chinese buy this substance all over insular Asia, and manufacture from it a multitude of furniture and utensils. Guam is strong in such products.

Cabinet-making.—The woods suitable for cabinet-making are: mahogany, *agate-lang*, *casuarina*, *lemoncito*, *gonag*, *haabang*, *ifik*, *sibukao* and *chiopag*; the last two, and mahogany, are those that have the most pleasing colors. More details can be found about these woods in the previous tables on vegetable products.

Lumber.—The area of the Marianas is too small and the forests too small as well, to be able to produce enough wood for building purposes, for export. Mention is made here only to forewarn any ship-owners of the local availability of all types of wood for the repair of ships.

Charcoal.—It would be easy to get a local supply of charcoal.

Ropes.—In case of need, a rather large quantity of ropes could be manufactured, either from balibago, or coir, appropriate for repairs to the rigging. However, with more activity, this branch of industry would be susceptible to develop, and even provide ropes of a larger size.

Cotton.—Exotic substance, very productive in the Marianas, where the plant has spread successfully; today, the plant is neglected everywhere, for lack of care and sale potential.

Dendeng.—As the inhabitants already know how to prepare these dried meats, they could be sold easily, either at Manila, or in other markets in insular Asia.

Turtle-shell.—Speculators should refrain from fishing for turtle-shell before the animals lay their eggs, as is often done right now; with this precaution, it would be easy to make a substantial and long-lasting profits with this item in the Marianas.

¹ Ed. note: The original list was alphabetical, in accordance with French names. This order has been kept.

Spices.—The spices that are found here could only be of interest to the ships that stop here; indeed, the only spices available are: pepper, ginger and curcuma.

Tow.—Coconut coir could be used, occasionally, as a substitute for caulking ships.

Starch.—The *gapgap* and the *cycas* or *federiko* can provide a sufficient supply of starch for small ships. It is important to make sure that the latter substance was properly prepared.

Fruits.—The local fruits that can be eaten raw are: pineapple, ates, banana, badame, lemon, coconut, guava, pomegranate, *habursu*, lime, mango, melon, orange and orange, papaya, watermelon, and even grape. The foreigner, who would stop at Guam, would find an ample supply of healthy and pleasant fruits among these.

Breadfruit.—See Rima.

Gum arabic.—We have said that the *cycas* provided abundantly a substance with all the characteristics of gum arabic. If it were collected carefully, the Marianas could provide commerce with a rather large quantity of this useful substance.

Grain.—Rice and corn grow wonderfully in these islands, where their cultivation could be much enlarged; today the supply is barely sufficient to supply one ship at a time.

Garden vegetables.—Among this type of plants that sailors may hope to find at Guam, in their appropriate seasons, are: cabbage, palm-cabbage, gourd, cucumber, purslane, eggplant, tomato, garlic and onion.

Beche-de-mer.—As these mollusks are numerous in the Marianas and the Carolines, speculators could find there a constant source of benefits.

Oil.—At present, only coconut oil could provide an eventual article of trade. More oil could be extracted from the *hayulago*, *haabang*, *kastor*, *nonak*, peanut, papaya and *palo blanco*, but only a few trials have been made so far.

Milk.—The visiting sailors will find all the milk products they need.

Dry vegetables.—Even today, one could get a small supply of beans and lentils, but it would be easy to increase such a culture.

Corn.—See Grain.

Mother-of-pearl.—This substance is not rare, and could become an interesting export article. The companions of Commodore Byron, during their stay at Tinian in 1765, had been sent to explore Saipan Island; they found on the beach a large quantity of pearl oyster shells, in piles; this made them conclude that the Spanish visited these shores to look for pearls. It seems that this type of shells is also readily available in the Carolines.

Eggs.—In small quantity; however, a visiting ship can find enough of them for its needs.

Cow hides.—Today, few hides could be collected for export, as part of what is available is for local consumption; however, if cattle breeding and the production of *den-deng* could be developed, there would necessarily be some advantages for commerce.

Pearls.—It does not seem possible that such a marine product could be developed eventually: the pearls are generally very small, and therefore of low value. Perhaps it

would be well to try the method suggested earlier to make such pearls bigger. (See also Mother-of-pearl, above).

Textile plants.—The large number of coconut trees that grow in the Marianas make coir extremely common; as much can be said about the balibago. (See Abaca, and Cotton, above).

Dye-producing plants—A little indigo, curcuma and roucou, that is all that can be of interest to commerce for now; it is true that these plants could be developed further, not only at Guam, but also on the other islands of the archipelago.

Fresh fish.—The sailors visiting Guam will always find excellent fish in quantity. He must, however, beware that one species, at certain times, can be poisonous.

Dried fish.—Dry fish has been known since ancient times in the Marianas; it can be preserved for a long time and would make a useful trade item.

Pottery.—In the current state of affairs, it is certain that no advantage could be got from the manufacture of pottery. However, clay is here suitable and abundant; with more skill in firing them, and some glazing, there is no doubt that, one day, the Carolinians would come to the markets of Guam to get these pots, the need for which they already feel.

Preserves.—Jams made from coconut, ginger, pineapple, guava, orange, mango, rima, etc. and coconut sugar, would be, along with the dried fruit of the rima, excellent sea provisions, to which could be added fish pickled in vinegar.

Starchy roots.—The best are the *sunis* or Caribbean cabbages, the *camotes* or sweet potatoes, and the *dagos* and *nikas* or yams; it is easy to get such vegetables, which can be preserved for a long time on board ship.

Resins.—Resins from the *rima*, *dugdug* and *takamahaka*, could be, as of now, offered to commerce, but in small quantity; nothing can prevent this type of product from becoming more extensive in future.

Rima.—During a stopover, it is easy to get this fruit in quantity; if some is desired for sea provisions, it would be necessary to cut them into slices, and bake them in an oven, like our biscuits, or better, make jams out of them with palm sugar.

Rice.—See Grain, above.

Salted meat.—Salted pork is produced at Tinian and at Guam, but, no doubt due to the heat, maybe also due to faulty techniques, these salted provisions only last for a short time. Nevertheless, such a resource, in such a faraway place, can still be useful.

Salt.—It would be desirable for this manufacture to be given more development, as it does not even suffice for local consumption at the present time.

Sulphur.—This mineral product can be found in large quantity on Pagan Island, we were told, and probably also on a few other islands of the archipelago; it could easily become a trade item.

Sugar.—Perhaps coconut sugar could become an item for export to the Caroline islands that are closest to Guam; a trial should be made. However, as sugarcane easily grows in the Marianas, it would not be less interesting to manufacture sugar from it, as the product tastes better and would produce more income.

Tobacco.—Among all the vegetable substances cultivated in Guam, the tobacco plant is the one that receives the most care. Its quality is excellent, and would certainly be accepted by traders and sailors alike.

Trepang.—See Beche-de-mer, above.

Fresh meat.—Ships visiting Guam can rely on a daily supply of fresh deer meat, beef, pork and fowl.

Dried meat.—See Dendeng, above.

In making up the list that follows, representing the most appropriate objects sought after by the inhabitants, I realized that it was made on a basis that is completely hypothetical. Indeed, I have considered the facts that the local population is small, poor and not at all ready to do something to get itself out of its miserable condition; it could hardly find the resources that are required to begin offering articles for export, and much less to overcome the problems created by a monopoly that is in the hands of the local authorities.

However, I have supposed a better future for these islanders; consequently, I have predicted that new regulations will be made by a wise and philanthropic government and will remove the present lethargy. May such good wishes come true! May the men in charge of the destiny of the Mariano people realize that the wealth of the soil and the gifts of intelligence that nature offers can be successfully exploited! Finally, may the hopes of the still wild peoples, who have come there to seek civilization and happiness, not be frustrated!

List of the merchandise that could be favorably accepted at Guam.

Anchors.—Anchors and grapnels appropriate to boats of 40 to 50 tons, some grapnels of various sizes for boats and canoes, would surely be welcome.

Jewels.—A small part should be in gold and silver. At the present time, such jewels should be limited to rings, earrings, medals of saints, in gold-plated copper or in silver; some rosaries, bead necklaces, etc.

Compasses.—A few small compasses for boats and canoes would probably find a market. The small number of navigators means that a rather small quantity should be brought in. Perhaps the Carolinians would appreciate this instrument, and may learn to seek this article.

Hats.—A few felt hats, either round or cocked, could be brought in.

Copper bars.—See Hardware, below.

Cloth.—Small quantity of red cloth, but more blue cloth, but both of low quality.

Engraved images.—All subjects should be religious in character, framed, complete with glass.

Cotton stuff.—Some white calico, Madras textiles imitating Scottish tartan; red and white stuff, simple, embroidered or ornamented with lace, for weils, would be per-

fectly appropriate (see Pl. 64 and 65); some blue cloth of good quality could be added, and some purple serge for lining uniforms.

Iron.—See Hardware, below.

Spears.—Small, light, with three or four prongs.

Hunting guns.—A very small number, double-barrel and flint-type, including molds to make lead balls, as well as their powder and ball horns.

Grapnels. See Anchors, above.

Fish-hooks.—An assortment of these items.

Lamps.—A simple and solid model, but in small quantity.

Books.—Only a few pious books, in Spanish.

Furniture.—It would be worth trying some pendulum clocks, clocks and small and average-size mirrors.

Ammunition for ships.—This assortment would be destined, either to colonial ships, or the ships that visit Guam, and could only be bought by the local government. It could consist of ropes, assorted nails and spikes, pulleys, pump valves, rudder hinges for vessels of 40-50 tons; pitch, tar, etc.

Carpentry tools.—Axes, adzes, saws, drills, etc.

Blacksmithing and locksmithing tools.—Average-size anvils, hammers, rasps, files.

Agricultural tools.—Spades, hoes, scythes, grafting tools, etc.

Cabinet-maker's tools.—Planes, big and small, chisels, drill and bits, etc.

Pig lead.—Bulk lead destined to be melted down into lead balls and sinkers for a type of fishing-nets.

Pottery.—Jugs, jars, large and small, frying pans, etc.

Hardware.—Iron in bars and in sheets, copper and steel bars; locks, hinges, assorted screws; lathe with all its accessories; needles for sails and for sewing; pins, scissors, knives, razors, awls, etc.

Sail-cloth.—Very little, and only of light material.

Kitchen utensils.—Copper cauldrons and frying pans, iron frying pans, pewter pots, etc.

Porcelain vessels.—Plates, dishes, cups, basins and water jugs, etc.

Glassware.—Bottles, glasses, big and small, decanters, sauce bowls, etc.

...

Table of equivalent weights, measures, and monies in use in the Marianas in 1819.¹

Measures	Names	Value (metric)	Remarks
Length	Foot (Castile)	0.279 m.	
"	Fathom	1.6738 m.	This is the Spanish fathom, equals to 6 Castilian feet. It is variable in the Marianas.
"	Yard	0.8369 m.	Used in Guam, to measure stuff.
Area	Square n.m.	342.9 ha.	The area of land plots is calculated in square nautical miles and sixteenths of a mile.
"	Sq. 1/16 mile	32.4 ha.	
Volume	<i>Chupa</i>	0.25 liter.	Unit probably came from Manila. See Salao.
"	<i>Botella</i>	0.9297 l.	1 'bottle' contains 3-1/2 chupas; it is equal to 1 Paris pint.
"	<i>Cantaro</i> [jug]	24 liters.	Spanish measure.
"	<i>Ganta</i>	2 liters	1 ganta equals 8 chupas.
"	<i>Botija</i>	---	I do not know the value of this measure. Could be from 5 to 8 liters.
"	<i>Chikigit</i>	18 liters.	Varies between 8-1/2 and 9 gantas; supposed to be exactly 9 gantas.
"	<i>Tinaja</i> [jar]	34 liters.	Normally 17 gantas, but not always.
"	<i>Caban</i>	50 liters.	Sub-divided into 25 gantas.
"	<i>Arroba</i>	15.61 liters.	The same word is used for a weight measure. It is sub-divided into 32 cuartillos.
"	<i>Cuartillo</i>	0.488 l.	
"	<i>Kotud</i> [basket]	8 liters.	This measure and next two are of Mariana origin. Worth about 4 gantas (see Pl. 79, fig. 9).
"	<i>Salao</i>	0.25 l.	Formerly used to measure rice. It is equal to half a coconut or one chupa.
"	<i>Ara</i>		50 liters. Formerly a basket of woven coconut palm leaves (see Pl. 53 and 71). Variable, but about same as the caban.
Weight	Pound	0.4597 Kg.	The Spanish pound, which, according to Pauton, is sub-divided into 2 marcos, or 16 ounces = 100 castellanos = 128 ochavas = 256 adaremes = 768 tomins = 9,216 grains.
"	<i>Arroba</i>	11.494 Kg.	Equals to 25 Spanish pounds.
Money	<i>Peso</i> [piaster]	5.43 francs.	The Spanish dollar is sub-divided into 8 reals. Value varies according to money

¹ Ed. note: Freycinet used a book written by Pauton as a reference to Spanish measures, whose values were the same in all Spanish colonies, he supposed.

			exchange markets.
"	<i>Real</i>	0.68 franc.	Sub-divided into 4 cuartillos and 12 grains.
"	<i>Cuartillo</i>	0.17 franc.	Not reported in use in Guam.
"	Grain	0.05 franc.	
Counting	<i>Mano</i>	...	Five times an item, e.g. one mano of eggs are 5 eggs; one mano of tobacco is 5 packets of 10 leaves each.
"	<i>Palillo</i>	...	Name given by the Spaniards here to a head, or 10 leaves of tobacco.
'	<i>Achuman style</i>	...	Then as now, fishermen count the <i>achuman</i> in pairs, e.g. 100 achumans means 200 fish. Otherwise, they say: x objects, achuman style.

Means of transport.

There remains for us to say something about the means of communications. For many years, the Marianos had only the galleon as a means of communication with overseas, when she was on her return voyage from Acapulco to Manila, and touched at Guam to refresh, and unload, besides the money destined to pay the troop and employees of the administration, the woolens, cotton cloth, hats, wine and other objects necessary to the maintenance of subsistence of the white and mestizo settlers.

When this state of affairs came to a change, the governor had no alternative but to send directly to Manila for the merchandise that the colony could no longer do without. For this purpose, he used a small ship that until then had been used for inter-island transport.¹

As far as commerce is concerned, one must disregard the presence of foreign ships that have come irregularly to these neighborhoods; their only purpose was to get fresh food supplies, not to trade. The Carolinians themselves, though very covetous of iron articles, whose superiority and importance they know about, have never done but the slightest of trading. One must therefore conclude that the means of transport of merchandise by sea are here almost non-existent.

The internal trading activities being also very limited, the inhabitants who have enough food to survive, who find a sufficient shelter under their huts, do not desire or search for anything more than rest; their days are spent in a state of nonchalance, such that a European can hardly imagine.

A few trails have indeed been blazed through the main island; there are some that are very pleasant;² however, what are they used for? to carry from time to time the products of a meagre agriculture, and probably never to carry merchandise.

1 It was in 1812 that the galleon first bypassed the Marianas, and in 1814 that the governor sent for the first time his brig to Manila. This vessel would set sail in May, at the time that the N.E. monsoon is about to end.

2 We will mention in particular those that traverse enchanting woods, from Agaña to Tepungan, Pago, Tachuña, and Tumon.

To go from one place to another, the ancient Marianos preferred to go by sea; but they generally travelled very little; it is said that some old folks spent their whole life without ever leaving their own settlement. It is even said that the people of Agaña took two days just to go to Pago, which is only 1-1/2 leagues distant.

The governor and the other principal authorities of the colony have horses or at least mules for use as saddle animals, when they have to make a trip (Pl. 71). For shorter distances, they are carried in a net-type hammock, suspended from a strong bamboo (see Pl. 66); the women are those who prefer this mode of travel; however, so that they can ride like European ladies, some saddles have been designed for them, and covered with leather (Pl. 80).

The custom of riding bulls is more general (see Pl. 70), and already this mode of transport had already been noted by Crozet, in 1772: "The Indians," says he, "have more particularly succeeded in accustoming the cattle to carry them, the same as horses do, and there are no Indians who have not several riding beasts on which they ride when making a journey into the interior of the islands and on whom they saddle their baggage. In their method of breaking-in they follow the Malabar custom; they pierce the nostril of the beast and pass the end of a cord through it, and by means of this cord, to which the cattle get accustomed in a fortnight, they are led about as easily as horses by their bridles."¹

We will end this section by giving a list of the prices of certain substances, at Guam, and mainly for food items.

List of a few merchandises and their prices, at Guam, at various times.

Year	Articles	Peso/reals	Francs/cents
1812	Enough balibago fibers to make 100 fathoms of sinnet	0p 4r	2f 72c
	Braiding 100 fathoms of sinnet balibago	0p 1r	0f 68c
	100 fathoms of thick thread, of 100, for making fishing-nets	0p 4r	2f 72c
	100 fathoms of same thread, but finer ...	0p 2r	1f 36c
	100 fs of fine coir rope, to moor canoes	0p 4r	2f 72c
	100 fs of coir sinnet, for roof shingles ...	0p 2r	1f 36c
	2 fs of pandanus mats, for canoe sails ...	0p 1/2r	0f 34c
	1 rough pandanus mat, 1-1/2 fs by 1 f. ...	0p 4r	2f 72c
	1 small pandanus bag, to store rice	0p 1/2r	0f 34c

1 Ed. note: Translation taken from HM14: 608-609.

1750	1 cow	4p 0r	21f 72c ¹
1772 ²	1 cow	4p 0r	21f 72c
1786 ³	1 pig	0p 5r	3f 40c
	1 chicken	0p 1/2 r	0f 34c
	8 chicken eggs	0p 1,9	1f 29c
	1 <i>chikigit</i> [18 liters] of corn	0p 4r	2f 72c
	1 <i>ganta</i> [2 liters] of beans	0p 2r	1f 36c
	10 <i>aras</i> [a basket of about 50 l.] of <i>sunis</i>	0p 4,8	3f 26c
	100 <i>dagos</i>	1p 2,1	6f 86c
	100 <i>nikas</i>	0p 4r	2f 72c
	1 bunch of bananas	0p 0,8	0f 54c
	1 watermelon	0p 1/2r	0f 34c
	9 melons	0p 4r	2f 72c
	1 <i>tinaja</i> [34 liters] of <i>tuba</i> ⁴	0p 6r	4f 8c
	1 <i>mano</i> [5 packets of 10 leaves] of tobacco	0p 4r	2f 72c
1802 ⁵	1 laying hen	0p 2r	1f 36c
	1 young chicken	0p 1/2r	0f 34c
	1 young hen, not laying	0p 1r	0f 68c
	8 chicken eggs	0p 1r	0f 68c
	1 <i>cantaro</i> of coconut oil, 12 <i>gantas</i> [24 l.]	2p 0r	10f 86c
	1 <i>cantaro</i> of locally-made salt	2p 0r	10f 86c
1818 ⁶	1 calf	4p 0r	21f 72c
	1 pig	0p 3r	2f 4c
	1 young chicken	0p 1/2r	0f 34c
	8 chicken eggs	0p 1r	0f 68c
	1 <i>caban</i> [50 liters] of rice	3p 0r	16f 29c
	1 <i>chikigit</i> of corn	0p 3r	2f 4c
	100 <i>dagos</i>	1p 3r	7f 47c
	100 <i>nikas</i>	0p 4r	2f 72c
	1 bunch of bananas	0p 3r	2f 4c
	1 watermelon	0p 1r	0f 68c
	1 <i>botija</i> of coconut brandy	1p 4r	8f 15c
	1 <i>mano</i> of tobacco	0p 3r	2f 4c
1819 ⁷	10 liters of coconut brandy	2p 5,3	14f 45c

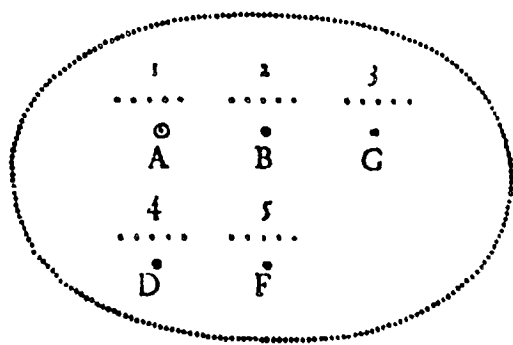
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- 1 Price taken from official papers.
 - 2 According to Crozet.
 - 3 All prices are taken from official papers.
 - 4 Probably before the liquor was reduced to brandy.
 - 5 All prices are taken from official papers.
 - 6 All prices are taken from official papers.
 - 7 According to Mr. Guérin, supercargo of the Uranic.

Section XI. Government of the ancient Marianos.

I separate the government of the ancient Marianos from the institution that was established by Spain after the conquest, which I will cover in the next section.

The islands of the archipelago were shared among a certain number of independent or allied tribes, each of which included one or many settlements, were ruled by customs and laws that were the same for all.¹

The supreme authority of each of these small states, sort of domestic kingdoms, was imparted to a single chief or king, called *maga-lahi*, which means 'old man, superior, head of family, patriarch,' because, except for the *mangachangs* and the *achaots*, the entire settlement was, in fact, constituted of persons who were all related. In order to understand this concept well, let us refer to the figure opposite:



The dotted oval indicates the boundary of the tribe; A represents the *maga-lahi*; and the group of points labelled n° 1, his sons, grandsons and other direct descendants. B and G, are the chiefs of the following families n° 2 and 3, are the younger brothers of A, classed according to their age, and whose immediate lineage is also indicated by points. D and F are respectively the first cousins and nephews of the *maga-lahi*; their families are similarly indicated by points. We do not need to make the sketch

more complex to understand the relationships.

The *maga-lahi* was therefore always, in the ascending scale of the tribe in question, the oldest *matua* in the settlement; he ruled, in peacetime and in wartime, over the totality of the inhabitants who, we repeat, could form a single or many villages. Below him, the chiefs of families B, G, D, F, etc. made up the hierarchy of the authorities of a second rank, as we have mentioned before, that is, that after the supreme chief came his brothers, then his first cousins, his nephews, his sons, etc; they were chiefs, but were not given any particular name as such.

The wife of the *maga-lahi* was called *maga-haga* [superior, princess], and she enjoyed certain prerogatives due to her rank and her sex.

At the death of the king [sic], his older brother would succeed him; lacking brothers, it was one of his first cousins, then one of his nephews, by order of age; however, his own son had the right to occupy the first rank only after the death of all the male rela-

1 Undoubtedly, these laws were not written, but is it indispensable that laws to be always written? Did they not exist in Egypt before Hermes, the inventor of writing? Did they not exist at Sparta, where Lycurgus had forbidden the study of letters to its citizens? (See "Principes de la philosophie de l'histoire," translated from the "Scienza nuova" of Vico, by Michelet.

tives whose birth was anterior to his. Women were excluded from exercising this prerogative.

Any *matua*, whose family and wealth were considerable enough to allow him to maintain his independence by force of arms, had the right to found a new state, and to take with him, not only his relatives and allies, but also his *achaots* and his *manga-changs*.

The women, though they shared none of the political authority, nevertheless had a voice in the councils and in the tribunals in which they participated; they exercised such an influence that it is correct to say that they were the ones who actually directed public affairs. They were the absolute masters of their household, and they decided everything that had to do with it; nothing could be done without their advice or without getting their consent. Even today, when time has erased many of the ancient customs, this deference that Mariano men have for their partners has not lost its strength, and has appeared excessive to us Frenchmen, who are so used to defer ourselves to the fair sex.

Marriages, divorces.—A daughter, contracting marriage, never brought a dowry to her husband; it was he, or his parents, who had to provide for all the needs of the new household.

The state of marriage was not, however, permanent; it lasted only for as long as the married couple was happy to live together; as soon as incompatibility was recognized, separation took place. An adulterous woman who was repudiated by her husband and sent back to her mother after a judgment, was at the same time deprived of her property. The husband could not oppose this separation, and he would have brought dishonor upon himself, if he had retaken such a guilty spouse, although he was free to avenge upon the seductor the insult that he had received, even by taking his life. It was all he could do, as he could not punish the wife who had defiled his sexual rights by anything but a banishment.

On the other hand, if the husband did not show as much deference toward his wife, as she expected, and if he behaved in a reprehensible manner or made her support the effects of his bad mood, she could beat him up with impunity, or else leave him to return to her previous bachelor status.

Le Gobien says: “Should she become convinced that her husband maintains relations that she does not approve of, she tells all her companions in the whole village. They meet at an appointed place, with spear in hand and the hat of their husbands on the head. Thus on a war footing, they advance towards the house of the guilty man. They begin by destroying his fields, step on and pull the cereals, beat the fruits out of his trees, and make an awful mess of everything. They then rush all together to his house,

1 Montesquieu said: “Among the most civilized peoples, the women have always had authority over their husbands; it was the subject of a law among the Egyptians, in honor of Isis, and among the Babylonians, in favor of Semiramis. It was said of the Romans, that they ruled over all nations, but obeyed their wives.” (“Lettres persanes”).

and if the unlucky husband has not yet escaped and gone into hiding, they attack him and pursue him until he has run away.”

“They also have another way to get revenge. They abandon their dwelling, and tell their relatives that they can no longer live with their husbands. The relatives immediately go to the husband’s house, which they trash, and take away everything of value: happy the man who gets away with just that, because they sometimes even destroy the house itself.”

Moreover, it did not matter who was responsible for the separation, the children went with the woman, and, when she remarried, would consider her next husband as their real father. The same thing went on when a daughter became a mother: upon marrying, she brought along her own children who became part of the new family, as widows do at home, and without any possibility of a scandal.

There was a principle that was strictly observed: no-one could marry his sister, nor his first cousin, or his niece, or his daughter, nor any of his relatives who was an ascendant. The same prohibitions applied to adopted children who, in this case, were absolutely assimilated to his relatives by blood or to the *achafñag*.

Inheritance and successions.—At the death of the father, his fortune and his children passed through the hands of his widow: if, on the other hand, it was the wife who died first, her relatives not only took possession of the husband’s property, but also the children whom she had given him. Legally-speaking, the children belonged to the highest-ranking female on the mother’s side, but, as there were always people willing to welcome them, they were delivered to the family who asked for them first, unless some strong reasons intervened to prevent it. This strange custom, which obviously is derived from the pre-eminence of the women over the men, seems to make some sense. Indeed, women are generally more affectuous, more sedentary, and therefore more apt to take care of the domestic education of children.

Because of his physical strength and his courage, man was born to be a warrior and a navigator; who would have taken care of the children, during his long and frequent absence, if they had been left to his care? On the other hand, nothing prevented the women from performing their daily tasks which nature itself induced them to carry out.

So it is that I cannot share the opinion that says that such a privilege was based upon the fact that the children were reputed to belong more to the wife than the husband. Such a consideration, among people who hated adultery, could not have such a great weight; what gives further evidence of this, is the fact that the adopted children, or *pinigsai*, were also subject to the women’s guardianship.

The widow whose husband left her without children, kept not only all the property held in common, but also had the right to a sort of inheritance called *fagahot* [inheritance], to which all the female relatives of the deceased had to contribute; by accepting it, she ceased to be a part of the family that her marriage had made her join, and she became foreign to it. If she preferred to renounce this advantage, rather than severe relationships that time had often cemented through habit and reciprocal benevolence, her adopted family was happy to keep her as one of their members. However, the same

family could force her by custom to accept the *fagahot*, when she had in turn displeased them, either by bad conduct, or some serious mistakes. Nothing like that took place in the case of a widow with children; she remained forever linked to the family of her deceased husband.

Obligations of the relatives.—When a mother, who was breast-feeding at the time, happened to die, her closest relative who could breast-feed the baby was obliged to do so. In general, there existed among all the persons of a same family and often of a same settlement a sort of solidarity for mutual assistance in case of need or misfortune. The main acts of this type took place at the time of marriages, births, deaths, and when the building of new houses or large sheds was required; at the time of sowing fields, gathering harvests, building canoes, and finally for any long-term public works.

The fishermen themselves, even though they exercised their profession only to provide for their own family, had to distribute every year to their female relatives, the products of their first fishing expedition, for every specific kind of fish.

The rich man who had under him a large quantity of servants, would usually refuse any help from other families; however, if any of his relatives wished to come and help him during some important works, he could not refuse them, because they were then exercising their right under an existing law of the country. His friends, or *achagma*, and the *atugcha-guma* had the same privilege; however, they assisted willingly and without obligation.

When a woman really needed the use of a field, a harvest, a canoe, or anything else belonging to a man of her family, she would present a shell *alas* to him, saying: "I give you this *alas* in exchange for such and such object that I need;" it was enough for the owner to let her have it instantly. Nevertheless, the faculty of acquiring goods in this way was not at all subject to reciprocity. Indeed, it was permissible for a sister to ask a brother for a field, for a distant cousin to make such a request to any of her male relatives, but she never feared that, one day, he might come back and ask for a favor in return. In any case, the women used this special custom only when they were forced to do so, by obvious need, and possibly also, only in cases dictated by custom. Whatever it may have been, the requests of this type were always granted gracefully.

In the same manner, a young man could request a relative to take him on as an apprentice, but it cost him dearly, because the master had the right to insist from his student as many *alas* as the profession in question dictated.

Civil and criminal laws.—The husband was alone responsible for any error committed by his wife, and he also was the only one judged, and punished, in the case. However, a widow, by losing her husband, returned to her natural family and, as before her marriage, was responsible for her own conduct, and would have to suffer all potential punishments herself.

An *achaot*, exiled from his settlement as a result of an infamous condemnation, would hasten, alone or with his wife and children, to find a *matua* who would agree to receive him as his servant; he could not otherwise live anywhere, and would have had to travel ceaselessly. When he found a protector, he had to serve him without any kind

of salary, until the expiration of his sentence or until his full rehabilitation. It was never easy for him to regain his former condition, and rank. For instance, he could become the founder of a new settlement, thanks to the assistance of some rich man, who might have rewarded him for some truly special service, or as a result of an important victory in war.

A *matua* could not lose his property as a result of a legal judgment that condemned him to the status of *achaot* for the rest of his life, or for a fixed period, according to the nature of his crime. When the sentence dictated that he should be exiled by himself, the relatives of his wife had the custom of making great efforts to obtain that she should accompany him in exile with her children. For this purpose, they placed food supplies before the judge, while the family of the husband brought some *alas*. The respective value of the bribe was taken in great consideration, and the sentence passed against the guilty man was modified or confirmed, based on whether or not the gifts had made the balance of justice go one way or the other.

When an *achaot* died in exile, if his wife and children were with him, they remained *achaots* themselves; however, when the wife died first, the children followed the lot of their father, either remaining *achaots* or being rehabilitated.

The *achaot* who had left his village as a result of a judgment, could never return, but if he had gone into exile voluntarily, to escape legal proceedings, he retained the hope of returning one day. No-one could be an *achaot* within his own tribe, as this name meant that the man was necessarily a stranger. The noble thus deprived of his status and fortune for his misdeeds, and who did not emigrate—something that was very rare—became a *machat-lemín* [despised person, persona non grata], but, upon being pardoned, he could regain his property.

Nevertheless, the *matua* who had built his own house, without the help of his family, either when he got married, or after a hurricane, a fire, etc. enjoyed a special privilege, and could not rigorously be made an *achaot*; however, if he had committed a crime that normally called for banishment, the people used a trick to make him fall within the common law. His family built for him a more beautiful and more spacious house than the one he had; it was furnished with all the necessary objects, then he was ordered to go and live there, willingly or not. He had hardly moved to the new house when someone would come in and say to him: "Get out of here, right now, *machat-lemín*, get out of the village that you have defiled by your presence." This injunction could not be resisted; and as soon as he had left, his property was declared confiscated, including the derisory gift that had been made to him, the better to cause his doom.

Any person refusing to come to the aid of his family, or neglecting other duties out of laziness, was in turn condemned not to receive any help from his relatives once under the same circumstances; such an abandonment covered the recipient with shame.

The children of an *achaot* remained in this degraded class until their father was rehabilitated, or until some fortuitous circumstance came up to take them out of it. A banished person was never received in a strange village, without an investigation being

made as to the nature and seriousness of his crime; in certain cases, he was repulsed without pity by everyone.

Any dispute between two persons had to be settled between them; however, if a fight ensued that was too violent, the spectators intervened to stop it, but oftentimes the chief of the village was called upon to use his authority. In this case, a simple command on his part, even one transmitted through a child, was sufficient to make the two men separate; a refusal to obey without hesitation would have brought a severe punishment.

We have already mentioned that a liaison, even temporary, between a *matua* and a *mangachang* girl was forbidden; this rigor was for the purpose of preventing a mixture of blood between the nobility and a vile race. According to the ideas common in the Marianas, this union would have produced a degradation of physical and moral qualities in the high classes of society.

Would not such a way of seeing things, existing among many peoples, ancient and modern, be the effect of a prejudicial degree of self-importance, or else should it be attributed to experience of nasty results that might have given rise to the opinion as to innate inclinations? It would be interesting to find out if, as some authors have asserted, the father and mother can transmit to their children, not only their bodily traits and features, but also their tastes, mind-sets and specific characters;¹ and if, among the animals themselves, certain habits have not often been transmitted from one generation to the next.²

Le Gobien (*op. cit.*) reported that "It is not only in those meetings that the nobles show their disdain for the [common] people; they go so far as to forbid them to approach the house of a noble, or his person. This stubbornness is so great that a noble would believe that his house has been defiled, if a person of the low class had taken some food or drink there."

A *mangachang* who would have passed a *matua* without bending down, would have been considered the same as if he had challenged him to a fight, and for this reason would have deserved the death penalty.

The adoption of a child took place only after both families had consulted and taken the advice of the *maga-lahi*; the background of the adoptive family was investigated scrupulously; finally, the contract was not agreed to until all the consequences of this important action had been weighed and discussed. The adoptee, from then on, enjoyed the same rights and obligations as the other members of his new family. There was one exception: at the death of the father, the adopted child could not become chief of the family at the detriment of an *achagnag* son, or one issued from the marriage; similarly, he could not attain supreme power.

A form of civility which, among us, is considered a simple lack of interest, took on the character of sarcasm and even one of a punishable offence: if, while accompanying

1 See Girou de Buzareingues, in his *Philosophie physiologique, politique et morale*.

2 One will find, in the *Annales des Sciences naturelles* for 1829, a curious article by Doctor Roulin, entitled: "Regarding a few changes observed in domesticated animals upon being carried from the old world to the new," in which this question is discussed.

a lady who had come to visit a relative, a person would have the impertinence of saying to her: "Take care not to fall while going down the steps." this was enough to start a rumor among the relatives. This strange susceptibility came from the principle of solidarity between all the members of a same family, to the effect that everyone was responsible for the maintenance of the houses of everyone of them. The supposition was that one could not fall from a stairway that was in good condition; such a statement had the effect of an accusation against all the relatives of a lack of care, and the resentment thus caused could not be removed except by effecting a true repair.

Any man who would have fought with one of the barbed spears meant for fishing, was condemned to death, unless he could prove that he had been ambushed and had no other means to save his own life but to use this prohibited weapon.

Laws regarding strangers.—A stranger arriving in broad daylight in a village who did not go immediately to see the *maga-lahi* to ask permission to stay, was arrested until the nature of his visit could be ascertained. However, if he told everyone that his intentions were benevolent and friendly, this declaration was enough for him to be favorably received.

Nevertheless, the imprudent man who would have tried to enter a village during the night without precaution, would have run the risk of being killed by the first inhabitants to discover him. To come in at nighttime with security, he had to stop at the canoe shed, and attract the attention of some resident, either by blowing a conch shell, or by calling in a high voice, and then beg this man to go and ask the chief of the tribe for admittance. Once these formalities had been carried out, the stranger could go wherever he pleased without fear.

According to tradition, a ship whose origin is not known was shipwrecked a very long time ago, on Saipan Island. The whole crew was killed, except for one child who had befriended the wife of the *maga-lahi* and was thus spared.¹ The motive of this horrible cruelty was the fear that the presence of so many strangers inspired, in a place where they had no means of survival, and they might have attempted to change the local customs. Fortunately, few examples are given of such an atrocious policy.

Tradition also says that another ship, manned by Spanish people, was shipwrecked, before the conquest, before Umata; the crew was cordially received by the natives and they were even given a canoe to go to the Philippines.² It is true to say that the previous conduct of the navigators of this nationality had won the friendship of the Mariano population.

Laws regarding fishing.—Each fisherman of *achumans* was assigned an area of sea from which he could not deviate, and whose boundaries were fixed by alignments taken ashore; however, in spite of such wise precautions, a man of bad faith could find a way to defraud the rights of his neighbors. While crossing many restricted fishing areas, he

1 Ed. note: This was probably the Chinese ship that brought Choko to Saipan, circa 1648.

2 Ed. note: This was probably the shipwreck of the **San Pablo** which did occur at Umatac in 1568, exactly 100 years before the conquest. However, Guamanians did provide two canoes to some survivors of the **Concepción** shipwreck, which occurred at Saipan in 1638.

seized the right moment to throw some *poi* [chum] overboard; attracted by this bait, the fish would follow his canoe and, once within his own area, he could make a good catch, at the great detriment of his companions, whose chances of success were thus reduced. Unlucky for him if he was caught in the act, because death was the price he would have to pay for this uncanny trick. This punishment, moreover, seems too severe, in view of the fact that fishing in someone else's area could only bring the penalty of banishment.

During the *mañahak* fishing season, if the man on whose account the expedition took place asked his relatives for assistance, they could not refuse it to him. They relate the case of a man who, out of forgetfulness, was not invited to a wedding, which he would have had to attend as a relative. He waited until the ceremony was taking place to go and throw his net; he then summoned the groom, the bride and all the invited guests to help him. They, in fact, did so, and this wily trick only resulted in a bout of laughter.

The fisherman who claims the services of one or more persons, must pay them in kind, by giving them a part of his catch; if the net does not belong to him, half of the catch belongs to the owner of the net. Such a regulation continues to be obeyed by modern Marianos.

Tribunals—Everything that, among the nobles, touched on honor and the preservation of their family, including even questions of war and peace, was referred to a council composed of the chiefs and the women of the tribe, in which the latter had a very prominent role to play.

This tribunal exercised its jurisdiction upon the *matua* accused of infamy during the war, on account of treason or cowardness; on any person who, without the permission of the *maga-lahi*, had traded with strangers; had fought with prohibited weapons; had neglected or simply delayed coming to the assistance of a needy member of his family; had had relations with a *mangachang* woman or taken her as a concubine; had committed some offence regarding the laws regulating fishing, or disregarded an order from a chief or some law of the country. To commit a misdeed that the family was ashamed of, was to insult all of one's female relatives, and they would themselves hasten to demand that justice be done; in severe cases, even female in-laws could make a claim. The accused defended himself, by pointing out, either attenuating circumstances, or his innocence. If the crime, though proven, was judged susceptible to be pardoned, the female relatives, or one of them on behalf of all, would place an *alas* at the feet of the guilty party who, in order to answer to this tacit notification, had some dried or fresh fish, rice, roots, etc. brought in, that had at least an equal value. This exchange of an *alas* for food supplies was renewed many times, until the accused, if he was not extremely rich, could no longer keep up with it; indeed, the idea was not to postpone one's obligation; the barter had to be carried out hand to hand, in kind and immediately. Also, a wealthy man had enough resources to continue long enough, for him to be honorably discharged; he then went away, receiving polite comments, and taking with him the pieces of shell, while the accusers kept the food provisions. Unlucky the man who could

not satisfy so many demands! The system of justice, inflexible against him, condemned him to receive the full punishment prescribed by law.

These types of sentences were called *tadiu*. The *pala-won ho* [close female relatives] were the only persons who could place *alas* before the accused. The *maulitao* girls, that is, those who could have relations with the *ulitaos* [bachelors], were free to attend the court sessions, though they were not obliged to do so, like the married women, but they could not bring shell monies with them. As for the virgins, they were excluded. In general, a *maulitao*, no matter how young, enjoyed more consideration than another person of her sex, though very old, who had remained a virgin.

The *mangachangs* who were guilty of some serious crime were sentenced by the *maga-lahi* or tribal chief. Also, the latter decided, after he had consulted the council, questions of war and peace, treaties of alliance, in short, everything that had to do with the welfare and security of the country.

Monies.

We have already mentioned the shape and nature of the necklaces that the Mariano ladies wore, and even also the men, to enhance their appearance and to make certain payments; the price put on the shell that had deserved the honor of being pierced with a certain number of holes increased in accordance with the number of such holes.

Under the generic name of *alas*, as we have said, there was first the *guini*, a necklace a little smaller than the little finger (Pl. 79, fig. 14), and then the *lukao-hugua*, about one inch in diameter (same plate, fig. 23); the *gintus* was a piece from the preceding, regardless of its length. A simple turtle-shell was called *lailai*; if this shell was legally pierced with holes, it took the name of *pinipu* and its value was the greater the more holes it had, three times a *lailai* for every hole; therefore, the *pinipu* shown on our Plate 79, fig. 16, had a value of 12 *lailais*. We will use this same unit to give the relative value of various Mariano monies:

The *guini* was worth 6 *lailais*.

The *pinipu* with 1 hole was worth 3.

Id. with 2 holes 6.

etc.

Id. with 7 holes 21.

Finally, the *lukao-hugua* was worth 24 *lailais*, or the same as a *pinipu* with 8 holes.

The *gintus* was worth less than the *guini*, but more than the *lailai*. That is all that tradition has preserved regarding this subject. As far as the value of the *guineha fama-guon*, it was priceless, in the eyes of the Marianos, much like a very costly diamond to us.

Now, we are led to make the following natural question: why could not every inhabitant increase the number of holes in the turtle shells that he owned? The good faith and sincerity that was the hallmark of their mutual relations can answer this question; such a fraud, if a man had dared to commit it, would have been detected by the members of his family and even by his countrymen, would have been punished and brought shame

upon the perpetrator. Such shells were like monuments to some remarkable events, known to everyone, and false ones would have been instantly revealed for what they were.

The greed of the first European settlers led them to collect all of these shell monies, which they later sold in China;¹ today, it is extremely difficult to find any left; even I, with the help of the governor and Major Luís de Torres, could only find a few pieces.

War.

Nature and duration of the wars.—The wars that the Marianos had among themselves were neither bloody or very long. They were never suscitated by a spirit of conquest; the people took up arms only to avenge some serious insult, or to put a stop to the caprices and harassments of their neighbors. If a tribe inhabiting inland were to stop or divert the water of some river that provided water to a village located downstream, this was enough for a war, unless a solution could be found to solve the dispute.

Manner of fighting.—Though the inhabitants were quick to get angry, and did not hesitate to take up arms, they were just as quick to lay them down. When they set out on a campaign, it was customary for them to do so while uttering loud shouts: more to animate themselves than to frighten their enemies, because they were not really very brave. They were led by one of the main chiefs of their tribe, and, in case of an alliance among many villages, by common agreement, they selected as a leader the man judged to be the most worthy by his former exploits, his courage and the resources of his intelligence.

The hierarchy, as we have already mentioned under the heading of civil government, was the *maga-lahi*, who commanded the troops, and had under him, firstly, his older brother, then his other brothers by order of age, his first cousins, etc.

Moreover, the discipline of the army, the order of battle leing the march and attack, had nothing in common with European practice. Each warrior, whether officer or soldier, offered his ideas as they came to his mind, in the interest of the enterprise, and put his own life at risk. The troop was rallied at the sound of the conch shell,² and marched

1 Ed. note: This is a mere allegation; there is no documentary proof of this having taken place.

2 The conch shell (Pl. 58, fig. 7) served, in the Marianas as well as in the Carolines, not only to rally warriors, but also to call attention to a move that was about to be made, to an order that was to be given. If the sound of this instrument came from the dwelling of the *maga-lahi* or chief of the family, it was a call to all the inhabitants to meet at his place, to receive some communication; when the sound came from an individual's house, it was a call for help.

under a banner called *babau*,¹ whose shape, or color, can no longer be ascertained today.

The *matuas* and the *achaots* armed themselves before going to war. The *manga-changs*, deprived of this honor, were, on overland expeditions, charged with the transport of the ammunitions and food supplies;² besides, as far as food was concerned, they did not have to carry that much, because a regular campaign lasted at most three or four days, and the warriors ate almost nothing.³ Their strategy consisted in observing carefully the movements of the enemy, and to deploy a truly astonishing sagacity in enticing him to fall into an ambush.

Le Gobien says: "It appears that they go on a campaign only to surprise one another. They avoid hand-to-hand combat, but if they do so, it is only because they do not want to withdraw without having tried something. One would think that they are afraid to hurt themselves, or to leave blood on the battlefield.⁴ After two, or three, men had been killed or seriously wounded, the victory was decided. Fear would get hold of them at the sight of the spilled blood, and they would flee, and disappear in an instant."⁵

"The vanquished immediately sent ambassadors and presents to the victorious party,⁶ who received them with all the pleasure that timid and coward people show, when their enemy is at their feet. As these people are naturally vainglorious and proud, the victorious party showed their triumph in an insolent manner. They insulted the vanquished, and mocked them with satirical songs, composed by them and sung during their feasts." They did the same before attacking their enemy, in order to excite themselves against him and to encourage themselves to fight.

Weapons.—Bows and arrows were unknown to them. In war, they mainly used a two-ended stick (Pl. 79, fig. 3), called *guagua anum*, made of areca palm wood,⁷ measuring 8 feet in length and 2 inches in diameter in the middle. A few of them were armed, at each end, with human bones with various barbs.⁸

Le Gobien continues: "These bones, which they carve rather well, are so poisonous by their very nature that the least sliver of bone that remains in the wound, is necessarily lethal, and causes death with convulsions of the whole body, some gnashings of the teeth and extraordinary pain, without the possibility, so far, of bringing a remedy to

1 There still exists at Guam the family name of *Babauta*, which means "he who defended our banner." It was probably bestowed upon a man of valor by the people; this name offers, I think, a proof that the ancient, like ourselves, held the defence of the flag in high honor.

2 For this purpose, they used the large baskets of pandanus leaves called *hagag* (Pl. 79, fig. 26).

3 The same men, who were very sober during wartime, were, under other circumstances, avid eaters.

4 The famous Quiroga had stated that the Marianos became the more timid, the more courage was shown them.

5 This comment can only be applied to wars among countrymen, because they have been often seen, during wars against the Spanish, to show some resolve and courage.

6 The shell monies were one of the precious things that they hastened to bring forward, as a guaranty of submission.

7 This wood is very strong when old.

8 It was generally the 'tibia' that was used for these points.

stop the effect of so violent a poison. These barbarians own a large quantity of these spears.”

The *dagau* (Pl. 79, fig. 4), an agricultural tool that we have already presented, sometimes served as an offensive and defensive weapon. The sort of barbed fishing-spear, called *pulus* (Pl. 79, fig. 11), that was used to fish certain fishes and crabs, and whose barbs were made of human bones, or carved in the wood itself, could not be used, even for defence, except in exceptional circumstances, as dictated by custom; however, for reasons that I cannot elucidate, they made it a point of honor not to use them in war-time.

In case of need, they also used, to fend the blows of a spear, the *fudfud*, a stick that was 3 inches in diameter by 5-1/2 feet in length (Pl. 79, fig. 10) which had a tuft of palm leaves at one of its extremities; it was actually meant for use, on feast days, in mock fights, rather than for use as a lethal weapon. The Marianos had no other defensive weapon, and tried to avoid the blows through their agility and the suppleness of their body movements, upon which they relied very much.

The sling [*atupet*] was one of their most effective offensive weapons; they threw stones by this means with so much force that it was not rare to see some penetrate the trunks of trees. Most of the slings were made of woven coir (Pl. 79, fig. 6); others, made of woven pandanus, were much less esteemed. The projectile [*yukpatu*] had the shape that is shown in our Plate 79, fig. 7; each slinger carried a certain quantity in a bag [*balagbag*] that was on his side, hanging from a strap.

The above-mentioned weapons were used mostly when fighting at a certain distance; for hand-to-hand combat they preferred the *damang* and the *katana* [sic], sorts of cutlass and war clubs whose precise shapes can no longer be verified.¹ The ancient inhabitants had the habit of carrying the last-mentioned weapons hanging from their belt, the way the modern ones carry their machetes.

Fortifications.—The art of digging trenches was not unknown to them. During their wars against the Spanish, they knew how to take advantage of the variations in the ground surface to fortify themselves against a powerful enemy; for instance, they knew how to raise a barricade of tree trunks and piled-up stones, dig trenches, defend their perimeter with hidden pits full of poisoned darts, establish a blockade, etc. to trick the enemy and increase their defence. If, according to their superstitions, they thought that the skulls and the bones of their ancestors could be a powerful method of making them invincible, they did not for all that neglect to use other methods to ensure their success in war.

1 I have already mentioned these weapons. I will add that the name *katana* could very well be of Japanese origin... Could this be considered a proof that the Japanese had formerly visited the Marianas? Ed. comment: Not so fast. The word *katana* is a misprint for the Spanish word *macana*, which does mean 'war club' (as shown in any Spanish dictionary produced in Latin America), and is not to be confused with the same word, in Chamorro this time, which means 'witch-doctor' (see Cumulative Index in vol. 20).

Section XII. Colonial administration.

Various authorities.

Let us now look at the administration of the colony of the Marianas as a dependency of Spain. An official bearing the name of Justice of first instance, and civil and political governor exercises superior authority. A Major [*sargento mayor*] is in command of the troop, and acts as second-in-command in the colony.

Below them, there is a commander of the city of Agaña, and seven *alcaldes*, or administrative mayors, distributed throughout Guam and the other inhabited islands of the archipelago, who share in the civil administration; and, in each village or town, a *gobernadorcillo* [small governor], whose functions, under the *alcalde*, resemble somewhat those of our mayors, and who has under him two *alguacils*, or police constables, and one *celador*, or guard, whose purpose it is to watch that the religious regulations are observed. We have assembled the following list of officials who were in place at the time that the *Uranie* visited that neighborhood.

List of the administrative authorities serving in the Mariana Islands in 1819.

Editor's note: Some of the Chamorro family names have been badly transcribed.

Agaña.

Don José de León Guerrero, Captain (retired), Commander of the city and Chief of Police of Agaña and its five dependencies, as follows:

Lower authorities of Anigua:	Gofslagi, <i>gobernadorcillo</i> . Lauriano Taytano, <i>alguacil</i> .
Lower authorities of Asan:	José Laguaña, <i>alguacil</i> . José Mangloña, <i>celador</i> . Pedro Taytano, <i>gobernadorcillo</i> . Francisco Magsnas, <i>alguacil</i> . José Magofña, <i>alguacil</i> . José Atao, <i>celador</i> .
Lower authorities of Tepungan:	Andrés Chargualaf, <i>gobernadorcillo</i> . Mateo Taygito, <i>alguacil</i> . Juan Abollejo, <i>alguacil</i> . José Chargualaf, <i>celador</i> .
Lower authorities of Sinahaña:	José Quidachay, <i>gobernadorcillo</i> . José Gogo, <i>alguacil</i> . Ignacio Finoña, <i>alguacil</i> . Nicolás Achaga, <i>celador</i> .
Lower authorities of Mongmong:	Ignacio Ninaysin, <i>gobernadorcillo</i> . Pedro Naputi, <i>alguacil</i> . Favas Quiguma, <i>alguacil</i> .

Antonio Charfauros, *celador*.

Agat.

Don Juan Taytano, Second-Lieutenant (ret'd), Administrative Mayor.

Lower authorities of Agat: Antonio Anungui, *gobernadorcillo*.
Calletano Guigilog, *alguacil*.
Francisco Eñao, *alguacil*.
Francisco Napuña, *celador*.

Umata.

Don José de Castro, Second-Lieutenant (ret'd), Administrative Mayor of Uma-ta and Merizo.

Lower authorities of Umata: Domingo Quinata, *alguacil*.
Juan Topasña, *gobernadorcillo*.

Lower authorities of Merizo: Luis Tinartico, *alguacil*.
Manuel Gofigam, *alguacil*.
Tomás Chaguiña, *celador*.
Francisco Tedpaogao, *gobernadorcillo*.
Francisco Espinosa, *alguacil*.
Felipe Charguani, *celador*.

Inarahan.

Don José Joaquín de la Cruz, Second-Lieutenant (ret'd), Administrative Mayor of Inarahan and of the royal farm of San José of Dandan.

Lower authorities of Inarahan: Dionicio Meno, *gobernadorcillo*.
Juan Charguani, *alguacil*.
Felipe Nineng, *alguacil*.
Cipriano Naputi, *celador*.

Pago.

Don José de Torres, Second-Lieutenant (ret'd), Administrative Mayor of Pago and the royal farm of Tachuña.

Lower authorities of Pago: José Lazo, *gobernadorcillo*.
José Tanoña, *alguacil*.
Juan Alig, *alguacil*.
Juan Fegurur, *celador*.

Santa Rosa.

In 1819, the post of mayor was vacant.

Rota Island.

Don Juan de Rivera, Second-Lieutenant (ret'd), Administrative Mayor.

Lower authorities of Rota: Juan Emilig, *gobernadorcillo*.
Felipe de la Cruz, Lieutenant of *gobernadorcillo*.
Simonillo Namña, *alguacil*.
Juan Soo, *alguacil*.
Apolinario Orpuz, *celador*.

Tinian Island.

Don Francisco de la Cruz, Captain (ret'd), Administrative Mayor of Tinian and Saipan Islands; he had under him Lieutenant (ret'd) Rafael Iglesias.

Tribunals, punishments.—The judicial authority resides entirely in the hands of the Governor, whose sentences are executory and without appeal. For serious cases, that call for shameful punishments, he can call a council to assist him, consisting of the Major in command of the Troop, the two Captains of the Spanish companies and the Government Secretary; the latter would not take part in the deliberations.

Although this tribunal can pass sentences involving the death penalty, it has become traditional to send the accused who might receive such sentences to Manila to be judged.

The most severe punishments after the death penalty are those involving lashes from a rope or whip, from a maximum of 500 down to a much smaller number, according to the seriousness of the case, and which are applied at various sittings, when the number is too high for the patient to receive them all at one sitting. A theft of a meaningful number of articles not belonging to the state, is usually punished with 100 lashes.

Forced labor for a fixed term, with or without the feet being chained, may not be as painful as the preceding punishment, but one that is as shameful.

The officers of the army, and the officials of the administration, in case of crime, would be sentenced to exile on Rota, Tinian or Saipan, the privation of their salary for a certain time period, or else sent back to Manila, for a more severe examination of their conduct.

Lashes and forced labor are two punishments that can also be applied to women who have caused an abortion.

Prison sentences are given for crimes of lesser importance. Agaña and Umata have specially-built prisons for this purpose, but the other villages have special huts, with shackles to hold the accused provisionally.

The soldiers are subject to penalties of special discipline listed in the code reserved for military men, and it is simply followed.

Ordinances, regulations.—For many years after the colony was established, the royal ordinances sent to the governors of the Marianas had only one purpose: that of

improving the lot of the indigenous population. One can get an idea of all of them by reading the instructions given, in 1678, to Don Juan de Salas, when he came to take possession of the government of these islands; here is the core of these instructions:¹

1. Use the most efficient means of propagating the Christian religion, avoid all scandalous excesses and encourage the natives to become virtuous.

2. Defend and protect the missionaries; build a residence for them at Agaña, and do not change it without their consent.

3. Protect the Indians already subject to the King, defend them against their enemies, treat them with kindness and benevolence, so that they will adhere willingly to the Christian religion, so that others may follow their example; make a census of them, every year, to report their number to His Majesty.

4. Consult with the missionaries regarding the measures to be taken to punish the rebels and evil-doers, in order to act, by consensus, in the most appropriate way.

5. Do not publish any regulation, for the soldiers, the Indians and the other persons in the jurisdiction, until a mature study has been made; however, any act of this nature, once promulgated, must be carried out rigorously, for fear of weakening the respect due to the superior otherwise, which might lead to excesses.

6. Do not allow the soldiers to keep weapons in their houses, nor to take them out of the fort, once it has been built.

7. Treat favorably the natives who will join the side of the Spanish, and reward them by granting them land for cultivation in order to provide them with subsistence.

8. Reward individuals who would have rendered an important service, and give them positions within their capacity; never despoil them of their properties, unless they commit serious crimes while in the service of His Majesty.

9. Once the island has been completely pacified, provide Second-Lieutenant Francisco Ruiz with the means to survey the coasts, make soundings and find out whether or not there exists, in the southern part of Guam, a better port than the one at Umata, where the vessel that must be built for the service of these islands can spend the winter.

10.² Pass in review, every month, the men in the service of His Majesty, and take note of what they would have consumed during that time, in weapons, ammunitions and equipment of all kinds, in order to punish severely those who might have misused or alienated any of them.

11. Do not interfere with the missionaries regarding the persons in their service, unless some crime be committed by such persons.

12. Do not create new towns, and do not select any site for this purpose, without having first consulted the superior of the mission.

13. Do not prevent the missionaries from procuring from among the natives food supplies for themselves and their people, because one must suppose that this will be done by lawful means.

1 Ed. note: See the original list of articles, in HM7: 89-92.

2 Ed. note: The original n° 10, regarding the salvage of the galleon Concepción, is omitted here.

14. Provide them with the necessary escort in their voyages or other functions, at the request of the superior.

15. Do not let them misuse the supplies given to them for their subsistence, which should always be delivered to the superior.

16. Do not agree, under any pretext, that the natives be made slaves; however, let them enjoy their freedom without oppressing them or forcing them to do more work that appropriate, and always paying them a salary, according to the norms fixed by His Majesty in his numerous orders.

17. In the case of a crime calling for the mutilation of a member¹ or the death penalty, do not execute the sentence without first getting the opinion of the four most senior officers, and recording such opinions, in the manner stated to said governor, and let his successors do likewise.

18. If he, or the superior, had given his word, to pardon one of the criminals who would have deserved the death penalty, he is to comply with said promise and pardon him in the name of His Majesty.

19. Every year, during the month of June, he is to cause fires to be lit from 10 p.m. until daybreak, on the highest part of the island, to direct the ships that might navigate in these neighborhoods,² and also light fires during the month of May, if a report has been received that some ship has had to spend the winter at the port of Acapulco.³

Two years later, Governor José de Quiroga was given the same instructions, but the following articles were added:

⁴
...

The King, in a royal order dated 28 May 1741, and after a representation made in 1735 by the Governor of the Marianas regarding the steady decline in the population of these islands, ordered "that the women be free from all work contrary to their sex, and to assign the men to the cultivation of the soil, without denying them their freedom, nor compelling them to other types of work, by distributing land to them and forcing them to cultivate them; he forbid, under severe penalties, that no wine called nipa wine be transported from the Philippines to the Marianas, nor any other type of drink, except wine made from grapes, and that he permitted the production of coconut oil, tobacco, sugar, and other products that had been prohibited them by some crafty individuals who derived large profits from such a production; that the vessel that usually go to the Marianas every two years should transport from 4 to 6 families of Filipino

1 It appears that this sort of punishment is no longer in use.

2 It was the season when the galleon went from the Philippines to Mexico. Ed. comment: Incorrect; it was the season when she came from Acapulco.

3 Ed. note: Such galleons would have had ample time to load, and be ready to come back to Manila about one month earlier than normal.

4 Ed. note: Already reproduced in HM7: 290-293.

Indians or mestizos, who would enjoy the [tax] exemptions granted to settlers, and that the Governors of the Marianas would be punished if they did not carry out his orders or denied said families from keeping said privileges.”¹

As a consequence of this order, which did not reach the Marianas until a few years later, Governor Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, gave orders, in May 1753, to the administrative mayors of the districts of these islands, as follows:

1. Prevent women from being employed in heavy works, either in the service of His Majesty or of individuals, but let them weave sails for canoes, mats and roof shingles.

2. Do not force the natives to do work beyond their strength, but only force them to raise barnyard fowl and animals; have them cultivate the soil so that they harvest 20 *cabans* of rice, 40 *cabans* of corn, and 3,000 [starchy] roots every year; have them sow every year 15 coconut trees, 12 cotton trees and have them harvest their fruits; have them maintain plots of tobacco, sugarcane to make syrup and sugar, if possible; have them make coconut oil and wine, as well as anything else that might be useful to their households. They are to be allowed to sell the said food supplies at the published rates.

3. Take special care to have the natives taught the dogmas of the Catholic religion, and have them practice good customs.

4. Do not allow any native to marry, unless he first builds a house for her.

There are royal orders to remind the governors of the paternal intentions of the king in favor of the natives, to prevent them from being harassed and to make sure that they would not be denied the prerogatives granted to the subjects of His Majesty; such orders bear the dates of 1739, 1750(?), 1759, 1770, 1771, 1776 and 1786.

Finances.—The expenditures incurred by the colony were formerly covered almost completely by a yearly subsidy from the royal treasury in New Spain, which was brought regularly by the galleon in her voyage from Acapulco to the Philippines. This income was increased slightly, in 1786, by revenue from a new tithe, or per capita tax, as well as small taxes imposed on the manufacture of coconut wine and on cockfights, for the maintenance of poor lepers.

The annual subsidy, sent from Mexico, to meet the administrative expenses of the Marianas was 20,137 pesos and 4 reals, equivalent to 109,346 French francs and 62 cents. Here is how this money was distributed:

1 Ed. note: See HM13: 449-450.

Category	Use of funds	Yearly sum
Expenses made in Mexico:	Clothes for the soldiers, cloaks, hats, soap, medicinal drugs, copper utensils, buttons, etc; collection fees, agent's commission, freight and loading charges at Acapulco of said merchandise	2,500p 0r
Salaries:	Governor	826 0
	Major	412 4
	Senior Adjutant	168 0
	2 Adjutants	288 0
	2 Infantry Captains, Spanish Co.	528 0
	1 Captain, Pampanga Company	168 0
	2 Lieutenants, Spanish Companies	288 0
	1 Lieutenant, Pampanga Company	120 0
	4 retired Captains	336 0
	1 Artillery Captain	144 0
	1 Works Superintendent	192 0
	1 Government Secretary	144 0
	Commander of the city of Agaña and militia, 7 Administrative Mayors of Districts, including those of Rota and Tinian	1,152 0
	1 Surgeon	168 0
	1 Store-keeper	144 0
	1 Master carpenter	168 0
	1 Master blacksmith	108 0
	1 School-master of Agaña	66 0
	1 Sergeant begging alms for the souls in purgatory	132 0
	2 soldiers acting as barbers	264 0
	6 Sergeants in the Spanish Company	720 0
	57 Corporals, cadets, soldiers and drummers, id.	4,788 0
	3 Sergeants in the Pampanga Company	288 0
	33 Corporals, cadets, soldiers and drummers, id.	2,178 0
	13 invalids	312 0
Incidental authorized expenses:	Gratuity given every year to the staff officers and soldiers, on the feast-day of Our Lady of Conception, patroness of the garrison	300 0
	Annual grant to the curate of Agaña, for masses said during the novena of the dead, the feast that the church celebrates in that period, and the burials of deceased military men	50 0
	Total expenses:	16,951 4

Balance.		
	Credit opened on the Mexican treasury	20,137 4
	Expenses according to above statement	16,951 4
	Surplus	3,186 0

It is with the last-mentioned sum that the salaries of the store clerks are paid as well as those of the boys in charge of the pig styes and the care of other cattle; the expenses incurred in the cultivation of government lands; the wages of the natives, and the food supplies bought from them for the sustenance of the staff officers and soldiers; the expenses involved with the fishing and hunting expeditions made to Tinian; the purchases of iron for hinges and nails for buildings, boats, carts, gun carriages, etc.; the clothing of the lepers living in the leper hospitals, and that of 12 apostles on Holy Thursdays.

The previous financial statement gives only bulk expenditures for certain categories of employees; the following table [next page] gives even more details about such expenditures.

I have found a document of 1802 that contains still more information that should be brought to the attention of the reader, if only to show how a European system of government has changed the local social system and affected the lower classes that depend on it for their survival.

Daily wages.—Daily wages of 1 real each were paid to field workers, to those rowing the boats and to other labourers. A carpenter, sawyer, caulker, mason, blacksmith and other tradesmen got 1 real 5 grains per day. The pilot of the canoes going to Rota and Tinian received the same amount. The sailors aboard these canoes received 1 real. However, both pilot and sailors received only 25 grains per day when they were on standby. The same men, when they were busy hunting and fishing at Tinian, received 1 real per day. In Guam, the men sent from one village to another for the need of the service, by land or sea, with or without a load received 1 real per day each. All of these labourers also received their ration of *atole* early in the morning; at noon and afternoon, they received tortilla, coconut brandy and one pound of meat or fish; finally, more *atole* at suppertime.

The following workers were paid by month, or year, as follows:

- Cook: 1p 2r per month, i.e. 15 pesos per year;
- Valet, 24 years of age or more, working in the fields, or in the store: 1p 2r per month, or 15 pesos per year;
- Idem, between 18 and 24 years of age: 12 pesos per year;
- Idem, between 14 and 18: 9 pesos per year;
- Idem, between 10 and 14: 6 pesos per year;¹
- Domestic servant, working inside the house: nothing, but he was lodged, fed and clothed, and his master had to look after his education in the Christian doctrine;
- Hen-keeper: 12 pesos per year, plus food;
- Pig-keeper: 15 pesos per year, plus food and one pair of sandals per month;
- Horse-keeper, at Tachuña: 18 pesos per year, plus food and one pair of sandals per month.

¹ The above group received, in addition, their food and one pair of sandals every month.

Statement, for January 1817, of the salaries granted to each person
belonging to the administration and the garrison of the Marianas.

Rank or position	Per day	Per month	Per year
Governor appointed by the king	3p 5r 4g,0	110p 0r	1,320p 0r
Governor appointed by Manila ¹	2 2 4,0	68 6	825 0
Major appointed by the king	2 2 4,0	68 6	825 0
Major appointed by Manila ²	1 1 2,0	34 3	412 4
Senior Adjutant	0 3 8,8	14 0	168 0
Surgeon	0 3 8,8	14 0	168 0
Infantry captain of Spanish company	0 5 10,4	22 0	264 0
Superintendent of royal workshops	0 4 3,2	16 0	192 0
Government secretary	0 3 2,4	12 0	144 0
Artillery captain	0 3 2,4	12 0	144 0
Commander of the city of Agaña	0 3 2,4	12 0	144 0
Infantry Lieutenant of Spanish company	0 3 2,4	12 0	144 0
Adjutant	0 3 2,4	12 0	144 0
Administrative mayor	0 3 2,4	12 0	144 0
Store-keeper	0 3 2,4	12 0	144 0
Infantry Sergeant of Spanish company	0 2 8,0	10 0	120 0
Master blacksmith	0 2 4,8	9 0	108 0
Soldier barber	0 2 11,2	11 0	132 0
Soldier gunsmith	0 2 1,6	8 0	96 0
Corporals, cadets, soldiers, drummers, each	0 1 10,4	7 0	84 0
Infantry Captain of Pampanga company	0 3 8,8	14 0	168 0
Chief of royal workshops	0 3 8,8	14 0	168 0
Master carpenter	0 3 8,8	14 0	168 0
Infantry Lieutenant of Pampanga company	0 2 8,0	10 0	120 0
Infantry Sergeant of Pampanga company	0 2 1,6	8 0	96 0
Corporals, cadets, soldiers, drummers of id., each	0 1 5,6	5 4	66 0
Invalid	0 0 6,4	2 0	24 0
Retired Captain	0 1 10,4	7 0	84 0
Sergeant beggar for the souls	0 2 11,2	11 0	132 0
Curate of the city of Agaña ³	0 6 8,0	25 0	300 0
School-master of Agaña ⁴	0 1 5,6	5 4	66 0
School-master in a village ... Formerly ⁵	0 0 6,4	2 0	24 0
Id. Today (1817)	0 0 4,0	1 2	15 0

- 1 Formerly Mexico. The Governors of the Marianas are sometimes appointed by the Governor General of the Philippines; this appointment can only be provisional, since they can only hold their commission from the king. There is never an interim governor serving at the same time as a titular one. In 1817, Mr. Medinilla had been appointed by the king.
- 2 Formerly Mexico. Same remark as above, for the Major, who is really the Lieutenant-governor.
- 3 The curate of Agaña receives, in addition, 5 pesos per year, for the maintenance of two lamps burning night and day before the Holy Sacrament in the church.
- 4 In addition, he receives a daily ration and lodging from the government.
- 5 Until 1812, they received 2 pesos per month, but this was reduced to 1 peso 4 reals, but they get their rations, in kind.

Money in circulation.—It would be difficult to estimate exactly what this amount could be. However, at the time of our visit at Guam, it could not be very high. Those who had pesos were reluctant to use them, and preferred to get their supplies by way of barter.

Small coins were even scarcer; we could hardly see some reals and half-reals. There were more coins when the galleons brought Mexican money during their regular voyages between Acapulco and Manila...

Collection of tithes, or per capita taxes.¹—In 1786 some instructions had been given to Governor José Arleguá y Leóz to begin collecting tithes in the Mariana Islands. The net income derived from this tax, in 1786, amounted to 132 pesos. In fact, such tithes were paid in kind, and the articles valued in accordance with a list of current prices; the two tax collectors got 10% of the gross income as their commission.

In 1818, the net income from this tax amounted to only 81 pesos, plus a few coins.

Expenditures of the Royal College.—At the time of conquest of the Marianas by the Spanish, the king assigned, for the maintenance of the students of the College of San Juan of Letrán and the other persons attached to it, a sum of 3,000 pesos per year, which was paid out of the royal coffers in Mexico for a long time. However, given that this was not always possible, either for lack of transport or for lack of supplies to send, there resulted some savings which were invested later at Manila and formed a capital of about 160,000 pesos; this sum is today an important trust fund for the institution in question. A special administrator also acts as its director, under the supervision of the Governor of the Philippines.

Here are the personnel and their compensations at the present time:

—The Captain of the first Spanish infantry company is presently the titular administrator of the college; to this effect, he receives a gratuity of 8 pesos per year, in addition to his regular salary as a commissioned officer;

—The controller supervising the workers on the farms belonging to the college: 52 pesos per year, plus 1/2 caban of rice, 30 tablets of chocolate, 4 pounds of sugar, 4 pieces of soap, 1 mano of tobacco, 1 tinaja of corn, 1 ganta of salt, 2 botijas of oil, per month; 1 cup of fat per week and 2 pounds of meat or fish per day;

—School and music master: 52 pesos per year, plus the same rations as the controller;

—Second school-master: 52 pesos per year, plus 1 tinaja of corn and 4 palillos of tobacco per month, and 1 pound of meat per day;

—Farmer and three farm boys taking care of the corn fields, 37 pesos per year, each, plus 8 palillos of tobacco, 2 tinajas of corn per month and 2 pounds of meat per day;

—Cow-boy and three boys taking care of the cows and pigs: 37 pesos per year, each, plus each week 1 chikigit of corn and 2 palillos of tobacco;

¹ Ed. note: I have summarized the information given by Freycinet.

—Cook, serving both the students and the sick: 37 pesos per year, plus 1 tinaja of corn per month, 1 palillo of tobacco per week, and 1 pound of meat per day.

Therefore, the actual money spent for these employees was 148 pesos per year.

We will complete the picture by giving a list of the students and employees of this institution at the time of our visit.

List of the individuals who belonged, in 1818, to the College of San Juan of Letrán, in Agaña.

Director:	Governor José de Medinilla y Pineda.
Administrator:	Captain Justo de la Cruz.
First school and music master:	Ignacio Chargualaf.
Students: ¹	José Gogui; José Masga; Pioquinto Topasña; Mariano Guihilo; Luís Guitano; Carlos Terguamno; Vicente Mafnas; Miguel Guiguma; Ignacio Gogo; Luís de Borja; José Taytano; Claudio Angoco; Nicolás Camacho; Tomás Muña; Ramón Dueñas; Pedro de San Nicolás; Eduardo Finoña; and Juan Taysacan.
Apprentice tradesmen (12):	Ignacio Soyoña, shoemaking; Francisco Nauta, id.; José Taytano, id.; Tomás Tedtaotao, tailoring; Domingo Chatguani, id.; Pedro Taytagui, carpentry, furniture-making and lathe operator; José Atoygui, id.; José Guidachay, id.; Benancio Aloc, id.; José Gofigam, id.; Claudio Guitano, blacksmithing, locksmithing; Francisco Gogui, id.;
Other employees:	Second school-master; Controller of the estates at Toto, etc.; Farmer and three farm boys; Cow-boy and three boys; Cook.

There were then 30 students, and they were fed, clothed with clothes brought from Manila. Their number was, in fact, unlimited, as the director could admit as many as he liked.

Personnel.—The army, in 1819, had 112 officers and men serving as regulars, but when the retired officers and the invalids were taken into account, the number of personnel was 145 men. In case of an invasion, a militia could be raised; the number of men able to serve in this militia could be estimated at one-fifth of the male population: this would therefore be 1,415 militiamen for the whole island of Guam, and 881 for the city of Agaña.

¹ Those following classes, 18 of them.

Summary of the total officers and men of the garrison of the Mariana Islands, in 1812, 1816 and 1818.

Year	Officers	NCOs	Soldiers	Drummers	Total
1812	25	25	79	3	154
1816	9	29	72	3	147
1818	9	23	77	3	145

In 1818, the serving officers were, by order of precedence:

- Major Luís de Torres;
- Senior Adjutant Manuel Tiburcio Garrido;
- Captain Justo de la Cruz;
- Captain Antonio Guerrero;
- Lieutenant Antonio Palomo;
- Lieutenant José Garrido;
- Captain Ignacio Espinosa, of the Pampanga Company;
- Lieutenant José Ulloa, of id.

The recruitment for the regular service is voluntary, and takes place for a limited period, or an unlimited period, at the choice of the applicant. Many soldiers are happy to serve for life; besides, they can apply for leave of absence, whenever they wish, and have the right to receive a pension for invalidity or retirement, after a certain number of years of service.

In case of war, the militiamen would receive the same salary and food rations as the regular soldiers. However, there were too few rifles available for them all, and some spears and slings would have had to be used. The militia is exercised once a year, as is the regular troop.

Materiel.—At the time of the visit of Captain Crozet [1772], the artillery and the forts defending the approaches of the island of Guam amounted to:

- At Agaña: 1 fort with 5 guns, 2-pounders;
- At Port San Luís: 1 bastion with 6 guns, caliber 6 and 8;
- At Umata: 1 fort with 5 guns, 6 and 8; 1 battery with 2 guns;
- At Merizo: 1 battery with 3 guns, 6-pounders.

The last-mentioned battery no longer exists. As far as the artillery in the other parts of Guam, the remaining guns are distributed as follows:

List of the artillery existing in the Marianas in 1819.

Editor's notes: I omit the details of the ammunitions; suffice to say that there were a total of 189 arrobas of gun-powder available, and 630 iron cannon balls in good condition (2,182 were unserviceable).

A = Couleverins; B = Brass guns; C = Iron guns in good condition; D = Iron guns, unserviceable.

		A	B	C	D
Agaña	3-pounders	...	6		
	2-pounders	...	2		
Port of San Luís of Apra:					
	Fort Santa Cruz 12-pounders	...	...	2	
	8-pounders		2		
	6-pounders	...	...	...	1
	Gun boats ... 4-pounders	...	3		
	Fort Santiago, Orote Point 12-pounders	...	...	4	
	6-pounders	...	...	2	2
Umata ...	Fort San José 6-pounders	...	...	...	3
	Fort N. S. de la Soledad 8-pounders	...	...	...	1
	6-pounders	...	...	...	3
	Fort [sic] N. S. del Carmen 4-pounders	...	...	...	3
		---	---	---	---
		2	11	8	13

The inventory of the weapons and military equipment in the storehouses and barracks of the colony are given in the following list, which will end this chapter.

List of weapons and equipment, 1819	Serviceable	Unserviceable
Rifles with bayonets	651	37 ¹
Extra bayonets	34	7
Sabers	60	35
Halberds .....	...	104
Lances	100	14
Pikes .....	...	4
Old-fashioned halberds	8	
Uniform coats	106	
White trousers	106	
White jackets	106	
Collars	106	
Boots (pairs)	106	
Hats	106	
Shoes (pairs)	106	
Shoulder straps	106	
Cartridge belts	106	
Vessels:		
Schooner (under construction)	1	
Gun boats ²	3	
Launch and yawl	2	
Carolinian canoes	7	

1 The unserviceable rifles have no bayonets.

2 One boat, as well as the launch and yawl mentioned below, came from the shipwreck of the frigate Santiago.

Book 4, Chapter 27: Passage from Guam to the Sandwich Islands—Stay at the latter islands.

June 1819.

The exploration of the part of the Marianas that lie north of Guam occupied us from the 5th to the 17th of June, and resulted in the remarks that we have previously reported, not only in this historical part but also in the nautical and hydrographic part of this Voyage. Wishing to speed up our crossing to the Sandwich Islands, where more operational work awaited us, we took the opportunity of a favorable breeze to increase our latitude and look for the necessary winds that would favor our plan.

On the 18th, we crossed the anti-meridian of Paris, a circumstance of little importance in itself, but one that reminded us that our friends in France were seeing their clocks mark midnight, when ours said noon.

...

CAMPAGNE DE L' « URANIE »
(1817-1820)

JOURNAL
DE
MADAME ROSE
DE SAULCES DE FREYCINET

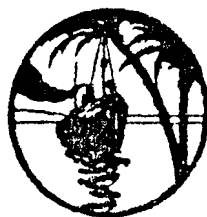
D'APRÈS LE MANUSCRIT ORIGINAL

ACCOMPAGNÉ DE NOTES

PAR

CHARLES DUPLOMB

DIRECTEUR HONORAIRE AU MINISTÈRE DE LA MARINE



PARIS
SOCIÉTÉ D'ÉDITIONS
GÉOGRAPHIQUES, MARITIMES ET COLONIALES
184, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN (VI^e)

1927

Title page of Mrs. Freycinet's book.

Document 1819E

The Freycinet Expedition—Narrative of Mrs. Freycinet

*Sources: 1) Madame de Freycinet's journal; 2) published in French, in 1927; 3) translated into English and edited by Marnie [Masson] Bassett, as *Realms and Islands: The World Voyage of Rose de Freycinet in the Corvette Uranie 1817-1820* (London, 1962).*

Note: My own translation follows. Bassett's translation is not complete.

Journal of Mrs. Rose de Saulces de Freycinet

**After her original manuscript. With notes by Charles Duplomb,
Honorary Director at the Ministry of the Navy.¹**

...

Preface.

The journal of Mrs. Rose de Saulces de Freycinet, which is published today for the first time [1927], is a private journal, written day by day, without any pretention of style, in which she often lets “her heart speak without thinking of anything else.”

...

The original manuscript that I have used, which was gracefully loaned to me by Baron Freycinet, has one year missing, for the period beginning 23 October 1818, date at which the *Uranie* left Timor, until 18 November 1819, date at which the ship arrived at Port Jackson. This gap affects the visit to the Moluccas, the Carolines, the Marianas, and the Sandwich Islands, in other words, the more interesting part of the voyage of the *Uranie*.

However, at the same time that she was writing her journal, to record daily events, Mrs. Freycinet would write to her mother letters in which she narrated in detail what she had seen in these Pacific islands, whose customs were so little known then, and showed herself skilled in “the ingenious art of painting with words and speaking to the eyes.”

¹ Ed. note: Duplomb was the editor of this journal. He wrote the preface that follows, that reveals that the excerpts reproduced here were really taken from letters that Mrs. Freycinet wrote to her mother.

It was therefore easy for me to fill the gap in question in her journal, regrettable as may be, by giving purely and simply an extract of the letters that Mrs. Freycinet wrote to her mother.

...

Jacques Arago, the brother of the famous scientist, was painter aboard the corvette, and having been an eyewitness throughout the expedition, has recorded facts that were also interesting.

The present Baron Freycinet, son of Captain Freycinet's nephew, has so kindly placed many drawings, signed by J. Arago at my disposal; they are his original sketches, still unpublished [in 1927]. Such sketches are lively and faithful images, because they were drawn on the spot, at the time. Their publication, I am convinced, will greatly be appreciated by the reader.¹

I do not wish to conclude this preface without thanking the General Secretary of the Society of Geography, Mr. Grandidier, for the interest he has shown in my publication.

C.D.

...

[From Timor to the Marianas]

We did not go near any land since we left the damp islands of Rawak and Waigiu, where we have caught part of the sickness that is affecting us, and we see it increase day by day... My own health is holding amid so much misery and I keep up my hopes. This piece of luck seems to me so miraculous that I have become convinced that a wise Providence watches over me, and only wants to test my courage. Such serious thoughts explain my long silence. Should I write to you more often, only to record mere complaints?

[Letter dated 14 March 1819]

After we sighted, but only from a distance, the small Anacoretas Islands and the Admiralty Islands, while we were floating between calm weather and rain storms, the only incident that suscitated some interest, some time ago, was the sight of a large school of fish, shaped like rays, but huge in size, with long horns on the head. By chance, I was the only person who saw them rather well. That is why I made a sketch of them, because it appears that this species of fish is not known [to science as yet].

On the 12th of this month, we reached the Caroline Islands. We did not stop, hoping to get to the Mariana Islands within a few days. Overthere, there is a Spanish settlement, whereas there are only savages in the Carolines, but what lovely savages!

1 An important album of drawings about the voyage of the *Uranie* has already been published with the official narrative of the voyage. However, those drawings are inspired by those that I publish today, and they are, I repeat, the original versions. Ed. comments: So says Duplomb. Some of these original sketches were still unpublished in 1999, when I saw what remains of the collection, as acquired by the Saipan Museum of History and Culture.

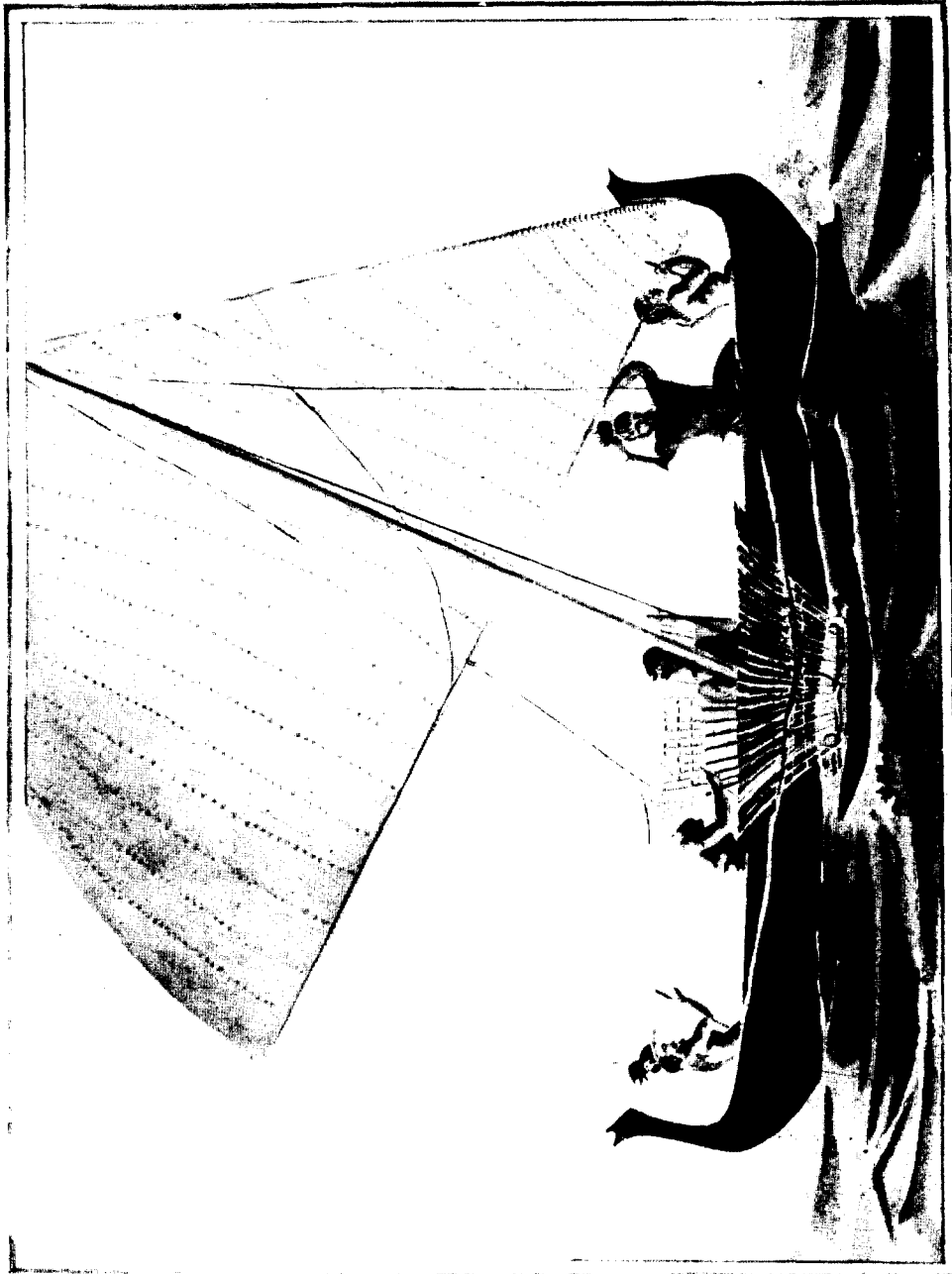
Indeed, as soon as our corvette was spotted, a large number of large and small canoes, very remarkable by their particular style and elegance, surrounded the ship and began trading in earnest. We were supplied with fresh fish, coconuts, cloaks, etc. Soon, the Carolinian came on board. In general, they have pleasing features. Almost naked, except for a belt, they are like the other savages. Their arms and legs are tattooed with blue ink. The chiefs wear a cloak through which there is a hole to pass the head, which make this cloak look like a chasuble. Their ear [lobes] are slit, stretched, and hanging down. In this slit, a few of them place big yellow flowers and leafy twigs. Their skin tone is rather light and their facial features open, lively and funny. Their good humor is specially remarkable. The slightest thing makes them laugh aloud. On the least insinuation, they began to dance. Their bartering is done in good faith. In fact, between them, they only had one spear, something which proves that they are peaceful people. They willingly traded the spear. They handle their canoes with an incredible skill and these canoes are true works of art. They have a very graceful shape, are painted and varnished in red with black borders, like the pots that come from China [to France]. Not only do they use these frail vessels to sail in the open sea, but, when some of them collided with one another near the corvette, one capsized, but none of the savages showed any fear. By a very skilful maneuver, the canoe in question was soon floating again and its riders were as happy as if nothing had happened.

17 March.

Praise be to God! We have been living on board for five months. Finally, we are getting near a stopover point which, no doubt, will help our sick to recover and will get us some fresh food. We are able to judge that our hope is well founded, because we had not yet reached the anchorage when a boat came alongside, carrying an officer who came on behalf of the Spanish Governor, Don José de Medinilla y Pineda, to find out who we were. Satisfied on this score, he let us tack and went back ashore. We had hardly had time to drop our anchor when another boat arrived, loaded with fresh provisions, immediately available. There was meat, fish, vegetables, fruits, etc. The manna in the wilderness was not received with greater joy and gratitude by the Israelites. What special care on the part of this good Governor! I had not yet met him but this good action prejudiced me in his favor; in fact, his excellent character soon became obvious.

It was yesterday evening that we anchored in this bay, and were so kindly received. This morning, at 7 a.m., Louis sent his first Lieutenant to the Governor to thank him, to talk about the salute, and to announce that at noon he would visit His Excellency and present him his staff. After Mr. Lamarche returned, 21 guns were fired on both sides. Then, at 9 o'clock, to our great surprise, Mr. Medinilla came on board, accompanied by his Sergeant-Major, Don Luis de Torres.

The good governor inquired into our condition with great interest, he promised to provide our needs, within the limits of the sparse resources that his Colony offered, but assuring us that everything that he owned was at our service. A short time after the departure of Mr. Medinilla, Louis and his staff went ashore to return his visit, and my



Carolinian canoe under sail.



(Overleaf:) **Umatac Harbor**, by J. Arago.

husband has just sent word that he would not be in for dinner.¹ I am not surprised. A stay ashore being the remedy that must be given to the sick as soon as possible, after a long sea voyage, Louis planned to arrange without delay for a place to shelter the sickest among the crew. This care, and others, will no doubt retain him ashore for the rest of the day. As for myself, I chose to chat with you, but only after I had gorged myself on some bananas and a cup of an excellent milk, not to mention a very tender purslane salad. Please do not laugh at these objects of my sensuality; they were judged at their just value, after many months spent so far from land.

Umatac Bay is neither deep nor enclosed. From where I am now, the town does not appear to be very big. Only a few stone buildings can be seen; one is the Governor's palace, another is the church that sits next to a convent. Spanish is the language spoken here, and what I know of Italian has helped me more than I would have thought to understand this language. Moreover, the Provençal language, which I learned a little when I was in Toulon and in Marseille, comes in handy as well.

18 March.

Yesterday, Louis came back early, and happy that he had found a place for the sick, inside the convent of the Discalced Augustinians. There they will find a healthy and comfortable place, but it will be for a few days only; indeed, Umatac is not the usual residence of the governor, who came here only to meet us. Moreover, except for water, which is very good and easier to take on here than at Agaña, everything we need would have to come from that capital of the island. That is why it was agreed with Mr. Medinilla, to move the corvette to the port of San Luis de Apra, near Agaña, as soon as watering is complete. As for us, personally, we will stay on board until the move, and I am not unhappy about this. When Louis and his officers went ashore yesterday, to make an official visit to the Governor, he invited them all to return to dine with him, adding very politely that from now on he wished these gentlemen to consider his house as their own. After they had very willingly accepted such a pleasant offer, every one began to run throughout the town. My husband went looking for lodgings, and found those that I mentioned to you. He was overwhelmed by fatigue and the heat when he returned to the governor's, to find a table ready and loaded with fruits and light pastries, in the center of which were placed two large bowls of punch. Upon seeing this service, which seemed strange to him, Louis began dreaming that, maybe, it was a day of fasting in the island; what mortified him the most was that the meal in question, which he believed was dinner, had to be partaken while standing. However, as one must accept the customs of the place visited, Louis did not think of doing any thing other than satisfy himself with whatever was presented him, with his usual good appetite. Soon, however,

1 Ed. note: Dinner in the old sense of the French word, was a noon-time meal. The Spanish already had begun the custom of eating it later, after their siesta (see below).

what a surprise! The table was cleared and reloaded with all sorts of dishes, arranged in a thousand manners, in other words, a very good dinner. The lunch that preceded it is called “refresco” and was meant only to give appetite. It is an old custom that comes from Manila. It would have been good to know this ahead of time. I will not forget it today, because I have been invited to dine at the governor’s.

20 March.

The sick are all ashore, since yesterday morning. The palanquin is not used here, to transport persons who cannot walk; instead they use net-type hammocks that are a good substitute. Louis personally escorted Abbé Quélen [the chaplain] who was transported in his hammock to the house of the Governor, who wants to lodge him and take care of him. I also disembarked to accept Mr. Medinilla’s invitation. We were about 50 persons at the table, because, besides the staff of the *Uranie*, there were also present the leading citizens of the country. In addition, there were also all of the passengers and the officers of the Spanish ship, *La Paz*, which will leave the day after yesterday. I was the only woman present. What a dinner, my goodness! It would be fair to sing its praise, in the fashion of certain travellers:

[French]

*Toi qui présides aux repas,
O Muse! sois-moi favorable;
Décris avec nous tous les plats
Qui parurent sur cette table.*

[Translation]

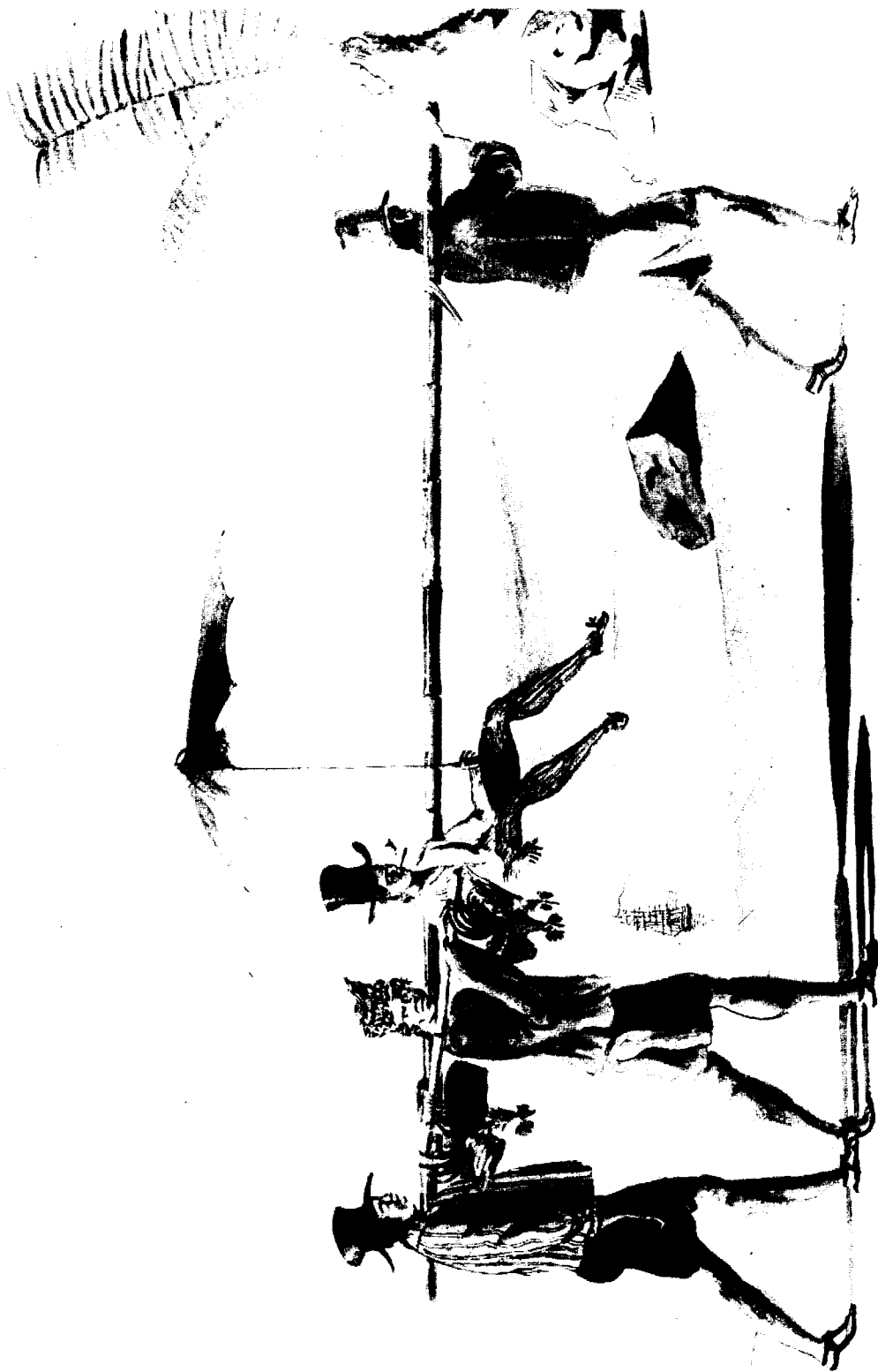
You, who preside to all repasts,
To me, O Muse! be favorable;
And help me describe all the dishes
That appeared upon that table.

However, this description would be too long, because someone pretends that he has counted 44 dishes to every service, and there were three complete services. The same observer assures me that, to make up this meal, two cows and three large pigs had been killed, not to mention the numberless animals from the forest, the backyard, and the sea. Since Gamache’s wedding, I have not heard, I believe, of so much slaughter.¹ Perhaps the Governor thought that, no doubt, people who have suffered privations at sea for so long, deserved to be treated with profusion. The dessert was no less abundant, and varied, but was not the conclusion of the meal either. Its leftovers were removed, and replaced by tea, coffee, cream, liquors of all sorts. As the so-called “refresco” had only been served one hour before, according to the custom, you will agree with me that certain food-loving characters whom we know would have only regretted the lack of space in their stomachs. The Governor’s celebration of his patron saint today will once again make us gather at his house *in fiocchi*²

Yesterday, after dinner, I was led on a visit of the town of Umatac. It was soon over, because it is neither large, nor beautiful, or even well populated. What I found most

1 Ed. note: A reference to the famous wedding of a rich peasant in the novel *Don Quixote*.

2 Ed. note: Italian expression meaning “as a flock.”



Guam: hammock used to transport gentlemen.

pleasing was the long alley, shaded by two rows of orange and lemon trees. Beyond these trees can be seen houses shaded by tall coconut trees. This road leads, along the seashore, from the house, or if you prefer, the palace of the Governor, to the fort named San Angelo,¹ which is on a rise. In the evening, I took a pleasant stroll along this alley, before returning on board. During this stroll, I was presented with a request, whose purpose you will undoubtedly never guess. It was such that I will not dare tell you about it, except by means of a periphrase—if only because my narratives have made you accustomed to some strange things of late. The wife of a sergeant came out of her house to greet the Governor. Then, she went near Louis' secretary, who speaks Spanish and sometimes serves us as an interpreter. After a thousand compliments that she made to him and a thousand exclamations, on what she called my charming figure and my beautiful curly hair, she begged me, insistingly, to ask on her behalf, to be invited on board... to kill my lice! Imagine that this poor woman could not be persuaded that my hair was not inhabited, and she was so surprised to hear from the one she was speaking to, that my services were absolutely not required.

I believe that we will leave Umatac in a few days, to go and settle in the capital of the island. I will probably have enough leisure time to tell you more about the people of the Marianas who look like no other than I have seen.

Agaña, 4 April 1919.

Here we are, in a new settlement, and well lodged at the house of the good Governor of Guam. He has given us a pleasing and comfortable apartment inside his palace. It is simply furnished but not lacking in any thing necessary.

13 April, Easter Sunday.

You must expect me to describe many religious scenes during this stopover, which the need of our sick will necessarily make a long one. The people of the Marianas are not fond of external religious practices, only because they are subject to Spanish domination. They are so for yet another reason: the Jesuits had missions in these islands a long time ago, with much success, as many of them have suffered martyrdom, after they had led very saintly lives. So, there must have been a double reason to incline the people toward piety, given that, according to Tertulian, the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians, but the good example of those in charge of them has a salutary effect. The holidays and feast-days are here very numerous. I have even notices that all of the inhabitants, men and women, bear the scapulary on top of their clothes, and those who can afford it have a large rosary in addition to that.

Last Thursday, which was Maundy Thursday, great ceremonies took place. The Governor took the statutory communion. At the end of the mass, and after the holy sacrament had been placed back inside the tabernacle, the curate placed around Louis' neck a ribbon laced with gold, that held the key to the tabernacle. It was an honor that

¹ Rather Santo Angel, in Spanish.

Mr. Medinilla had deferred to the Commander, one that was not linked with some disadvantage for the latter; the honor carried with it the obligation of carrying the cross at the head of the procession, that winds its way around the town, when the heat was unbearable. So, the Governor was placed in a position that he had to apologize profusely to Louis, for having caused him so much suffering in deferring this honor to him. The staff of the **Uranie** joined the procession and behaved very decently.

This morning, there was another high mass, and yet another procession. This time, Louis bore only a serious and solemn composure, one that I find such a good example. Only a severe admonishment from our doctor prevented Abbé Quélen from joining us. So far, he can only walk with a cane. He has been told that, next Sunday, he will be able to go to church. I sincerely hope that he can do it.

13 April.

Yesterday, when I was happily, and quietly, conversing with you, I was suddenly robbed of this pleasure by the fear caused in me by an earthquake. It lasted about half a minute, but it was accompanied by so many creakings from all over the house that I thought it could collapse on top of our heads. Louis was then with the Governor; they each ran in different directions. My husband, guessing my fear, ran over to me. I had already fled to a pretty terrace, which connects with our outer room. Just imagine that the shocks were shaking the earth, like waves upon the ocean. The tiles on the roof kept on rattling, and I expected that they would all fall, but no serious accident resulted from this earthquake. Such events are not rare in this country, it seems, because that very night, we were awakened by yet another quake that lasted a short time and was accompanied by a low whistle.

We attending a cock-fight in the afternoon. It is a spectacle well liked by the inhabitants, on holidays. It lasted from 5 to 7 p.m., when the Angelus bell tolled, to announce the hour of retirement, because, on the evening that we arrived at Agaña, the Governor said to Louis that he had made a salute ready for us, but that it could not be fired, because the Angelus had already tolled.

The way they train the poor cocks to fight, and even kill each other, is a pitiful thing. Not happy with the defences that nature has given them, men have fastened some small sharp blades to their legs, with which a cock sometimes kill its adversary on the first blow.

The point of the game resides in the bet they make, for or against, the fighters. This game does not please me at all. In the evening, we fortunately got a more pleasant spectacle: it was a representation of the folk dances of Mexico, all of them representing some part of the history of that country, they say. The participants were students from the local college; their costumes, of silk and richly decorated, have been brought from New Spain, by the Jesuits. These dances, that resemble rather well our pantomined ballets, were performed before the palace of the Governor, in a plaza lit by torches and containers filled with tallow. Emperor Montezuma, in a great dress, a crown upon his head, a feather fan in his hand, had a retinue of two pages richly dressed, was the main char-

acter. There were 12 dancers, each with a diadem on his head and very well dressed also, with whom the emperor mixes now and then. All of this forms marches, evolutions, and various figures. Sometimes, the dancers agitate some castanets, and at other times only their feather fan. The last two acts of this play, which had five, were filled with war dances. Some jokers are responsible for entertaining the crowd between the acts, and sometimes during the spectacle, by gambling and making a thousand grotesque tricks that make the children and the crowd laugh. These jokers wear masks, are dressed in ridiculous fashion, and carry in the hand a sabre that they agitate in the air right and left.

One should already know the story of the unfortunate Montezuma to be able to catch the allusions offered in the various scenes, unless there was a printed program to explain it. Not wishing to dispute the origin of these dances, Louis find them very much like those that are called "olivettes" in Provence, but the latter were no doubt known there much before the conquest of Mexico.

Be that as it may, after the Mexican dance, they performed a Spanish dance, called *palo vestido y desnudo*, which means "the mast dressed and undressed." A mast is planted, on top of which have been fastened 8 or 12 long and wide ribbons, some red, some yellow or blue. According to the number of dancers, the colors are more or less varied. Every dancer holds the end of a ribbon and passes many times around the mast, in such a way that the result is a network of intertwined multicolored ribbons; the pleasure comes from seeing the diversity of the colors and the regularity of the work of art. To undress the mast, the dancers simply retrace their steps in the opposite direction. The credit comes from the avoidance of entanglements of the ribbons.

Once this act was over, the same school boys who had acted in the previous plays came back once more, some dressed as women, and they all danced European dances together. They performed as well as they had done in their various roles.

We spent this evening on a covered gallery that looks like a long balcony but completely encircles the apartments of the palace; it was here that we used to spend our evenings, to catch the fresh air, or else we spent it on the garden terrace, if one can call garden a rather large piece of land, more or less in a savage state, where there are orange and lemon trees, but no cultivated plants other than tobacco. Louis has installed all the instruments that are used to make observations in various places. On Good Friday, we spent many hours of the most beautiful night that one can dream about, observing a total eclipse of the moon, which I have seen very well.

21 April.

Since I have more leisure time than my husban, I often come back to you. Perhaps the details of my stay here will seem to you without interest, but you told me that you wanted to go everywhere with me; you must, therefore, accept to be bored a little, when I find no amusement. Moreover, it is not the fault of the excellent Governor of Guam; he does his best to care for me and entertain me. It is not his fault that I find the cock-fights, which take place regularly on Sundays and holidays, more repugnant than pleas-

ing. Not his fault either the chants and dances of the natives of the Sandwich Islands, some as too monotonous, and the others too ridiculous.

You may very well ask me: how can one find natives of the Sandwich Islands in Guam? It happened this way. Some years ago, some Americans had the idea of forming a settlement at Agrigan Island, one of the Marianas. They brought some Sandwich Islanders there, to help them raise animals. However, the present Governor of Guam, stipulating that the King of Spain his Lord was also king of the Marianas, despatched, without any other process, some soldiers to Agrigan, who removed the Sandwich Islanders and brought them to Guam, where the Governor has been using them to tend his plantations and to serve in his house, about the same way that black people are used in most of our colonies. These people are slaves and all in the service of the Governor; the women, with few exceptions, have very lax morals.

From what I told you above, about my not being too entertained by the pleasures of Guam, please do not conclude that I am bored here. To the contrary, I enjoy the pleasures of a sweet and quiet life, There are no rain or wind squalls to fear. The sky is almost always serene, the air pure, in spite of the heat, a great relaxation of the mind is possible, since we are treated daily at the Governor's table, with no domestic chores to be done, and only the worry of fixing the times for our meals, which Mr. Medinilla has offered to fix in accordance with my husband's work schedule. Isn't it true happiness for poor travellers to spend one or two months of such a life? I spend a large part of my time in our bedroom wing, well aired by six windows, facing one another on opposite sides. Here is where I do some embroidery, or do some writing, or reading. I simply try and forget that I will one day have to board the ship and once again "*correre dell'onde a cimentar lo degno.*"¹

What is adding to the calm that I enjoy is the activity of our travelling companions, and the satisfaction that my husband enjoys of seeing our sick recover and the observations, as well as all the other tasks, proceed apace and produce the expected results. We do have siestas, as the other people do here. The Governor goes to bed at noon, at if it were evening, and does not rise until 3 o'clock. When, a little before dinner, we go to the living room, we usually find there Mr. Medinilla and our good Abbé who has his own apartment next to ours. Sometimes, after dinner, I converse with the chaplain, while Louis has conversation with the Governor or the Major, to get from them all the information possible about these islands and about the sciences. The latter is specially very useful to him; he is this country's scholar.² In addition to good judgment, he enjoys a good memory and a keen sense of observation. He has made a study of the old customs of this country and their first inhabitants. I let you guess what advantage my husband is getting from his conversations with Don Luis, and with what care he makes notes of everything he learns in the process. The willingness of one party is matched only by the boundless curiosity of the other.

1 Ed. note: Italian phrase meaning "have to get away from here to save my dignity."

2 Ed. note: Arago too got much information from Major Torres (see his accounts).

[Description of Agaña]

Since I live in the best house in the town, I rarely leave it. Nevertheless I can give you a description of Agaña. This town, located as it is on a low-lying plain by the seashore, is subject to flooding during the rainy season and during high tides. That is why the houses are elevated upon piles. Some of them have a ground floor covered with stones, but it cannot be live in, because of the humidity. Most of the streets are wide and rather well lined up. Every house is separated from any other by space where, ordinarily, some tobacco is grown. This separation is for a purpose; indeed, in case of fires, any contact between such huts, almost all built of wood and covered with mats and thatch, would be dangerous.

There are some buildings that are more elaborate. They are the barracks with the hospital, where our sick are lodged; the general warehouse where the Government keeps food and other supplies; both of these buildings are connected to the Governor's palace. Besides, there is the College of St. John of Letran; the former Jesuit convent; the schools for boys, which have been wisely located at one end of town, on the opposite end of the place where there is a hut used as a classroom for young girls. The house of Major Don Luis, and a few others belonging to the leading officers are rather large and well built, but the most elegant, without a doubt, is the house that the Governor has turned over to the staff of the *Uranie*,¹ although he has assigned one or two rooms inside the palace itself, for the officers who may be retained there momentarily, by their observation work. In the whole town of Agaña, there is not one garden, not one tree, except for a few on the sides of the river. Facing the Governor's palace, there is an enclosure where corn is grown; it is the only plantation, I believe, that is not occupied by tobacco. Thus, one cannot see any flower beds, and no vegetable gardens either. What a sad sight! None of the different vegetables that give variety to our gardens at home. The few flowers that are seen are on trees. The usual vegetables that you know about and exist here come from some inland farms whose cultivation is controlled by the Governor; they are onions, purslane and tomatoes.

If the list of vegetables in the Marianas may seem short to you, as a result of my description, the surface of their islands is, however, covered by trees and roots, of so many different species, all containing something valuable as food, and they offer the inhabitants, almost without any work, other than the bother of harvesting it, an abundant and healthy source of food. Among others, there is the delicious fruit of the breadfruit tree, so common in Guam, and which we eat with so much pleasure! I intend to take an ample supply of them to eat on board. I will carefully put some pieces inside a tin box, well sealed, and bring them home to have you taste them.

The products from fishing, in a sea that is the most bountiful sea in the world for fishes, plus hunting, which is carried out always successfully, because the beautiful and vast forests are full of deer, of wild cows and pigs. Those are natural advantages that

1 Ed. note: This house was referred to as "del retiro," that is, the retreat, or relaxation place (see Doc. 1819C).

explain and justify in a way the repugnance that the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands feel toward the cultivation of the soil, given the heat of the climate that makes this kind of work laborious. What do you think? Should men here be condemned to this labor, any more than anywhere else?

I was surprised not to find in the town a single store. The reason, I am told, is that everything has been brought from Manila and placed in the Government warehouse; it is here that the inhabitants come to get the clothes and other articles that they need. Manila, the capital of the Philippines, is the seat of all Spanish possessions in these seas, a sort of midway point between the Marianas and the mother country. Since there is no manufacturing of clothing here, everything comes from there; they get very little of it, because I have seen nowhere else as little luxury as in this town.

The men generally wear nothing but a sort of small blouse that comes down only to the waist and some loose shorts that do not even cover the knees. Either one can be made of plain or striped linen. On their head, they wear either a leather or a straw hat. That's it. A sort of big knife, named *machete*, hangs from their belt, and is used for various tasks.

The undershirt worn by the women differs little from that of the men. A single skirt, of many colors and rather long, forms the remainder of their clothing. Neither sex wear any shirt, or stockings, or shoes. The few men who wear shirts wear them loose over their shorts; I do not know where they got these shirts, perhaps from some sailors. I must tell you that the first time I saw them, thus clothed, and serving us at table, I had a hard time to stop myself from bursting out laughing.

One can tell a woman from another only by the few gold rings or bracelets that the more elegant ones wear. Some of them also have shoes, and sometimes their small shirt or undershirt is made of a finer type of white cotton, but this luxury is rare indeed. They wear their hair long and straight, divided on top of the head and hanging down or tied into a sort of big bun at the back.

The European uniform worn by the soldiers stands out starkly in the middle of the general simplicity. However, those among the soldiers, who, at noon, were wearing the uniform while standing guard, might have been wearing the uniform of a sailor in the morning in one of the Governor's boats, or might have been reduced to a near nudity, that is, wearing only a loin-cloth, while busy at some rustic task. Indeed, the people who work in the fields are not clothed like those who live in town; they would be bothered by clothes.

All the inhabitants have their complexion more or less tanned. Generally they are of average height and are well built. There are also some very pretty individuals, but, if I succeeded in giving you an idea of what the local women wear, you will agree with me that those who appear pretty in spite of their dress owe it all to nature; in other words, beauty triumphs over everything. With the idea of simplicity shared by the women of this town, what would one of them think, if all of a sudden she would be transformed by wearing the fineries of a lady in Paris? I am sure that the price of a single beautiful cashmere would suffice to provide clothing for all of the women of Agaña for ten years.

I have, however, seen some elegance here, and you would never guess who gave me this new look. I am not sure if you can believe that it is the curate of Guam who, under his soutane of black silk, wears a pair of pants made of white and blue stripes, but it is nevertheless true. Moreover, this curate is a Spaniard born in Manila;¹ it could be that the priests of these countries can wear what they like under their outfit, while our own priests are not permitted to do so.

Last night, we took a pretty stroll with the Governor to Mongmong, a village that is a short distance from Agaña. Along the way, we met with some inhabitants who were returning to the town from far away. They were carrying some firewood, or some roots that they use for food. Regarding this, I was told that they rarely bring more than their family needs for that one day; hence, I conclude that they must spend the greater part of their life on the roads. In every village, there is a chief who is called *gobernadorcillo* in some places, and *alcalde* in the others. I think that the former may be military men, and the latter civilians, like the mayors of our communes, but I am not too sure about that. I leave to Louis to treat of this subject in a more technical fashion. So it is that at Mongmong, he is a *gobernadorcillo* and, as soon as he spotted the Governor, before coming toward us, he had someone go and get his cane with a golden pommel, the mark of his distinction. His eagerness, which seemed to me mere pleasantness, was not out of place, because, upon seeing him, with his blue-linen shorts, his demi-shirt above, and his machete by his side, one might not have noticed any difference between this brave man and any other inhabitant of the place. Through the cracks of his hut, we could see his wife, absolutely naked and smoking a cigar, surrounded by their children; they were trying to hide from us and at the same time were making every effort to see us. We must have appeared very strange to them, just as strange as they appeared to us; this is a thought that has often crossed my mind. By the way, this good *gobernadorcillo* wanted his sons to escort us, wearing torches, but the night was so beautiful that we preferred to go back to the seashore by the light of a thousand stars.

[Carolinians in Guam]

I have not yet told you about the natives of the Carolines whom we see here, those who had seemed to me to be so pleasant when we passed by their islands. You must certainly remember what I have told you about them. Well, fifteen days ago, three of their charming canoes arrived here. In one of them, there were a woman of about 25 years of age and her young daughter, about 6 years old. They were both entirely naked, except of a loin-cloth; they were given clothes upon arrival. As these people came to see the Governor, I had the opportunity to examine the woman and her young daughter. They were no less remarkable as the men, by their graceful facial features, the sweetness that has nothing savage, specially when one compares them with the natives of Rawak and those of Seal Bay. In addition to their cute faces, they had superb teeth,

1 Ed. note: Arago will identify him clearly as Fr. Ciriaco who had arrived at Guam five years earlier.

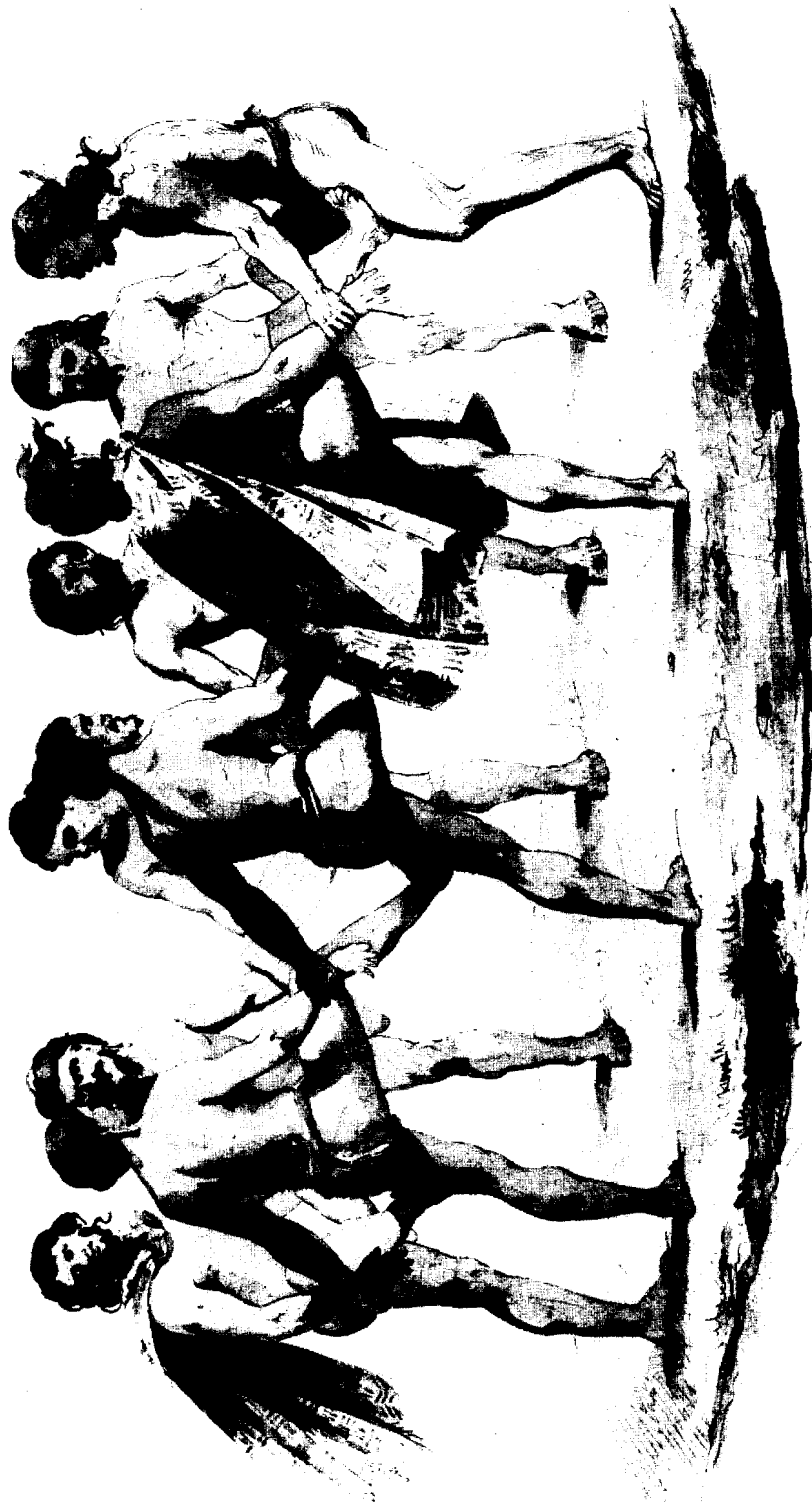
some charming eyes, and, what astounded us the most, they had some perfectly shaped feet and hands.

The Carolinians whom we had seen on board ship had only their arms and legs tattooed. Many of those who are here have their whole body tattooed with regular but strange patterns. In the large opening of their ears, they had, not only some flowers and leaves as the first ones we saw, but all the small articles that we give them, such as knives, cigars, fishhooks, etc. Well then, their ears appear to be their pockets. This is not so ridiculous as you may think. Where else can naked people put these small objects? The Carolinians whom we saw here are not too different in character than those we saw at sea; they are slight differences, if any. Nevertheless, they show interest and even astonishment at seeing objects that seem new to them. As they are very happy people, they laugh a lot and, above all, dance often. I enjoy their dancing, while they must find enjoyment at our polite response, which no doubt they interpret for foolishness. When our gentlemen meet one another, and salute reciprocally, the Carolinians laugh heartily about it. However, they seem to us to be kind, peaceful and even affectionate people. They are no doubt true children of nature. If all the savages resembled them, I would be tempted to forgive those who praise the existence of a noble savage. So, it was with regret that I learned that there are some bad natives on some of the islands of the Carolines.

Their visits have not only given to our gentlemen the opportunity of inspecting the so wonderful canoes of these peoples, but I have myself seen very well, having made a short trip aboard one of them. Here is how this came to be: three gentlemen from the **Uranie**, a naturalist, a painter and an officer, were sent by the commander to the Island of Rota and Tinian, to make various studies and observations. Since navigation among the islands is difficult for our canoes, the Carolinians, on the other hand, are used to these seas and manage their light canoes so well that Louis has solicited the Governor the service of a few such canoes, for the small voyage of these gentlemen. As for the latter, they thought it was a good idea. But, since they are not used to sailing in the same manner as the Carolinians, we would not have been surprised if they had refused to trust these savages. As for myself, I must admit that I did not watch them leave without emotion and, since the 22nd when they left us, I have not stopped thinking about the risks that they were taking. So it is that I was relieved when I learned, an hour ago, that they had all returned in good health, having made a happy voyage, one that will produce interesting details about the islands that they visited.

It was at their departure that we accompanied them for some distance; a boat was following us, to bring us back. However, Louis, the Governor and myself went aboard the canoe of the main pilot, *Ouametaou*, who acted as the admiral of this small fleet.¹ The moment of departure offered us a rare spectacle: one cannot say that the Carolinians weigh their anchor, because they have none. Their canoes have a rope that is tied

1 Ed. note: The name given for this pilot, "Wametaw" was, in fact, the generic name for the canoe. Indeed, in the Carolinian language, *waaw mctaw* simply means "deep-sea canoe."



Carolinian men dancing at Agaña.

to rocks, or to coral heads. That is why, one man must dive like a fish to untie the rope. Since you will not see a drawing of their canoes for a while, I will tell you that the canoe that we were on was 30 feet long, by 2-1/2 feet wide, but the outriggers gave it a balance that such proportions might not give it otherwise. The sail of these canoes is so huge that it is truly extraordinary. They have a sort of platform on top of the outriggers, upon which we were sitting. Louis trusted in the well-known skill of *Ouametaou*, who, though Carolinian, has exercised his trade as pilot for many years; he has even been baptized.

19 May 1819.

I cannot predict how the rest of my narrative of our stay here will reach you. Still, I wish to take every opportunity given by my leisure time, to continue my conversation with you. It was only after we parted that I realized the importance of this "ingenious art of painting with words and speaking to the eyes." I admit that I was not too impressed, the first time I read this poem. But, who would have predicted then, when I was still under your wing, that one day the entire globe would separate us! This land, at least that of the Island of Guam, shook once more yesterday, and very strongly too; however, I felt not the least fear.

[French]

*L'accoutumance ainsi nous rend tout familier.
Ce qui nous paraissait terrible et singulier
S'apprivoise avec notre vue,
Quand ce vient à la continue.*

[Translation]

Experience makes everything familiar.
What seemed at first terrible and singular
Becomes ordinary when our eyes
See it continually.

The man who wrote this was mostly right. How many things have become familiar to me over the last two years! For instance, I have become accustomed to tobacco smoke, as everyone around me smokes continuously, except Louis. The women, as well as the men, have a cigar in their mouth at all times. This custom is much more generalized here than the custom of snuff tobacco is in France. For the same reason that we have seen persons take up this habit for the simple reason that they liked to adorn themselves with a good box, I might have similarly been tempted by the gift of a smoking set, in gold, that Mr. Medinilla offered me one day, hoping perhaps that I might decide to take up the habit. These precious articles are so finely made that, if it had not been for the value of the metal, I might have accepted his present, without even thinking myself obliged to follow his example.

[Description of Governor Medinilla]

It occurs to me that I have mentioned to you the Governor of Guam many times, but that I forgot to make a description of him. He is a man of about 50 years of age, of average height and very well built. He was born in Spain, has lively and intelligent eyes, pleasant facial features, with a distinguished look about him and much nobility in his

composure. The care he takes with his person makes him a good companion on this score alone; indeed, his hair is always powdered and perfumed, his clothes very beautiful and his shoes well cared for. He is always busy making the people under him happy; he is respected by all, and loved the more because his predecessors, more interested in getting rich than in helping the poor people, were hated, and deserved it.

[Visit to Sinahaña]

Last week, we made a very pleasant visit, with a large company, to a small and pretty village called Simahagna [sic]. To get there, one passes by a hill on the top of which the view of the town, the port and the plain is a wonderful thing. Upon returning, we were all invited to drink lemonade at the house of Don Luis [de Torres], but this lemonade turned out to be a pretty supper, very gay and very well served.

Rain has been falling steadily for the last two days. Louis is taking advantage of this forced seclusion to accaparate Don Luis and draw from him some precious information about everything that has to do with the Marianas. This country is little known in Europe and would deserve to be better known. It will become so, if one day Louis publishes the narrative of his voyage. The character of the inhabitants of these islands will offer subject matter for philosophers to reflect upon: cruel and ferocious before the arrival of the missionaries, the knowledge of the laws of christianity has change them completely. Although this effect has been observed in many other places, it seems that it had a very singular influence here, one that deserves to be studied by deeper minds than mine.

Over the past three weeks, food supplies have begun to be loaded on board, and since our sick are recovering day by day, I think that at the end of this month, so will our stay here come to an end; we had all needed it.

If I did not fear to seem to abuse the privilege granted to travellers, I would tell you that one of my pastimes consists in offering in my hand some corn for a young bull to eat, one that sometimes climbs up and visit us in the great hall [of the palace]. I would not have thought that a nimal of this species could possibly become a pet, as this one is. In fact, his nature shows up now and then, and I must then retreat quickly. Such animals are used here as mounts, or as draught animals, because of the rarity of horses.

20 May.

Three weeks ago, Mr. Medinilla suggested to take us to the place made famous by the martyrdom of Father Sanvitores, one of the first missionaries and the true apostle of the Marianas. This good Father was killed in 1672, by Matapang who then threw his body into the sea. An altar has been built on the site where he was killed and it has become a place of pilgrimage by devout Marianos. As the Governor no longer mentioned this idea, we believed that he had forgotten it, and it was far from us to remind him, since Louis still had much work to do, and the health of our good Abbé was still rather shaky; indeed, he had to come along with us. Last Sunday, Mr. Medinilla mentioned Sanvitores again, and yesterday had been fixed as the day of our outing. Many

means of transport were suggested to undertake this small excursion of two leagues: some went overland on horseback. Louis and I preferred to accompany the Governor aboard his boat. As it was out of the question to replace dinner by devotion, another boat followed ours, with his servants and his kitchen. We left early in the morning. The weather was superb and our short sailing went very well. We had the opportunity of admiring on the seashore, next to a headland, a large number of *federico* palms covering the coast; this is a tree whose fruit provides food for the inhabitants. What attracted the attention of persons more knowledgeable than I, was the sight, in broad daylight, of flocks of bats flying as high as birds.

Upon arrival at our destination, the silence that Mr. Medinilla had kept for a while had an explanation: there are no houses at that place, but he had previously ordered the ground levelled and many thatch huts built, and decorated with leaves as best as possible. One of them was to serve us as a dining hall, another as a living room; both were well sheltered from the sun. The other huts would serve as a kitchen and for the men. A plentiful supply of food had been brought along; nothing was missing.

We first visited the revered site, due to the circumstances of the martyrdom of Father Sanvitores, as narrated by the good Governor, according to tradition (information received with incredulity by many of his listeners), we took a stroll through the woods and, by a bumpy road, reached a nearby village. There, it was with much interest that I saw the preparation of the *federico* fruit, whose poisonous property is lost only by soaking it in water. It was, however, the miserable appearance of the villagers that struck us the most, given the wealth of the vegetation and the ease with which they can get a healthy diet with little work. We met with some fishermen who had received the order from the Governor to find enough fish for that part of our meal. We sent them on to our small encampment, where we soon joined them ourselves.

The dinner made our host as proud as usual and pleased the appetite that had build-up during our stroll. We attacked it readily.

We had hardly finished eating when there arrived a delegation from the neighboring villages, whose inhabitants had learned of the presence of the Governor and, as he is well loved, they came to present their primitive respects. Every person carried his own offering: some had chickens, others eggs. The *alcalde* was leading the troop, animating it. Well, when he shouted "music! music!" to a bad violinist who had remained behind, a peasant who was carrying a piglet around his neck made a false movement and the poor beast screamed back to the *alcalde*. A general laugh from the company arose as an echo, and baffled the poor villagers for a while. However, the Governor received them with kindness, refused their presents. He had a few pesos distributed among them and ordered that food be given to them. While their food was being prepared, they began to dance according to their custom. At first, many of them danced in a circle, making gestures and contorsions, accompanied by a rather slow tune. Then, two of them played a sort of interlude which was but an improvised song. One was telling the

other that the Virgin has appeared to him; to this, the other sang back: *me alegre, me alegre*.¹ The former repeats everything that the Virgin has told him that was favorable; after every piece of good news, the other interjects: *me alegre*," then both make a sort of roundabout turn while dancing.

We noticed, during the general dance, two pretty girls of about 14 and 17 years of age, both extremely shy. What surprised us the most in a colored girl, was to notice that the older one became all red, as soon as she was noticing that someone was looking at her.

After the dance, a long mat was spread on the ground, and the leftovers from our dinner were placed upon it. These people squat upon their heels, on both sides of the mat and appeared not worried too much about showing their appetite. Above all, they drank heavily. We soon noticed the effect, when a matron, who had been formerly silent, began to cackle in a high note.

After the departure of these special people, we were shown how the sap is taken from the coconut tree. Depending on the various preparations done to it, this tree can provide brandy, vinager, and even sugar. As you can see, this tree that adorns the seashores, where it looks majestic, produces just as many useful things as the *federico* palm or the breadfruit tree.

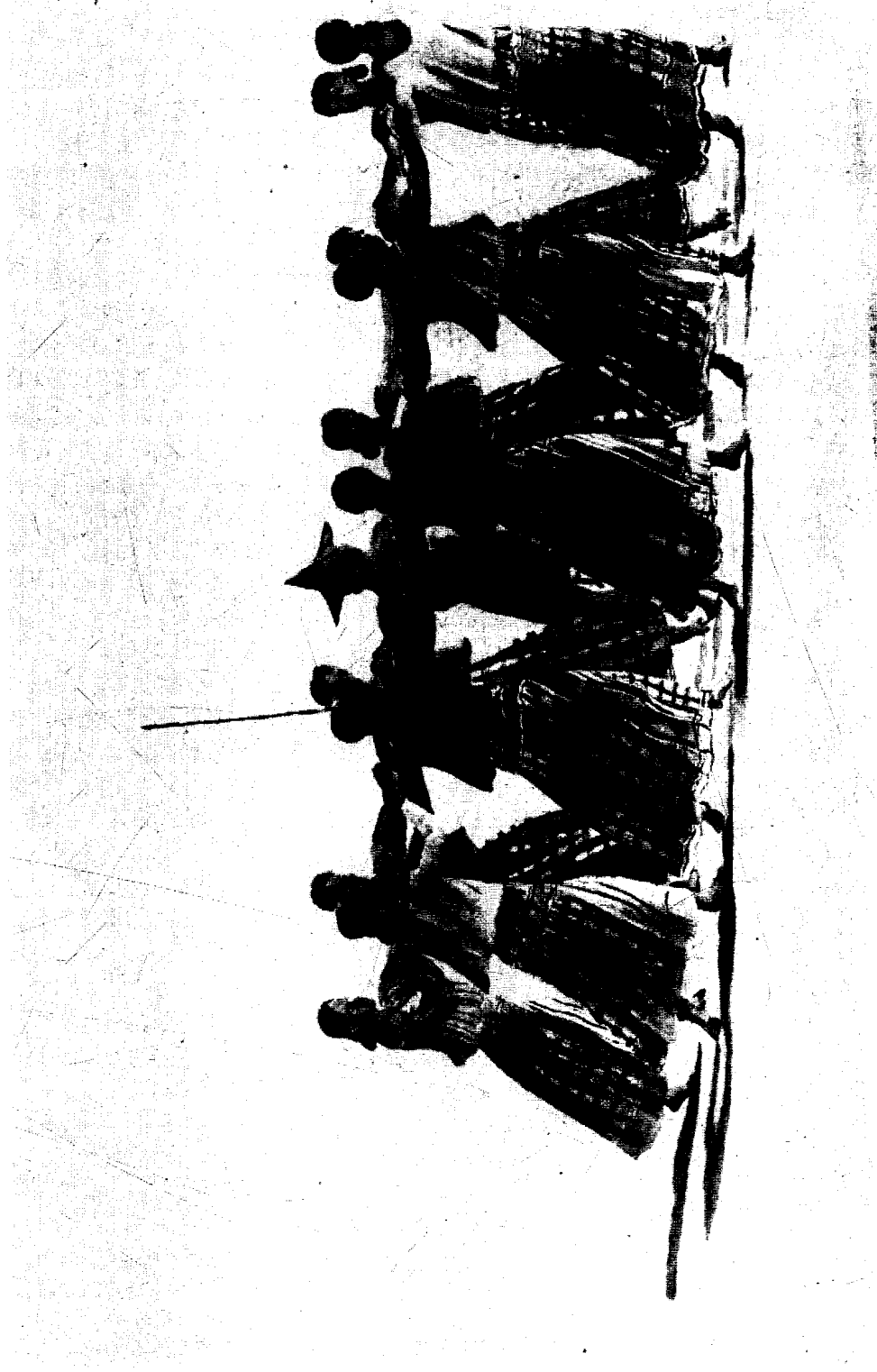
Our stroll was then directed toward the shore, to watch the fishery of the *magnahak*. This is a very small fish, good to eat, that the Marianos gather and consume in large quantity.² The local almanach records the certain moon days of certain months when the *magnahac* must arrive, and it always shows up. The inhabitants then flock to the seashore on the day in question, to get a ready supply.

Among the fishermen, we recognized some who had come to pay their respects to Mr. Medinilla. We looked around to see our two pretty girls, and we spotted them; they were, like the others, in the water up to their knees, busy gathering this precious commodity. They had removed their shirt and placed it around their neck like a tie; their skirt was up so that it no longer covered them, but looked like a loin-cloth. That is why, when they came out of the water, they appeared to be extremely shy about this, but, while putting on their shirt, they took care to cover their back more quickly than their chest. I believe that our gentlemen were not tempted to make any opposition to this procedure.

It was already night-time when we headed back to Agaña, the same way that we had come, with the only difference that a canoe preceded us, bearing big torches made of resinous wood, to make sure that our coxswain could avoid the reefs. I took pleasure in looking at the bottom of the sea, by the light of the torches, and to spot among the corals upon which we glided some fish, big and small, that appeared to be sleeping.

1 Ed. note: Spanish expression meaning "I am glad, I am glad."

2 Ed. note: Rather spelled *mañahak* generally. It corresponds to the juvenile rabbit-fish, of the species *siganus spinus* (ref. Amesbury & Myers' Guide, p. 117).



Chamorro men and women dancing at Agaña.

[Italian]

*Sereno é il cielo**L'arie, l'onde son chiare.*

[Translation]

Serene is the sky

Quiet are the winds and the waves.

During a whole day so well filled, that had provided us with so many pleasant distractions, I assure you that nothing struck us more than the air of satisfaction of the Governor. His passion consists so much in pleasing others, that his face would brighten up every time that he sensed that someone in his company found something interesting or amusing. One can properly say that he enjoys the happiness of others.

24 May.

It is only now that I can foresee the moment of our departure. Tomorrow, it seems, our sick will be sent back on board; their long convalescence has greatly extended our stay in this island. The collections of natural history and so many other precious materials that our gentlemen have collected are proof enough of the good advantage that they took of the situation. As for myself, I made a provision of health and courage. Strictly speaking, I was always surrounded by men, as on board. The mother and wife of Major Luis de Torres were the only women that I could visit, but they could not speak French and I could not speak Spanish; our visits could not have been too pleasant.

What concerns us the most at this moment is to prepare ourselves to leave; as far as food supplies are concerned, it has been a long time that they have been piled up. Mr. Medinilla himself has taken care of providing our own table and we will surely not miss anything that Guam can provide, thanks to his generosity.

1 June.

Yesterday was celebrated in Agaña what can be called a double feast. Indeed, besides the Pentecost that the Church celebrated on that day, it was the birthday of the King of Spain, Ferdinand VII. The whole town was happy: the Governor invited all the officers of his nationality and of ours to a dinner for 50 people.

A portrait of His Majesty was on display on the gallery of the palace facing the plaza; some soldiers stood guard on that gallery next to this portrait. The **Uranie** took part in this celebration; she was decked with flags and fired the customary salute.

However, what astonished us the most, more than all the feasts in the world, was the conduct of the Governor of Guam towards us. Not only during a stay of over two months in his house, where we received all manners of unbelievable attentions and facilities for our work, he does not want to accept our thanks for what he has given us, but he refuses to be paid for the provisions that he had given



Ferdinand VII.

us daily on board the corvette, since our arrival at the Marianas, and for those, even more substantial, that he had provided for our sea stock. Indeed, our Supercargo went to see him, to settle the accounts, as is customary, but he returned to tell the Commander about this extreme generosity on the part of the Governor. It was useless for Louis to insist, as he had to write to Mr. Medinilla to express to him our great gratitude and great wonder. This matchless man has just written an answer, excusing himself for not having been able to do as much as he would have wished, given the shortage of food in this island, caused by a drought that lasted six months. Furthermore, he expresses his keen interests in the furtherance of the objectives of our expedition, and closes by expressing a special esteem for our Commander.

Since this morning, we have been busy looking for something that we could do without, that would please this good Governor, our only regret being that our resources are so small. You will agree with me that it was worthwhile for us to go around the world, just to meet with men like Mr. Smith and Mr. Medinilla.¹

I considered it my duty to write this note to you before leaving this country; I will now return to my suitcases and to the preparations for our departure. My letter will follow me on board, because the visit of ships bound to Europe is not something frequent here.

8 June.

You will notice, by my shaky handwriting, that I have almost lost the habit of writing letters at sea; I will soon be used to it once more.

On the 4th of this month, our effects having been loaded ahead of us, we finally followed, aboard the Governor's boat, and accompanied by him, Major Don Luis, the curate of Agaña, Don Justo de la Cruz, who is the Director of the college. They have all wished to take us back to our ship. It was 2:30 p.m. when we boarded the **Uranie**. We had made preparations to invite them all to dine in the company of the staff of the corvette. It was our turn to treat them, something that we did willingly. The toasts and the gun salutes went hand in hand; the latter were returned by the local fort. The feast lasted so long that when it was over, it was too late for our guests to leave; they spent the night on board, except for Major Don Luis, whose country house is located near the anchorage; he went home instead.

The next day, we had planned to sail back to Agaña and say goodbye to the Governor and his retinue there; we had kept one boat down for this purpose. However, the contrary wind did not allow us to do so until the 6th in the morning. Therefore, it was only the day before yesterday that we bid our last adieu.²

1 Ed. note: Mr. Smith was the English Governor at the Cape of Good Hope.

2 Ed. note: Mrs. Freycinet died suddenly, of cholera, in 1832.

Documents 1819F

The Freycinet Expedition—Narratives of Jacques Arago

Introductory note.

Jacques Arago, the main painter of the Freycinet expedition, was prolific. He made extensive notes, and painted numberless sketches. The periodical “Journal des voyages” in its N° 27 of January 1821, has summarized his output by saying that he made drawings of birds, shells, insects, etc., but most of all a picture album, including views of Tinián which is said to be covered by monuments of an unknown origin, all in all, “a total of about **500 drawings**, representing sites, coastal views, objects related to zoology, botany, the natives, their customs and manners, their weapons. The publication of **part** of the drawings of this rich portfolio will produce a most interesting work, one of the more complete that voyages of discovery have produced to date.”¹

F1. First narrative of Arago

Sources: Jacques-Étienne Victor Arago. Promenade autour du monde (Paris, Leblanc, 1822), including his Atlas historique et pittoresque; id., Narrative of a Voyage Round the World (London, 1823); reprinted is a series of articles in the Guam Recorder, April 1827 to November 1828.

Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, commanded by Captain Freycinet, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820, on a scientific expedition undertaken by order of the French Government.

In a series of Letters to a Friend, by J. Arago, Draftsman to the Expedition. With Twenty-Six Engravings. To which is prefixed, the Report to the Academy of Sciences, on the General Results of the Expedition. London, Treuttel and Wurtz, Treuttel, Jun. and Richter, 1823.

1 Ed. note: Some of the unpublished drawings about the Marianas are now kept in the Saipan Museum of History and Culture.

Report made to the Academy of Sciences, upon
THE VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,
of the Corvette Uranie,
Commanded by MR. de Freycinet.

April 23, 1821.

The Academy having commissioned us (Messieurs de Humboldt, Cuvier, Desfontaines, de Rossel, Biot, Thenard, Gay-Lussac, and Arago)¹ to make a report to it, upon the general result of the operations executed during the voyage of the **Uranie** round the world under the command of Captain Freycinet; we now proceed to acquit ourselves of this duty, by entering into details which appear to us quite necessary, whether we regard the importance or the variety of the results which we have had to examine.

The principal object of the expedition commanded by Captain Freycinet, was the investigation of the figure of the earth, and of the elements of terrestrial magnetism; several questions of meteorology had also been suggested by the Academy as worthy of attention. Although geography certainly formed but a secondary object in the voyage, it was natural to anticipate that so many experienced and zealous officers, well provided with excellent instruments, would not circumnavigate the globe without making some valuable additions to the existing tables of latitude and longitude. Though no professed naturalist was attached to the expedition, our navigators undertook the task of collecting for the Museums, if not of investigating, every interesting specimen of the three kingdoms; and we had also reason to expect from the draftsman attached by government to the expedition, a faithful representation of all such specimens as their weight or liability to break would not allow them to bring away; and that he should take accurate views of the different coasts, which, besides the useful information they furnish to navigators, would have the advantage of occasionally offering agreeable landscapes; finally, it was to be expected that Captain Freycinet and his companions would add new particulars to the history of savage nations.

The number of manuscript volumes belonging to the expedition, which have been deposited at the office of the Secretary of the Academy, amounts to thirty-one; every part of these we have examined with the greatest care; but not having had time to calculate the whole of the observations, we shall be obliged, on many points, to confine ourselves to a bare catalogue of the valuable stores which Captain Freycinet has brought home. Proceeding methodically, we shall arrange under distinct paragraphs, all that relates to each particular class of observations.

I. Itinerary.

The expedition sailed from Toulon on the 17th of September 1817; arrived at Gibraltar on the 11th of October, and left it on the 15th, for Teneriffe, where it remained

¹ Ed. note: This Arago was Jacques Arago's older brother.

from the 22d to the 28th of the same month. The **Uranie** cast anchor at Rio Janeiro on the 6th of December. This city being considered a proper station both for the pendulum and compass observations, Captain Freycinet remained there nearly two months. At the Cape of Good Hope, the next place of rendez-vous, he stopped from the 7th of March to the 5th of April 1818; and the time there was employed in similar observations, which are of the greater importance, as they can be compared directly with those of Lacaille. The same consideration gives an interest to the observations at the Isle of France, where the **Uranie** arrive on the 5th of May, and which she left on the 16th of July. After a very short stay at the Isle of Bourbon, Captain Freycinet sailed on the 2d of August for Shark's Bay, which he had visited in his first voyage with Captain Baudin. He arrived there on the 12th, and quitted it on the 26th of September, for Coupang, the capital of the Dutch settlements in the Isle of Timor. Farther on will be found an enumeration of the observations of different kinds made at this port, from the 9th to the 23rd of October 1818, when the expedition sailed for Diely, the residence of the Governor of the Portuguese settlement, at the northern part of the Island.

Leaving Diely on the 22d of November, the **Uranie** steered her course for the little island of Rawak, situated near Waigiou (New Guinea), almost exactly on the equator: she remained there from the 16th of December 1818, to the 5th of January 1819.

The next rendez-vous was at the Mariana Islands, and was of nearly three months' duration; a delay rendered necessary by the important operations to be executed at those islands, by the necessity of laying in fresh provisions, and of allowing time for the sick, who were then pretty numerous, to recover.

On the 5th of April 1819, the **Uranie** sailed from Guam; she cast anchor at Owhyhee, the largest of the Sandwich Islands, on the 8th of August: on the 16th she touched at Mowhee; on the 26th at Woahoo; and on the 30th, finally quitted that Archipelago for Port Jackson; where it became necessary to refit the vessel, and make the usual observations on the weight of the atmosphere and on magnetism.

The expedition left New South Wales on the 25th of December 1819, for Tierra-del-Fuego; but scarcely had they cast anchor in the Bay of Good Success, on the 7th of February 1820, when a furious hurricane obliged them suddenly to cut their cables, and to let the ship run under bare poles for two successive days. When the storm abated, it became a matter of consideration, whether, considering the importance of pendulum observations in the high southern latitudes, they should return to Tierra-del-Fuego, from which they were now a considerable distance, or rendez-vous at the Malouine [i.e. Falkland] Islands; Captain Freycinet determined on the latter.

The Academy has received from this excellent officer complete verbal details of the **shipwreck of the Uranie**, which took place in French Bay, on the 13th of February 1820, and of the stay made by the ship's company at that desert station. It will be therefore sufficient for us to mention that the expedition quitted the Malouine Islands on the 17th of April 1820, on board an American vessel, which had accidentally come there, and was purchased by Captain Freycinet; that they first put into Montevideo, and, after a residence of a month in the River Plate, the **Physicienne** (the name given to the new

vessel) sailed on the 7th of June for Rio de Janeiro, where she arrived on the 19th. During a stay of three months, our navigators repeated the observations of different kinds which they had made there on their passage out. Finally, on the 13th of September 1820, the **Physicienne** quitted Brazil: stress of weather obliged her, on the 10th of November, to put into Cherbourg; she left that port on the 12th, and arrived at Le Havre on the 13th, where she was laid up.

The duration of the voyage was therefore three years and two months nearly; and the distance sailed amounts to about 23,000 leagues, of 25 to a degree.

...¹

LETTER LXXVI.

At sea.

The wind has begun to blow, and the man at the mast-head has given notice of land. It is the Anacoretas Islands, all surrounded by reefs. A little while after we thought we saw the Thousand Islands discovered by Bougainville... Here we are in the midst of the Caroline Islands, an archipelago little visited, yet well deserving to be so. All the islands we distinguish are low, small, and well-wooded. The natives, who surround us, appear to be gentle and familiar, with a shade of distrust. Several of them have come on board. You would say they were in the midst of their families. They do every thing we wish. They dance when we desire them; caress us; and accept our trifles with the most lively gratitude. They place the knives, fish-hooks, and bits of iron, which we give them, in their ears; fastening them with the cartilage, which reaches down almost to the shoulder. How gentle, how infantine they are! with what regret they see us going away!... A squall appears in the horizon: we place our tents to catch the water, of which we begin to be in want. We draw some balls out of our guns, and throw them upon the canvas to stretch it to a point. At the sight of the balls the Carolinians leap into the sea. There they appear still more at home than with us. What strength! what address! they gain their boats by swimming with astonishing rapidity: they are upset: they right them with wonderful promptness... For the first time, my friend, we complained of our progress, and prayed for a calm. Man is never satisfied.

I shall not at present impart to you the reflections, to which these interesting people have given rise. I shall soon know more of them; and I promise you to neglect no means of becoming acquainted with their manners and customs. Either I am much deceived, or I shall have nothing but what is pleasing to inform you.

At length here we are at the Mariana islands. Many of our seamen have perished in this long passage: but those who are still on the sick list flatter themselves with the expectation of recovering their strength on shore, and detaining the life that is ready to escape from them. Is not hope a certain harbinger of health?

The longer a passage has been, the more pleasure we feel at reaching a new harbour: but it is when we have a glimpse of but a short interval between past and future toils,

1 Ed. note: The technical details of the pendulum and other scientific observations are here omitted, as well as the first 75 letters by Arago.

our minds, greedy of pleasure, are desirous of finding no objects, but such as it can repose on in tranquillity.

Here the recent remembrance of the rich countries we had just quitted was an additional stimulus to make us eager for our speedy arrival at the Marianas. The imagination, spoiled, as it were, by the picture of the splendid fields of the Molucca Islands, could not conceive a sky less pure, a vegetation less luxuriant, in a climate almost the same. A higher degree of civilization in this archipelago promised us more lively enjoyments; and the original habits, and confiding timidity of the greater part of the inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean, would here mingle with the austere and superstitious manners of the Spaniards.

Our first view of Guam, however, did not answer the idea we had formed of it from the exaggerated accounts of some enthusiastic mariners. Trees are rare on the mountains. Vast masses of bare rock form a painful contrast to patches of a yellowish green; from the midst of which, however, rise at intervals slender trees, crowned with a few pale leaves. The skirts of the shore alone exhibit rich clumps of smiling verdure: and our eyes, already saddened, turn with regret toward the remote grounds of a landscape, that reminds us but faintly of the delightful spots from which we have just fled.

After sailing along the coast for half a day, we doubled the Isle of Cocos, that shuts in on one side the road of Humata, where we did not come to anchor till six o'clock, about two cable lengths from a Spaniard, that arrived from Manila the day before, and a short league from the land. The bottom is good, and the anchorage, I believe, pretty safe. It is defended by three forts, called The Sorrowful Virgin, The Holy Angel, and St. Vincent [sic].¹

The arrival of the Spanish ship **La Paz** had brought the Governor to Humata; and the next day he came on board us, to pay his compliments to our captain, and offer him his services. The ceremony of saluting occasioned a very serious accident to two soldiers of the garrison, who, little accustomed, no doubt, to the management of cannon, were burned in such a way, as to excite apprehensions for their lives: but their good constitutions, and the care of our surgeons, preserved them from what was considered almost the certainly of death.

Our visit to the head of the settlement was paid without form, and received with cordiality.

An airy and sufficiently commodious place is now ready to receive our sick, the number of whom is pretty large. The *intendant* of the settlement is appointed to furnish them with provisions; superior orders are given to supply us amply with all the necessary succours; and at least a pleasing benevolence already obviates the wants that threatened us.

The village of Humata consists of about thirty hovels, built on piles, and constructed of the ribs of palm leaves, which are pretty strong, and well bound together. The people by whom they are inhabited and filled exhibit, outwardly, the frightful appearance of

¹ Ed. note: The last one was, rather, St. Joseph.

the most disgusting wretchedness. A piece of dirty, stinking cloth covers the women from the loins to the knees. The men are dressed in a sort of wide trousers, that reach only to the middle of the thigh. Both (and this is nearly general) are covered with a disgusting and active leprosy, that leaves on the body black and livid marks even when it disappears, and is a continual subject of dread to the Europeans who have to deal with them.

Hitherto I am speaking only of the people of Humata; and when we arrive at Agaña, the residence of the Governor, I shall note the difference that most necessarily exist between the inhabitants of a village and those of a capital. Here every thing is hideous; both the houses, and the spectres that inhabit them.

When we traverse the country, the mind revolts with indignation at the aspect of a soil so fertile from which nothing is obtained. Hills shadowed by vigorous and useless trees surround smiling vales, where weeds grow by thousands among a few blades of rice and Indian corn, attesting equally the goodness of the soil, the idleness of the inhabitants, and the inattention of the governors. How then do these robust and almost savage men employ themselves? They live—they die... with a few grains of Indian corn, a couple of bread-fruits, half a score of cigars, and a cake of the pith of the *tacca pinnatifida* [i.e. arrow-root] or of the sago tree, they pass the day; and I do not think they can imagine any thing better in their situation, if to these productions, which the earth furnishes in abundance, they be enabled to add a bit of dried fish, or a shred of half putrid venison.

The appearance of so much wretchedness, no doubt the result of the degradation into which the inhabitants of this useless archipelago have been plunged by fanatic conquerors, rend my heart, and rouses my indignation against those vain and guilty men, who fancied that the introduction of Christianity exempted them from conferring any new benefits. Conquests effected by the sword are durable only when the vanquished are induced to pardon the blood that has been shed by the remembrance of benefits bestowed.

Here there are no taxes, or contributions; only some transient impositions by the Governor at the arrival of a ship: yet the people would perish from want, if the earth did not spontaneously furnish the idle inhabitants with the slight means of subsistence they require.

In certain small towns, however, there are customs still respected which afford proofs that the natives of these islands have formerly experienced periods of famine, as they indicate on their part a degree of foresight, from which they are freed at present by the nature of their country.

In the history of the world wisdom and folly are almost always companions.

We are setting off today to get nearer the capital. I am not sorry to quit Humata.

LETTER LXXVII.

Guam.

Very long reefs shut in the port of St. Louis, which is also protected from the northern winds by Goat Island. The bluff of Orote, on which a fort of little use has been erected, shelters it from the west-south-west winds likewise; but on the side of Guam tolerably high mountains do not prevent ships from running some danger, on account of innumerable shoals, which are for the most part dry at low water. On one of these shoals, formed of madrepores, the Spaniards, *always industrious*, have constructed a new fort, called St. Louis;¹ no doubt at great expense, but of as little use as that on the hill. It was not without infinite difficulty that we reached the anchorage, which we shall not quit for some time.

A few days after our arrival at Guam, the Governor spoke to us so warmly of Tinian, and the little known remains of ancient monuments to be found there, that Mr. Freycinet requested to be furnished with the means of visiting that island. Don José de Medinilla readily complied, and offered any of us a passage in the proas of the Caroline Islands, that make annual voyages to Rota, Tinian, and Seypan. Messrs. Gaudichaud, Bérard, and myself, were appointed to make this excursion; and the second day of our stay at the anchorage of St. Louis we embarked for the town whence we were to take our departure.

The channel between Goat Island and the coast of Guam is not more than six miles across in its greatest breadth, or less than three in its smallest. The island is covered with trees and shrubs, for the most part useless, among which, however, is found the sago tree, called in the country *federico*, that furnishes the inhabitants of this archipelago with the chief article of their food. There is no water on Goat Island, except what is sometimes found in a large reservoir four or five hundred feet in diameter, supplied only by the rains; but on the other hand the coast of Guam exhibits in all parts charming prospects, and spots of rich verdure, on which the eye rests with delight.

The reefs of which I have spoken extend from the middle of the road of St. Louis to Agaña, leaving but three narrow passages for boats. The first is opposite Tupungan, a village of about fifteen houses; in which at least as much wretchedness appears as at Humata, and the leprosy is not less frequent. The second leads to Anigua, a place as wretched as Tupungan; where we quitted our boat, to proceed by land to Agaña, nearly six miles distant.² How fruitful is the soil on all this part of the island! How culpable are the people to neglect it! Spacious fields deserted attest the apathy of the wretched inhabitants, and lead us to regret that the Spaniards do not relinquish the possession of this rich archipelago to some other power.

1 Ed. note: Rather Santa Cruz.

2 Aniguag is much nearer Agaña. They walked from Tupungan.

A few hundred yards from Anigua are several solitary houses, in which are kept lepers of both sexes,¹ whose disease is so virulent that it commonly deprives them of the tongue or some of their limbs, and is said to become a contagious distemper. I have sketched two of these unfortunate creatures, exhibiting to the eye the most hideous aspect of human misery. One shudders with horror on approaching these houses of desolation and despair. I am persuaded, that by enlarging these paltry buildings, collecting in them all the persons in the island severely attacked by the leprosy, and prohibiting all communication with them from without, they might expel from the country this frightful disease; which, if it do not quickly cause the death of the patient, at least shortens his days, and perhaps leads him to curse them.² What a scene, to behold an infant, a few days old, calmly reposing in the arms of a woman devoured by the leprosy, who imprudently lavishes on it her caresses! yet this occurs in almost every house; government opposes no obstacle to it; and the infant, while sucking its mother's milk, inhales with it disease and death.

Before we arrived at the village of Asan, which is only a quarter of a league from the town, we passed through a narrow mountainous path, bordered by elegant, odoriferous trees. The roads are in a manner enclosed by alleys of coconut trees, the long and regular fronds of which form a pleasing contrast with the broad and indented foliage of the bread-fruit tree. The coconut tree is not so tall here as at Rawak and Ombay,³ but it appeared to me more vigorous. Its stem, almost always perpendicular, occasionally stretches out horizontally, forms an elbow at a certain height, rises thence majestically, and seems to tower into the air as its proper domain. Here we were particularly enabled to appreciate the advantages of this valuable tree, with many of the properties of which we were previously only partially acquainted.

The village of Asan is larger than the other two, but it exhibits the same wretchedness, and the same scenes of desolation. I never saw so many coconut trees as in the road that leads from this village to the town; never, perhaps, had I a more agreeable walk, and never did I find a more delightful landscape; the most skilful painter could delineate its beauties but faintly.

Several torrents that descend from the mountains, and precipitate themselves into the sea, are crossed by bridges tolerably well built, the work no doubt of the conquerors of this archipelago. Among the new structures there is nothing to be compared with them.

1 Ed. note: This leper village was then an extension of Tupungan, and was not yet located at Adelup Point.

2 It is called here *the disease of St. Lazarus*.

3 Ed. note: Rawak is near Waigoo on the west tip of New Guinea. Ombay is an islet off the coast of Timor Island (see below).

LETTER LXXVIII.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

This capital has a tolerable resemblance to a city; not, as we were told, to an European city, but to a city in which nine-tenths of the houses are built with the mid-ribs of the coconut tree, and covered with leaves of trees. It was so long since we had seen such a number collected together, that our first view of Agaña prejudiced us in its favour. It has streets, real houses, a church of rather handsome appearance, and a palace somewhat deserving the name. I am becoming reconciled to the country; but I have not yet decided where my feeble admiration ought to stop.

The Governor received us in his *palace*, which is built of stone and wood. It is newly whitewashed, and cleaned in such a manner as to lead us to suspect that these embellishments have been executed solely on our account. Eight pieces of artillery defend the gate. At its side is a very neat and spacious guardhouse; but what spoiled its appearance was that of the soldiers whom I recollected to have left at Humata, armed with spits and brooms. I never saw a more laughable caricature than the officers of the garrison in full dress. Nothing can be more whimsical than their accoutrements; nothing more ridiculous than the importance they attach to a phantom of an epaulette dangling down the back of the shoulder. A sword of the days of Charlemagne, as long and as flat as the *harangues of most of our orators*; spatterdashes in which legs accustomed to greater liberty wallow at ease; peaked shoes; coats, the flaps of which trail on the ground; a few long hairs, white or plastered, carelessly tied with a strip of leather, or a blue or yellow ribbon; *opera* hats, the two corners of which rest on the shoulders, and are occasionally grazed by the point of the rapier; the lofty air they wish to assume; the manner of giving the word of command, which reminded us so well of their servile habits; the unsteady and consequential step; every thing in these individuals, disguised as soldiers, brings to my mind those scenes of gay intoxication, with which Vernet enriches the shop windows of Martinet, and the stalls of the Boulevards. Would I had his talents!

The house of the Governor is sufficiently large and airy; but you must not look for ornaments in it. The only one to be found is a portrait of the king of Spain, which does little credit to the artist at Manila, by whom it was painted. There were also in the same saloon eight or ten engravings, representing the entrance of the French into Madrid: but they were removed this morning; and it was easy to perceive, by the scenes of disorder and pillage there exhibited, that the painter was a Spaniard, loved his country, and hated ours.

In the bedchamber of the petty prince is still to be seen a *Mater Dolorosa*, who appears to grieve only at the manner in which the painter has disfigured her.

At the back of the palace is a pretty large piece of ground, which is called the *garden*, but in which probably nothing was ever sown. How then can the inhabitants be expected to cultivate their possessions, while their chiefs set the example of neglect? The square in front of this edifice is the only one in the city: it is tolerably large, but irregular.

They reckon 570 houses in Agaña; only 50 of which are built of stone. The rest, properly speaking, are miserable huts, standing in a little enclosure of two or three hundred tobacco plants; bordered by a wall of sago trees, from which the inhabitants make cakes, indifferent enough, and biscuits somewhat better, but very doughy. These houses have seldom more than two rooms, separated by a partition of deals of bamboo or coconut tree. In one the cooking and household work is performed; and here the brothers, sisters, cousins, pigs, and friends of the family, sleep pell-mell. In the other the master of the house sleeps alone: and in this commonly are stuck up the smoky figures of some saints, before which the family assemble and recite their prayers almost every hour of the day. These scenes of devotion are affecting; and would be still more so, if we did not know how easily these senseless people forget their religious duties, as soon as the moments of prayer are at an end.

The houses are regularly placed, and form streets tolerably wide, but not paved. Except those of stone, all are built on piles four feet high. This custom, which is almost general throughout the South Sea islands, could have been adopted only to guard the people against those diseases which the rainy season would not fail to produce.

The country round the town is not more cultivated than that at a distance from it. You may see, indeed, humble huts, round which a few yards of rice, Indian corn, and tobacco, are cultivated: but how much ground is lost! what culpable indolence prevails!... I should have guessed, that the country belonged to the Spaniards, from the sacrilegious state of neglect in which it is left. I observed every hour in the day the conduct of some of the inhabitants, and those not the most idle: time must seem to them very long, and life very short. They sleep two-thirds of the day; and when they employ the other in labour it is scarcely ever without being obliged to do so by necessity or the Governor. They smoke and chew the whole day; and seem to live only on tobacco and areca nut mixed with lime; they add, indeed, a few leaves of betel, but this seasoning requires a little care and trouble; and what person here will take either to live?

The arrival of a ship at the settlement is a remarkable event. As soon as one is descried, the people quit their *ranchos*,¹ and proceed toward the capital. The most active prepare the articles they have to barter; and interest, for once at least, rouses them from their apathy. The streets are peopled, and we perceive a little motion in a country that might have been taken the day before for the realm of sleep.

The Governor, in paying his compliments, observed, that he considered this as a happy year. Two Russian frigates, the **Kamchatka** and the **Kutusov**, anchored here; the former on the 7th of December, 1818; the latter, on the 14th of January, 1819. They were engaged separately on voyages of discovery, undertaken by order of their government. The brig **Rurik**, which we met with at the Cape of Good Hope, had also stayed one week here. We could get no information respecting the object of the voyages of the first two vessels; but that of Captain Kotzebue's did as much honour to the Russian

1 Country houses.

minister, who directed it, as the result will to the learned commander, whom he selected to carry it into effect.

LETTER LXXIX.

Guam (Mariana Islands).

Nowhere, perhaps, is there so much and so little religion as at Guam. The women bestow their favours for a rosary. The men do not blush to offer you a sister, or some other of their relations, and will immediately after prostrate themselves at the foot of the altar. In the churches the two sexes are separate; and if you see few girls without a veil, you also see few men gaze at them. In church the people behave like Christians; in the city, and in the country, like savages.

Here, as in Spain, the husbands are very jealous of their wives; lovers, of their mistresses: but, these excepted, you may pay your court, if you please, to their sisters and friends; what is it to them? What is not appropriated to themselves is no concern of theirs: and you will find men shameless enough to offer you, as soon as you enter their houses, one of their relations, for fear you should cast an eye on their wives. At the same time, you may be assured, that if you please the wife you will not long sigh in vain.

We should be astonished at the prodigious number of processions and religious ceremonies, with which the people are amused at Guam, if we were not aware, that the zeal of devotees, and even the carelessness of the indifferent, are beneficial to the church, and particularly to the priest, who takes advantage of every thing. Collections are made at the homes; requisitions are ordered; and there are few of the inhabitants who can escape that sort of tax. Such as have no money, of which there is very little in the settlement, provide fruit, vegetables, and meat, to fill the stores of the priest, who probably distributes a considerable portion among the poor¹... But I saw no poor at Guam!

I imagined the processions would cease when Lent was over, and that the people would have a few days respite. By no means: they went on more sedulously than ever: and, all things considered, these poor people, to whom the church prescribes rest or prohibits labour half the week, are not so much to blame for devoting three-fourths of their lives to idleness. Is it not even from excess of zeal that the land is so neglected?... I cannot tell, but I fear I was too severe in my first conjectures. Let me be more circumspect in future.

The wind is still contrary, and I am rejoiced at it, as several *flying proas* from the Caroline Islands are just announced by the look-out at Humata, which gives us hopes of making our short trip with excellent pilots, and in boats better managed than those intended for us. I have also seen the ceremonies of the Holy Week, and have now an idea of the splendour with which our religious mysteries are celebrated here. With superior pomp and greater impositions on the people, they are celebrated here as they are at Manila, and at Manila as they are in Spain. It was to our captain that the priest of

1 These practices do not exist at the Philippine Islands, where the ministers of our holy religion set the people entrusted to their care an example of every virtue.

Agaña delivered the keys of the Holy Sepulcher. He kept them two days hung round his neck, and returned them on Easter eve, with exemplary devotion.

It is truly painful to see a people, who might so easily be guided aright, given up to the darkness in which they are enveloped, and even in the present day adopting, with blind confidence, the absurd narratives of pretended daily miracles with which they are amused every hour of the day. Our learned Abbé de Quélen, whose paternal cares are not confined to the instruction of the crew, with whom he has made so long a voyage, has had many conversations with the priest of Agaña; and he is convinced that the poor man can scarcely instruct his flock in the simplest lessons of the catechism, as he is himself ignorant of the fundamental principles of our religion. As to Latin, which he told us he had studied from his earliest infancy, under the ablest professors at Manila, our chaplain, who speaks it with the greatest fluency, could scarcely make him understand a few words by turning and varying his phrases: and for my own part, I am convinced, that as long as such pastors as Fray Ciriaco are sent to the Mariana islands, religion will be little honoured there, and the morals of the people will not be in the slightest degree improved.

I have told you that Holy Week is a season revered by the inhabitants of Guam. There is no exaggeration, I assure you, in terming the festival of Easter the day of scandal.

P.S. Today we have experienced two slight shocks of an earthquake.

LETTER LXXX.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

The [Portuguese] Governor of Diely, zealous for the welfare of the country entrusted to him, as soon as he arrived at Timor, established a little council, in which he conferred places on those of his officers whom he judged most capable of filling them: and, persuaded that to make all the branches of administration go on well, all the labours and offices must not rest on his shoulders alone, he wisely appointed judges, officers of police, and generals in the army, whose titles were confined to the settlement. The functions being thus distributed, business goes on much better: one affair is not thwarted by another; then may be concluded at one time, and the people are satisfied. Here Mister Medinilla is Commander-in-chief, judge, counsellor, and often prosecutor. To whom can any appeal be made against his decrees?... Who will listen to a poor fellow that is proscribed?... At Diely the Governor has an account of all affairs laid before him: he is the council of revision: and with men who take such wise precautions to prevent disorders, it is seldom that abuses can be repeated, or that the injustice of a powerful oppressor can exempt him from being disgraced by the sovereign.

At Guam, who would dare to prefer a complaint against the confidential domestic of the Governor? Yet who better deserves the vengeance of the law? Under the cloak of the chief he has made himself the little tyrant of the colony: and, if he have hitherto escaped the public animosity, he is indebted for it to the base protection granted him.

Does not he make himself the participator in a crime who refuses to punish its perpetrators?

One of the chiefs of the colony (and not one of the least) said to me one day:

—“It is not long since I saved the life of a man, whom you will see, no doubt, at Rota, in the trip you are going to make; and he has not proved very grateful for it. Hear me: I had a mistress...”

—“I know it.”

—“She adored me.”

—“I do not doubt it.”

—“And, between ourselves, her fidelity was incorruptible. You are sensible that, in a country like this, we must seek amusement if we would not die of pure ennui. This young lady was in the habit every evening of coming to my palace; and, in spite of spies and of the bad consequences that might ensue from such nocturnal meetings...”

—“I understand you.”

—“My friendship for this lovely unfortunate was drawn still closer by an event that I had not foreseen: but, in short, *it was not my fault*. Mademoiselle R... was brought to bed; and the charming infant, with which she presented me, imposed on me fresh obligations. I summoned to my house the first workmen in Guam: I ordered them to quit their wives, their children, their domestic affairs, and devote themselves entirely to the work I meditated. In a country destitute of resources, like this, it requires some time to build a house of any respectability; but, after 18 months of constant assiduity, I saw with pleasure the progress made. It is true, a few families had to suffer by the absence of their heads, whom I kept with me: but my child was every thing to me; and the idea of providing him with an abode worthy of himself and of his mother delighted me.”

“So far everything went on well. The people were not ignorant that I had a mistress; but my example could scarcely have any effect on the vulgar, and no-one here had any right to act as I did. One night, while she, for whom my heart was impatient, was proceeding slowly, and alone, toward my palace, the captain, of whom I just spoke to you, saw her, ran to her and, in order to seduce her, made her proposals, at which a person so virtuous naturally revolted. Had it not been for a spy I set to watch that night, I should perhaps have heard nothing of this scandalous discourse, my mistress was so reserved, and so apprehensive of losing my favour; but being closely pressed, she blushing informed me of the solicitations of my rival. I was enraged, and, resolved on vengeance, deferred it only till the next day. In the evening, the captain, returning from this country house, was assaulted by a dozen domestics, against whom he at first defended himself courageously; but, overpowered by numbers, he fell, and the fellows were about to dispatch him, when I came forward, and said: ‘Let him alone, he is dead.’ I caused him to be carried home carefully, and delivered to his wife and children.”¹

1 Ed. note: Arago will later meet this Captain Martinez in Rota, where he had been exiled.

Some person coming in at this moment interrupted our discourse; and, surprised at his generosity, I mechanically thought of the Spanish monk, who lay in wait for passers-by at the corner of a street in Barcelona, stabbed them with his stiletto, pretended to run up at the alarm, and was lavish of his interested assistance to the person he had just assassinated; which procured him first an immense fortune, and lastly the gallows.

“I should have been satisfied with my vengeance,” said my narrator to me on his return. “if I had not learned from the public, which is not always the organ of truth, that my enemy had scarcely recovered from his wounds before he boasted he would rob me of my mistress, and make himself a party in the island.”

“In consideration for the important rank he had always held in the colony, I had suffered a bad business to die away, a theft of gunpowder, in which he was suspected of being concerned; but his pursuit of my mistress rendered him more guilty in my eyes. I sent my guards to his house; he was arrested; I tried him; and, after having made him languish five months in prison, I sent him, in very bad weather, to grow old, and perhaps die, at Rota. However, as I am answerable for my conduct to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, I have myself drawn up the *procès-verbal* of the charge against him, in which it was unnecessary to say anything of my mistress, who is the god-daughter of my prisoner; and I wait for the orders of my superior on the subject.”¹

This anecdote astonished me. I give it as I heard it, and leave it to your reflections.

In the villages punishments are ordered by the *alcaldes* [i.e. mayors], and executed by the *gobernadorcillos* (little governors). There is no appeal from their sentences; and he who should complain of having received five-and-twenty blows with a cane today, would receive fifty tomorrow for having dared to utter a complaint...

A brother has a sister insulted by a neighbour; a son hears his mother calumniated: the best step they can take is to revenge it themselves; there are no laws here against calumniators.

Obscure and acknowledged assassins are committed to prison, and put in irons as a preliminary step. While they are in custody, the affair is examined very slightly, the culprits are employed, and the first opportunity they are sent to Manila, where the mode of proceeding of the chiefs of Guam must excite no little astonishment.

A rich person here is always sure to take vengeance of an affront. He pays four or five known malefactors, and the insult is, soon wiped out. The favourite domestic of Governor Medinilla is considered in the settlement as the leader of this association. There is only one thing to be feared, when he is charged with such an honourable commission, that he will carry his vengeance too far. And such monsters have protectors! I was almost going to say friends.

1 Ed. note: The only criminal file against an officer during the first term of Governor Medinilla was against Captain Ignacio Martinez. This is confirmed below.

As to the police, which with us requires adroit knaves, who insinuate themselves into company, penetrate into all secrets, and whose sole trade, in a word, is to ruin families, while thinking they render themselves necessary to a government that despises while it pays them, there is no such thing here; and it would be useless, for the people know not what a conspiracy is. The state, the monarchy, the king, are words without meaning to the greater part of the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands. They see nothing superior to the Governor; and the love of these good people for their chiefs would rise to adoration, if they received from them benefits alone, and if none but the wicked had anything to fear under their paternal administration.

Major Don Luis de Torres, the only native with whom you can venture to have a little conversation, has told me more than once, that a woman was the only cause of the disorders that for some time had afflicted the colony; and that but for her the Governor would have been known here only as a benefactor.

What woman is there in Guam, whose qualities can justify so much weakness?

LETTER LXXXI.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

At Agaña there are a royal college and several secondary schools. In the former, the scholars learn to read and sing; in the others, they are attempted to be taught to sing and read. Thus the music master is both first and second tutor. He is the principal of the college; for I do not consider as principal one Captain Agustín, who can scarcely read, and cannot sing. You would suppose, perhaps, that the Lulli of the settlement possesses some talents for music; but you would be mistaken.¹ He has never made a noise, but in church; and except two or three patriotic songs, and four or five country ballads, his pupils know nothing beyond high mass, vespers, and a few hymns. Would you know in what the forty pupils of the college are employed? In amusing the Governor, and the captains of ships that wander thus far.

As they do not wish to make them men of science or learning, which would be nearly useless, why do they not make mechanics of them? They employ them in amusing strangers, and would blush to teach them a trade! They are intended to become, hereafter, persons of consequence in the settlement: there is no knowing how high they may be advanced; but this we may venture to affirm, they will always be useless beings.

The principal of the college (for let me observe again there is but one) has six dollars a month, or a shirt, and his allowance of provisions. The master of a secondary school, who implicitly follows the precepts of his superior, has only two dollars. Even this is paying dearly for a useless being.

It is more than six years since the present Governor arrived; and he is ignorant to this moment of the system of education followed here. He has resolved to leave his successor a method of instruction, that must be very useful to the settlement, and which

¹ Ed. note: Jean-Baptiste Lulli (1632-1687) was a French composer who created, among other things, the French opera style. The director of the college was Captain Justo de la Cruz.

will show, a few score years hence, the folly of thus neglecting a people who are governed at so little expense. Long live philanthropy!

The ploughs and carts at Guam remind us of the infancy of agriculture and the arts.

There are also two or three manufactories for weaving. The machinery is French. There is one Chinese, more simple, and more useful than ours; consequently it has little employment.

As to architecture, it would answer no purpose here: and, without purchasing, at great expense, the whimsical pleasure of a magnificent residence, if the people would be contented with durable and commodious habitations, they have only to build after the models, perhaps rather too massive, left them by the first inhabitants, which neither time nor greedy conquerors have been able to destroy.

The common people are very superstitious at Agaña, and yet more so in the country; for superstition is the daughter of ignorance. Since our arrival, we have had four shocks of an earthquake, which have been attributed to the dissolute morals of the settlement. If we were to believe the inhabitants, God pays no attention to any country but theirs. No effect takes place, however trifling, in which they do not discern a great cause.

This superstition, which does not fail sometimes to have very fatal effects, is one of the immediate results of the ascendancy which the first conquerors of the archipelago acquired here. You will perceive hereafter, that it would be very astonishing if the people had emancipated themselves from them.

There is no country in the world where sons pay more respect to their fathers. Age does not free them from obedience; and I have seen men of forty tremble at a mere reprimand from their father. They never mention their name without the prefix of Señor, and a slight inclination of the head.

It is very seldom that a mother does not suckle her own child: a serious illness alone could induce her to renounce the duties of maternity. The winds of Europe have not blown so far as these climates.

It would be necessary, however, in almost all the South-Sea islands included between the tropics, to prohibit to many mothers the pleasing duty, of which our females deprive themselves; and I do not even know but that it would be desirable to prohibit marriage to persons of either sex, afflicted with certain diseases, which there is danger of their transmitting to their children. There are remedies in nature that are very violent, but the happy results of which have been demonstrated by experience.

Males here may marry at fourteen, and females at twelve; but such precocious matches are very rare.

The number of children in a family is commonly from three to five. I have seen an old man, who had twenty-seven, all living, and all consoling him in his infirmities. Greuse would have found in them a fine subject for a picture.¹

1 Ed. note: Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) was a French painter whose works had moral lessons attached to them.

There is a woman in the settlement, the number of whose progeny amounts to 137. To mention such instances is to prove their rarity.

LETTER LXXXII.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

The primitive language of the inhabitants of the Mariana islands is monotonous, and extremely difficult. There are syllables, to the pronunciation of which our letters can only approximate; and I am now no longer astonished at the great differences I have observed in a number of savage words given by the early navigators.

The style is the man, says Buffon: and if we apply here the same remark to the language (as the art of writing was long unknown here), we must allow some genius to the people who have certainly been debased by massacres and persecutions. They have adopted the language of their masters with their vices: but, though still retaining something of remote times, they have often shown that they would more easily have assumed their virtues.

Every thing leads me to believe, that this country, so long unknown, was already considerably civilized, when it was discovered by chance, and subdued by force of arms. The ancient monuments still to be seen would be an evident proof of it; if the language which is purified only by liberty, and the detestation of slavery, did not concur in supporting my assertion. It is as rich in figurative expressions, as varied in its construction. Translate one of their speeches word for word, and you will be astonished at its elegance and precision. "The aspect of Tinian," said a native to me yesterday, "has I know not what of majestic, that enlarges the mind, and purifies the thoughts." And, speaking of the lightness of the *proas* of the Carolines, he said: "like the birds of the ocean they cut the waves, and display the wind: they are the wind itself." I am quite certain that he who translated this phrase into Spanish did not embellish it; and could not have found, in the sort of education he received, the expressive terms of the Chamorro language.

The dress of both men and women is like that of the common people in some provinces of Spain, with a few modifications. Instead of the cumbrous *mantilla*, that infolds the Spanish women with so much elegance, a handkerchief here covers the forehead, and floats loose over the shoulders. The hair is tied very low behind; and this fashion, which seems to lengthen the shape of the head, and displeases at first, becomes very pleasing when you are accustomed to it. The *corset* which slightly conceals the bosom, and seldom covers the loins, is attractive both from what it allows to be seen, and what it leaves to conjecture. The men almost always wear a shirt over the trousers, which are very short, seldom reaching below the knee.

[The women of Guam]

The complexion of both sexes is a dark yellow. Their teeth are in general spoiled by the use of betel [nut], and the lime with which they season it. Everybody smokes; and in almost every house you may see children four or five years old with a cigar in their

mouths. The cigars used by the women are of a monstrous size; and there is a sort of coquetry displayed in having them six inches long and eight or nine lines in diameter.

The petticoats are generally very long, to the regret of travellers: for the women have very well shaped legs, as well as the men, which, though small, might serve as models for our best statuaries. Their shape is superior to any thing we have hitherto observed.

The women sometimes wear men's hats: and this graceful dress, their truly fascinating walk, their almost general desire of making themselves agreeable to strangers, everything in short conspires to fire the imagination of those, whom a long voyage has kept at a distance from this dangerous sex, rendered still more so by long absence from them, and by the pleasing recollections they incessantly bring to mind.

Though the period of our stay, as appointed by Mr. Freycinet, has long elapsed, I look forward with regret to the moment of departure; for the ladies of Agaña, now less coy, begin to make us the confidants of their little vexations, and to accept the consolations we are eager to offer.

Guam is decidedly more agreeable.

LETTER LXXXIII.

[The women of Guam (cont'd)]

Agaña (Island of Guam).

I have told you, my dear Battle,¹ they begin to be accustomed to our presence. The men no longer dread us so much, though we are become more formidable, from the confidence with which we have inspired their wives. It seems to me, that they are willing to make a necessity of what they cannot prevent; and, all things considered, I think they act wisely. They would be much more deceived, if they sought to be less so; and from the evil, which they seemed so much to dread, three good consequences arise: the liberty of the women, the emancipation of the men from a chimera, and our personal satisfaction, which ought certainly to be taken into the account.

Instead of shunning, the beauties of the country now seek us. They undertake to execute our commissions, of which they acquit themselves with zeal; come to our lodgings not unaccompanied; and at length visit us alone. We are no longer in their eyes formidable insurgents, thirsting after blood and plunder: we are become amiable and desired strangers; or, if some still retain doubts of our intentions, they choose rather to expose themselves to the danger by a confiding boldness, than to shun it by a timid prudence. We have rosaries, beads, handkerchiefs, articles much prized among them: and our dealings with them, while they give them a high idea of our generosity, at the same time convince us of the goodness of their hearts. Our first conversations were very obscure, as few of us understood Spanish, and they cannot speak a word of French: but they are intelligent, and when necessary, gestures, the universal language, smooth

1 Ed. note: His correspondant had a Catalan family name. Arago himself was born in Roussillon, the French region nearest Barcelona.

all difficulties, and serve us as an interpreter. In this view Europe appears to them the country of countries; and they ingenuously confess, that we know much more than their husbands. It is but fair to make the most of our advantages.

The town is bordered on the south by a pretty high mountain, lately abandoned from fear, and now frequented from security. On the north, fine clumps of coconut trees form a majestic screen, that seems to oppose a barrier to the waves of the sea. Under these magnificent trees, intermingled with plantain and bread-fruit trees, flows a small shallow river, that takes its rise a league from the city, in a delightful but little cultivated valley. Thither the maidens and wives of Agaña repair to confide their charms to the indiscreet water, that conceals them but slightly. This river became our usual place of meeting: for in these burning climes we were recommended to bathe frequently: and if at first our visits banished a sex unaccustomed to our presence, we were shortly convinced, that modesty alarmed was rather the pretence than the cause of its desertion. We may habituate ourselves to everything, even to danger; as experience has just told us. In the beginning, the hour of our arrival at the river was that of the departure of the women: by degrees they did not retire till a few minutes after; by and by they did not leave it till we did; and at last the place became an actual rendez-vous. Here I was enabled to observe the beauty of shapes, that bandages and laces had not profaned: and I confess I could scarcely have suspected such graceful forms under coarse veils, and sometimes beneath wretched rags.

From this confidence, so flattering to us, arose another important advantage. Our conversations, being less watched, had more liberty; and *our remarks made an impression*, as Madame Dacier, of Gothic memory, says.¹ It is not by paying minute attention to the manners and customs of a country, that we can judge of them, and form just comparisons; reason takes flight at the aspect of a stern brow; and it is by chatting playfully with different persons, that we can best appreciate them. If a pedagogue interrogates a young girl, adieu to truth, adieu to frankness; for even innocence is bashful. A gay youngster will ask a hundred questions; and if he inspires confidence (and youngsters do so more frequently than is supposed), his mistress will not venture to deceive him; she will conceal nothing from him; and *will call a cat, a cat!* His gaiety will inspire hers: his indulgence will excite her confessions; they will laugh together, but this laugh will be on a subject connected with manners: and it is by playing, as it were, with customs and absurdities, that he will most readily acquire a knowledge of them.

Ignorance of the word *virtue* does not prevent its existing here: and it would be very unjust to judge lightly of the conduct of all the women. We find some who never violate their duties, among which they clearly comprehend fidelity to their husbands: but these instances are not very common; and the number of those who emancipate themselves from that law is infinitely greater than that of those who submit to it. We are four thousand leagues from Europe.

1 Ed. note: Mme. Anne Dacier, née Lefebvre (1647-1720), translated Homer, and became a defender of ancient traditions.

It is probable that, previous to the conquest of this archipelago, wives never took the names of their husbands; since even at present, notwithstanding the Spanish laws are in force in the Mariana Islands, that practice obtains, although some centuries of slavery might have been expected to obliterate it.

I may venture to introduce here some curious observations on the mixture of Spanish manners with those of the Chamorros, the first inhabitants of these islands. Although the latter were compelled to submit to a foreign yoke, and abjure certain ancient customs, they have nevertheless only adopted from their conquerors such as assimilate in some measure with their national character.

All their traditions are full of extraordinary phenomena, of which their country was the scene. Their tales are nothing but an absurd tissue of supernatural powers, who interfered in terrestrial affairs, and promised them rewards, or threatened them with cruel punishments. Accordingly no nation in the world has such faith in the miraculous stories, with which Spanish books are filled, as that by which the Mariana Islands is now inhabited. Neither has any people ever had more of that childish superstition, which so strongly characterizes the country people of the European peninsula. Here, if a man breaks his leg, it is immediately imputed to his having eaten a morsel of salt venison on a Friday. If a house catches fire, it is because the owner, being engaged in conversation, neglected to pull off his hat the moment he set his foot in the church. Do not attempt to extinguish the flames; both houses must be burned down: no human power can prevent it. This strange speech I heard the other day from the mouth of one of the principal persons in the colony, Captain Agustín; and it was acted upon by the crowd around him, which continued motionless at a fire, that might have proved fatal to a great part of the city. The zeal and activity of some of our sailors, however, gave the lie to the declaration of the imbecile captain, and one house only was destroyed. But what was his answer to this argument? He declared, that he saw the two courageous seamen, who were the foremost in subduing the fire, attending divine service that morning with exemplary devotion: unquestionably the house could have been saved only by them.

With this turn of mind, so advantageous to the ambitious projects of the Spaniards at the time of their first attempts on this archipelago, and with which they must have been struck, it becomes matter of astonishment how so much blood should have been shed in every one of the islands; and by what strange concurrence of circumstances the feeble remnant of a numerous population contrived to escape their persecutions and massacres.

The history of the Spanish conquests is nothing but a long tissue of cruelties and horrors; yet what people upon earth have given more noble examples of greatness and magnanimity?

LETTER LXXXIV.

Agaña (Guam), April, 1819.

Messrs. Gaudichard, Bérard, and I, are setting off for Rota and Tinian in the *flying proas* of the Caroline Islands, that arrived a few days ago. The Governor, always at-

tentive to our accommodation, has persuaded us to embark with Carolinian pilots, as commanding stronger boats than any that have been for some years at the Mariana Islands, and also as more skilful seamen. I must therefore suspend for some time my notes on Guam, as I am about to change the scene; and, at my return, I shall communicate to you such additional details as I procure.

From the advice hourly given us by Mr. Medinilla, and the sort of importance he appears to attach to this voyage, it might be supposed to be attended with danger. We regard it only as a party of pleasure.

It is ten o'clock: the men in office at Agaña, our captain, and a few of our companions, accompany us to the sea-side, and wish us a pleasant voyage.

The wind is brisk, and tolerably favourable: one of our conductors dives to the depth of eight or ten fathoms, to loosen from the rock the cord that holds fast our boat: the sail is hoisted; and, for the first time, I observe a gay departure.

Our little fleet consisted of eight proas. Gaudichaud was in the smallest: Bérard and I in the largest, commanded by the chief pilot. We were going at the rate of five or six knots; as there was a pretty fresh easterly wind, and soon lost sight of the town, which from the offing makes no appearance, and frequently is not even perceived, being concealed by a superb screen of coconut trees. Three points, however, mark its locality to mariners. Fort St. Agatha [rather Santa Agueda], built on the mountain; the castle of St. Raphael, which is on the east, and forms a white spot; and a pretty large shed, which is here called the *dockyard*, because boats are repaired there, and at present a brig is building.

The wind dying away, we anchored in the evening at Rotignan [i.e. Ritidian], a magnificent hill on the north of the island, rather more than three leagues from the city. Squalls came on rapidly; and one of them was so violent, that a proa, not having time to brail up the sail, was upset. It was one of those manned by the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands.... A hint to those who bestow exaggerated commendations on the goodness of these boats. Luckily no-one of our trio was on board it: and, notwithstanding the dexterity of those who manned it, it was two hours before it was righted.

We spoke of the accident with some anxiety to our pilots, who only laughed at it, and by their confidence removed our apprehensions, assuring us that we had no reason to be afraid.

Who could imagine in such frail boats, sometimes only three or four feet wide, and forty feet long, the planks of which are joined and fastened with a little lime and a gum obtained from the breadfruit tree, these daring men, unassisted by the compass, and guided only by the stars and their own experience, would venture to undertake voyages of more than six hundred leagues, and rarely fall victims to their confidence? Can it be possible, that the man of nature, absolutely destitute of resources, is more industrious than the citizen of civilised countries? What do these men want, to execute things better? Tools; iron. They frequently invent, and their conceptions are those of genius: they imitate also, though rarely, and soon surpass their models. A few bits of iron attract the peaceful inhabitants of the Carolines to the Mariana Islands: which of us would

make the voyage in this manner to possess the whole of this rich archipelago?... If our machines are more wonderful, how many steps must have been made to arrive at this perfection! One artist is preceded by another; one attempt follows an attempt less successful: a slight degree of success opens a new career; the mine is explored; and the man who first reaches the goal is indebted for it to a continues series of attempts, the authors of which remain almost always unknown, but possess not on this account the less merit. And, besides, consider that in Europe we are incessantly endeavouring to improve, and to arrive at perfection; here, as soon as they attain what is well, they seldom go any farther: and if the astonishing construction of their boats excited our admiration, it was already the same in the days of Anson, and had not varied perhaps for ages. Perfection, indeed, is a species of invention: but which has most merit: he who finds a path traced out, and advances beyond it, or he who first discovers it, and poits the way? Since I have seen and known these men, whom in our foolish pride we do not blush to call savages, I no longer feel for them that pity which arises from contempt, but merely that which is inspired by a sense of the wants and evils of our neighbour. We shall see, hereafter, whether they would think themselves honoured by this more generous sentiment.

Being afraid to let slip the smallest peculiarity that could serve to characterize our cheerful pilots, you will find different traits of them scattered through my subsequent letters fill our return to Guam. These people appear to me so good, they are so little known, that to omit the least observation would be an act of culpable negligence.

Besides, I dwell with so much pleasure on the particulars of their way of life: it is so uniform, so gentle! What people have ever deserved the attention and benefits of civilized countries more than these!

LETTER LXXXV.

Passage from Guam to Rota.

If the first opinion with which the Carolinians inspire you be a favourable one, you will feel for them a degree of respect as you have opportunities of knowing them better. How is it they have been so fortunate as to escape the convulsions with which all this part of the globe has been torn for centuries? Nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands have been exterminated; and that religion, which ought to have established in them peace and happiness, has covered them with a funeral pall. *One spot of blood* has marked out Owhyhee [i.e. Hawaii] to future nations: and the murder of Cook will ever be a terror to those voyagers who persuade themselves that these solitary nations are formed to cringe and obey, and are unworthy of the benefits of our civilization. New Guinea conceals cannibals in its bosom. New Holland, in several parts, is not perhaps less to be dreaded. Human sacrifices were in use not long ago in the Society Islands, and are still in the archipelago of the Friendly Islands. Shocking stories are told of the ferocity of the inhabitants of New Zealand. And on the coast of Timor, the interior of which is half savage, there exists an island, that of Ombay, where the people drink blood out of the skulls of their vanquished enemies. The inhabitants of

the Caroline Islands alone have been hitherto strangers to all these horrors. Christianity, however, has penetrated among them; but for want of judicious interpreters, it has made few proselytes: but the first missionaries sent thither, inspired with a more Christian zeal, did not transform into fields of carnage a country which they were not so fortunate as to enlighten.

The coast of Guam, along which we sailed the whole of the 22d, rises gradually as far as the northernmost point, and is richly wooded in all parts. Breadfruit and coconut trees skirt the shore, which is varied by several capes, the most remarkable of which is that of the Two Lovers. As love forms a large part of the history of the human race, you can rarely traverse a country in which some one of these hacknied epithets does not exist, and is the subject of some ridiculous tale, adopted by idleness and the love of the marvellous, and consecrated by antiquity. That of Guam is too absurd; I will therefore spare you the narration.

During our passage, Bérard shot several boobies; and neither the presence of a shark, nor the roughness of the sea, prevented one of the Carolinians from jumping into the water to fetch them. These men swim so well, that they seem quite at home when diving, or contending with the waves.

When a squall appears in the horizon, they crouch on their heels, clap at intervals with one hand open on the other half closed, make signs to the cloud to keep off, and pronounce in a low voice, with much devotion, and great rapidity, certain words that recur periodically; which shows at least that they have an idea of a superior power, capable of listening to their prayers.

As we appeared to be struck with these gestures and rapid motions, they asked us whether we did not perform the same ceremonies in France in times of great dangers. We told them we did not; at which they appeared surprised and sorry. The following is one of their prayers, which I transcribed:¹

Léga chédégas, léga cheldiliga, chédégas léga chédégas, légas cheldi léga chédégas, lédégas mottou.

Oguéren quenni chéré péré peï, oguéren quenni chéré péré peï.

We requested an explanation of them in vain from the chief pilot, who, having been several times at the Mariana Islands, understood a few words of Spanish. All we could learn was, that they told the clouds to go away; but we never saw any thing less obedient.

They have a more certain mode of avoiding the squalls that appear in the horizon, to which they had recourse several times while we were with them. As soon as they rise, and are driven toward them, they tack about, if necessary, and if they are not anxious to reach the end of their voyage.

To judge from the intelligence of their principals, we may presume that they entrust the command only to the most skilful: is it the same everywhere, my friend?

1 Ed. note: Using French sounds.

We spent the night of the 22d in a little hut, where the good man, his wife, and his daughter, were busy preparing their frugal supper. As soon as they had given us permission to remain, we availed ourselves of it to lie down, for we had been rudely tossed about in the proas, which, though lighter than our boats, and keeping the wind much better, are far more fatiguing. We were on the point of going to sleep, which we had farther encouraged by a tolerably good meal, when our Carolinians entered in a body; and, without asking permission, soon caused the remains of our poultry and fruit to disappear, made free with our mats, and desired us not to discompose ourselves. We laughed at their familiarity, and their proximity did not prevent our enjoying a very sound sleep.

The next morning, after they had breakfasted on the birds which Bérard had killed, and dressed over the flames, they requested us to embark. Their stock of coconuts was procured: but alas for the fields where these *gentlemen* are accustomed to halt! they know nothing of the right of property.

Among the birds shot was a raven, which they would not touch, giving us clearly to understand it was because it eats human flesh. This circumstance was another proof of the goodness of their dispositions.

We set sail the 23d, at seven o'clock in the morning. A north-east wind blew with some violence, and the five proas, partly manned by the people of Rota, refused to follow us. There was a strong current, which drifted us to the westward. The sea ran high, and I became dreadfully sea-sick. Never did I suffer so much; but the sight of Rota, which we made one hour after we sailed, revived me, and I contrived, though with difficulty, to make a few sketches. Some squalls passed over us, and, notwithstanding the prayers of our pilots, we escaped very few of them. At eight in the evening we were off the west point of Rota, but the wind having lulled, we did not reach the anchorage till eleven.

Fires were lighted along the coast, and we were convinced that we were expected. The bottom, in this road, is of coral and madrepores; and, as the breakers leave but a very narrow passage, our Carolinians refused to proceed through it by night, for fear of their boats being lost. I was in despair at this disappointment, which my companions, less fatigued, treated with indifference, when a canoe, twelve feet long, and a foot and half wide, came alongside of us, with a single man in it, attracted by the report of a musket we had just fired, and which, as you will find presently, had spread alarm through the settlement. This Rotinian, raising his voice, asked us in Spanish whence we came, and what we wanted. I answered, that we came from Guam, had letters from the Governor, and were Frenchmen. At the same time I requested him to take me ashore in his boat, and set off, in spite of the prudent remonstrances of Bérard.

It was midnight: my pilot rowed, and so often requested me not to stir, though I was sitting motionless, that I began to be uneasy. At length I asked him if we were in any danger, and he had scarcely answered *No*, when the canoe upset. I know very little of swimming; and the darkness of the night, an unknown person near me, the dull roar of the breakers, continued to a distance, and repeated by the mountain echoes, all com-

bined, by no means improved my skill. However, I exerted myself, and contrived to lay hold of the upset canoe, which my odious guide was pushing out to sea. He spoke not a word, and I, resting feebly on this bit of wood, drank and shivered, endeavouring by my cries to rouse Bérard, whom in my fright I supposed asleep. How nauseous is the water of the South Sea! and how little was a situation like mine adapted to improve its flavour! I wished, I confess, that the current would drive us on rocks, as I was much less afraid of breaking my ribs than of swallowing the brine. Bérard at length heard me, and acquainted the Carolinians with my mishap. Immediately the chief *tamor* leaped into the waves, provided with a piece of an oar, and his rapid strokes soon brought him near me: I heard him coming, and my courage revived: he animated me by his voice; and at length I perceived him. With one hand he presented the piece of wood which he held; I seized hold of it, and doing my best to second him, we arrived on board; he pleased and laughing, I shivering, and still better pleased. As to my other pilot, he righted his boat, and went to carry the news to the mayor, who ordered a large fire to be still kept up on the shore.

Recovered from my fright and fatigue, I presented my generous deliverer with a handkerchief, a few fish-hooks, and a shirt; but as soon as he understood that it was by way of reward for the service he had rendered me, he refused my offer; though he accepted it afterward as a token of my regard. Do you know many Europeans, my friend, capable of acting so nobly?

LETTER LXXXVI.

Rota, June [rather April] 1819.

The arrival of Frenchmen at Rota spread alarm through the settlement, as I have told you. The inhabitants retired to the neighbouring mountains, taking with them their wives and children. The Mayor, in his thatched palace, feeling himself not strong enough to oppose the landing of the insurgents, was desirous of capitulating at once: accordingly he despatched a proa, of larger dimensions than the former, and I had not finished shifting myself, when it came alongside of us. I received the envoy extraordinary, who offered me a passage, and accompanied him with Gaudichaud, whom we went to fetch. Bérard, being half asleep, refused to go with us.

In my eagerness to get ashore, I forgot our letters of recommendation, which could not be otherwise than well soaked, and arrived half naked at the Mayor's, who had just put on the only pair of white trousers he possessed.

Figure to yourself, my friend, a poor draughtsman, benumbed with cold, without hat, without shoes, wrapped in a great coat much the worse for wear, and a botanist, armed with a chess-board, a large band-box, and a tin-case, making their triumphant entry into a country that was ready to be surrendered to them. Although unacquainted with the motives of our visit, the Mayor gave us a very good reception: but as he had still some doubts respecting our designs, I requested him again to send his boat on board of us, and desired Bérard to come ashore, and to bring all my baggage with him. When he came, I showed the letters, which the Mayor could with difficulty read; and all sus-

picion was removed. By the side of the little prince was a person with an engaging and more dignified countenance than any we had noticed at Guam, who seemed to prompt the Mayor how he was to act. Supper was set before us at one o'clock in the morning; we fell to with a good appetite; and impatiently waited for day, to present ourselves in a more decent attire to our hosts and the persons in office.

The second person in the settlement, but who appeared here to act the principal part, was that Captain Martinez, whom the Governor of the Mariana Islands had banished; and I soon discovered that he possessed greater information than all the officers in Guam put together, their chief included. I thought at first that he might have been sacrificed to wounded vanity; but I was afterwards convinced that, if Mr. Medinilla had punished too severely a fault so slight as that of which he was accused (for stealing the powder was a calumny), he had acted with prudence, in banishing from Guam a citizen, who availed himself of the advantages he had received from nature and education only to seduce young wives, and to sow enmity and dissension in families.

The hour of our rising was also that of our triumph. We had tolerably good clothes, and such a dress was scarcely known at Rota. Before breakfast the Mayor introduced us to his wife, who is very passable; and my two companions, being less fatigued than I with our passage, took a walk together, while I made a drawing of the church, and sketched the portraits of two very charming little girls. My companions returned soon after: we were served with excellent fruit and a couple of fine fowls; and it must be confessed that our host, and more especially our pretty hostess, vied with each other, anticipating our slightest wishes. Everything the island affords was offered us with eagerness; the remotest parts were laid under contribution; and even our Carolinian food lovers had to commend the abundance that presented itself to their ravenous appetites.

Here we made some fresh remarks on our conductors. The gaiety, that had accompanied them ever since our departure, had not diminished: they danced and sung part of the day, and filled up the intervals with rest and sleep. In the evening they assembled in a circle on the seashore, and chanted their hymn to the Eternal. Their chant was slow, regularly timed, and harmonious: their gestures graceful, and not hurried. The chief almost always began the prayer, and the rest seemed to repeat the same words in chorus. A religious silence often prevailed for some minutes; and no noise around them seemed to disturb their devotion. When the ceremony was ended, they quietly retired: the ground served them for a bed, and a stone, or a coconut, for a pillow.

We would willingly have left Rota the day after our arrival: but the repairs it was necessary to make in the sail of one of our proas detained us; and we availed ourselves of the time this delay gave us to traverse the country, and judge of the real state of this little colony with our own eyes.

It is difficult to find a place more fertile or more neglected. Guam itself is not to be compared with it. The trees are magnificent, the fruit and vegetables delicious. The country, rich in a varied vegetation, is over-run by thousands of rats, which are yet unable to destroy its roots: you cannot proceed ten steps without meeting hundreds; and

it is really distressing that the inhabitants do not endeavour to destroy this devouring animal, which in a few years may become a real plague. We find here also monstrous bats, similar to those of Guam, perhaps even larger. The Carolinians would not eat them, though the people at Agaña are very fond of them, and I myself found them tolerably good.

The hills and valleys are decked with cotton trees, the bright tufts of which form a pleasing sight amid the verdure that surrounds them. The breadfruit, the *tacca* [i.e. arrow-root], the watermelons, everything is of a better quality here than at Guam; and I am surprised that greater attention is not paid to a country which might become the granary and general storehouse of the Mariana Islands.

The centipede is the most dangerous animal in the settlement; it is found in infinite numbers in the caverns, of which the mountains are full: but it rarely comes out of them, and besides its bite occasions only a momentary and supportable pain. Another animal that should be carefully avoided is the wild hog, which rushes with impetuosity on the hunter, and sometimes obliges him to retreat.

They reckon nearly 80 houses in the town, and 400 persons in the whole island. There are five or six crucifixes in every street; and it is necessary that some outward signs should put them in mind of their religion, since there is no public worship. There has been no priest here for more than 20 years. People are born, live, die, and have no-one to administer consolation. The houses are built on piles, as at Guam; but they are in a state infinitely more ruinous. The men may be said to go naked, for they wear no trousers, except on Sundays. The women wear a handkerchief fastened by a string around the waist, and turn it round, according as you happen to be before or behind them: the rest of the body is perfectly naked. Their shape is completely beautiful; their walk easy: their shoulders amorously rounded; their breasts firm, prominent, and perfectly separated; their feet small; their legs well turned; their hair is admirable, of a fine black, and flowing down their shoulders and loins; they avoided us with an annoying perseverance; and I apprehend their dread of us stood them in the stead of virtue. On the mountains we met with some of these young unfortunates bending under heavy loads, who, to avoid us, ran barefoot over the sharp flints, without appearing to feel the least pain.

As there is no priests at Rota, these young girls cannot be married: are they condemned therefore to perpetual virginity?

The inhabitants drink nothing but the water of a natural well, a dozen paces from the sea-shore on the north-east, and about a league and a half from the city. It is two feet and a half in diameter, and four feet and a half deep. I thought it a little brackish, though it was deemed good by my comrades.

The Rotinians adopt a very ingenious method of collecting rain water. They fix one of the leaves of the coconut tree to the summit of the trunk, so that the stoutest part of the spine is uppermost: another leaf is fastened to the first, a third to the second, and so on, to within a foot or two of the ground; all having their leaflets fixed to their stalks. The rain water runs along the leaves as in a channel, and is received into a jar, into

which the last leaf enters. An apparatus of this kind is seen on almost every coconut tree.

On my return from the well, I went to sketch the ruins of some ancient monuments, the period of whose foundation there are no means of ascertaining. They are on the slope of a mountain. Fragments of pillars, three feet in diameter, are still lying upright on the earth, which has been raised round them. They certainly formed only a single circular edifice, and more than 800 paces in circumference.¹ I sought in vain for a single fragment of sculpture. The interior of the circus is now encumbered with weeds and pieces of rock. I asked Captain Martinez his opinion of this curious building. He told me that he knew no more than the rest of the inhabitants, who called it the *House of the Ancients*. It was probably destroyed by one of the earthquakes which very frequently occur throughout this archipelago.

The 25th we made an excursion to a river, to which we were directed, more than two leagues from the city.² The road is very difficult. We climbed several mountains, at least two hundred fathoms high, on the summit of which we found many madrepores and corals. The time when the sea covered these lofty rocks must have been very remote. The water of this torrent appeared to us delicious. It flows along a gully shaded on both sides by majestic trees, which, with the dark summits that rise above them, exhibit a magnificent landscape; and I made a drawing of it.

On our return we repaired to the church, where five tapers are constantly burning before an image of the Virgin. A woman is appointed to guard this sacred fire; and is punished, if she suffers it to go out. This pious custom has been established ever since a fearful earthquake, that overthrew all the houses, and respected only the church. The inhabitants, alarmed at the repeated shocks the earth underwent, would have retired to Guam; but a young girl, whose virtue shamed her companions, made them a bold and threatening harangue; set before them their vices; and with that ascendancy, which an irreproachable conduct gives, enjoined them to change their manners, that the wrath of Heaven might be appeased; and not to bring down upon the innocent inhabitants of Guam the chastisement which they alone had deserved. They obeyed her: they lighted five tapers in the church, and made a vow to keep as many continually burning if the island were not swallowed up... It was the wife of the Mayor who told me the story... I forgot the tale, while I was listening to it.

From the church, which is of the same kind as that of Humata, we were taken to the convent, peopled solely with rats; and where they showed us a violin, the remains of a harp and a guitar, which had belonged to the last priest of the settlement. You may judge of their antiquity.³

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- 1 Ed. note: The slope, the underbrush, and scattering of the ruined pillars must have thrown his judgment off, since none of the buildings of the ancient Chamorros were ever circular in shape.
 - 2 Ed. note: Along the south coast, this time.
 - 3 Ed. note: The convent had been vacant for 15 years. According to the Augustinian records that I have found, the last priest of Rota had been Fr. Domingo Medina de Santo Tomás de Aquino, who had arrived at Guam in 1790 and served in Rota from 1800 to 1804, when he left the islands.

LETTER LXXXVII.

Passage from Rota to Tinian, and stay at the latter island.

Today, Sunday, we set off at seven in the morning, with a wind not very favourable, and amply stored with provision. The Mayor and his wife, accompanied by their staff and Captain Martinez, whose misfortunes I lament, while I blame his conduct, accompanied us to the seaside. We should have quitted them with regret, but it was planned that we should see them again soon.

The north-east wind blew pretty fresh, and as the currents still drifted us towards the west, we were obliged to ply to windward, and did not arrive here till the 27th, at nine o'clock in the evening, and under the discharge of Bérard's musketry. We were again taken for insurgents; and as they have fewer resources here than at Rota, the alarm was so much greater. A boat that rowed round our proas went to carry to the settlement the news of the arrival of some Frenchmen, but refused to take us on board... At length we got ashore.¹

The Mayor received us in the best manner he could: that is to say, badly. We invited him to take some refreshment, which he accepted. He inquired after the purpose of our visit: the letter of the Governor explained all. He removed the apprehensions of his wife and daughters; and we were not slow with our questions and answers.

His parlour held all the subjects of the island. There were 15 of them, quite astonished at the arrival of strangers of such importance. However, as even great men are fatigued by long voyages, we begged them to retire, and carry their admiration elsewhere.

The next morning, after saluting Madame, the Mayor's wife, who is not a Venus; her three daughters, who are not the three Graces; and their father, who was not an Apollo; we desired to see the town. We were shown the house in which we were, and four miserable sheds, under which the domestics, set as a guard over the wild hogs, slept. What a difference between Tinian and Rota!...

There is nothing prepossessing in the first aspect of the country, notwithstanding what I had been told at Agaña. In vain did I call to mind the narratives of some voyagers, and particularly the eloquent pages of Rousseau; I saw nothing but a wild and barren land, which Anson's residence has alone rendered famous: I found there only a few malfactors banished from Guam, only a real place of exile.—But when you penetrate amid the brambles, and find yourself in front of those colossal remains, called *Houses of the Ancients*, you ask involuntarily what is become of the people who raised these pillars, and of those who subverted them.

Their proximity; their form; their material; the stone being composed of sand, consolidated by cement;² that half-sphere, surmounting a baseless pillar, erected on the

1 Ed. note: See sketch of the Sunharon settlement in Doc. 1818A.

2 Ed. note: This was another error of observation, similar to the wrong conclusion reached by E.T.T. on his first visit the year before, but corrected on his second visit in 1821 (see Doc. 1818A & 1821D).

arena; their position, and the distance that separates these different masses, without any lighter fragments occurring between them; induce me to think differently of the object of the building from the present inhabitants, who regard it as a royal residence. The space between the pillars is scarcely greater than the ground they occupy. What purpose could those massive tops answer?...

Who was the sovereign who inhabited that long colonnade, which certainly formed only a single edifice?... The more I perambulate these ruins, and compare them with the genius of the present race of islanders, the more I am convinced that they are the remains of some public temples dedicated to religion. Of the cause of their destruction we know nothing; for what credit can be given to a story like the following, that people are fond of relating?

“Tumulu Taga was the principal chief of this island. He reigned peaceably, and no one thought of disputing his authority. Suddenly, one of his relations called Tjoenanai raised the standard of revolt; and his first act of insubordination was to build a house similar to that of his chief. Two parties were formed: they fought; the house of the revolter was sacked; and from this quarrel, which became general, arose a war, that, while it depopulated the island, overturned its primitive buildings.”¹

While I was making drawings of every thing I found curious, with all the accuracy in my power, my companions were employed in various pursuits. Bérard determined the latitude of the island, and killed some new birds; and Gaudichaud enriched his herbarium.

We always met together at meals, at which the *ladies* were not present, though we had frequently requested it. In one of our gay moments we had complimented the Mayor on the beauty of his daughters: he looked at them with an air of satisfaction, and answered with quite peculiar grace: “Gentlemen, they are at your service.”... We were not tempted to avail ourselves of this generous permission.

The anchoring place is on the south [sic]. Two cable’s lengths from the shore there is a little bar which is visible at low water. The bottom consists of corals and madrepores.

We went over the island... It must formerly have been the residence of a great people; extinguished no doubt by one of those catastrophes that annihilate empires and generations of men. You cannot proceed a league without finding some gigantic remains of old monuments among the brambles; and the whole island seems to be but one ruin. The trees are weak and scanty; but they have to make their way with difficulty through heaps of dry leaves, and decayed trunks of trees. Here and there we find old, bare, bread-fruit trees, the tops of which, exhibiting a few grayish branches, indicate to the traveller the catastrophe of which they have been the victims, without denoting its epoch. Buffaloes² and wild hogs can now with difficulty escape the arrow of the hunter: the

1 Ed. note: This is the first time that the names Taga, and Tjoenanai, appear in the historical record, albeit as a legend. The actual chief of Tinian, at the time of the exile ordered by Quiroga, was Caiza. Earthquakes and other natural phenomena caused the degradation of the latte stones.

2 Ed. note: According to one definition, buffaloes are simply wild oxen. They were domestic cattle gone wild.

eye at one glance takes in an ample space; and, if I may venture to say so, almost every part of Tinian recalled to my gloomy imagination the wild and arid soil of the Péron Peninsula.

A few low and feeble coconut trees still raise their withered heads; you would say they moaned the sadness of nature, and wished to die with her. Uniform plains of small elevation; a monotonous coast; a few reefs of rocks; trunks of trees parched by the sun; no road, no shelter; is not this the abode of melancholy?... A scorching wind destroys vegetation, and deprives the ground of the power of reproduction. Everything is in decay: vegetables grow with difficulty; the potatoes, yams, and watermelons, are all inferior to those of Rota; and I tremble while I think that Anson probably said no more than the truth, when he painted this country as an Elysium, as an abode of enchantment... Is there then no testimony remaining of this convulsion of nature which is yet so recent?

[The so-called House of Taga]

The ruins best preserved are those we see to the west [sic] of the anchorage. The building there was composed of twelve pillars, of which seven only remain standing, the others lie at their feet; and what appears singular is, that the half-sphere by which they are crowned has not been separated in their fall. Those found by the side of it (and the remains of which are more decayed, situate near a well, denominated the *well of the ancients*.) formed an edifice more than 400 paces in length. The roots that still bind these old fragments, and the shrubs that crown their summits, present an interesting view, to which I have endeavoured to do justice. In several parts of the island we visited we found others more or less considerable: and from these ancient ruins alone we may infer, that the present inhabitants of this archipelago have not inherited the genius of their ancestors.

On the hill that borders the east of the island is a forest, partly formed of young papaw trees, among which a great number of wild hogs wander, against which a cruel warfare is carried on. Two men, one of whom is armed with a large knife, the other with a pike, and followed by a score of dogs, pursue the animal, which at first defends itself boldly against the ravenous pack, but seldom escapes it. Pressed on all sides, he is struck by one of the two hunters: and if he be too lean, he becomes the prey of the dogs; if he be fat, he is dexterously castrated, and conveyed to the sheds that surround the *palace* of the Mayor; for this is here its proper name, and the proprietor would be piqued if it were called by any other.¹

They use firearms in hunting the buffalo; but as this animal is very wild, its chase becomes very costly, from the quantity of powder expended. We found also in the in-

1 He asked me if I thought the *house* of the king of Spain was as handsome as the *palace* of the Governor of Guam; and if his soldiers have as fine uniforms as those here? Poor people!

terior a few cocks and hens; but the inhabitants rarely kill them; and in this they are very prudent, as thus the number must soon become very considerable.

One thing that most struck me here, and reminded me of New Holland, is the prodigious quantity of flies and ants, that stick to the skin, and are eager in the pursuit of man. They are a real plague.¹

The birds are the same as at Guam, except a water-hen that has a red, bald neck, and is found only here. Anson says that he saw parrots: but I suspect he confounded them with king-fishers, the flight and colours of which are nearly the same. For our parts, we sought them in vain: and in our excursions we found much fewer bats than at Rota, which is not above half as large. Tinian is 12 leagues long from north-east to south-east [sic].

On the shore are found some elliptical, coloured, white, compound, and natural stones, which also they call *stones of the ancients*; and which they say were used for their slings. With what nations then were these ancient inhabitants at war?

I met here with a *tamor* of the Caroline Islands, who had been settled at Seypan two years. I made a drawing of him, and can give you but a very imperfect idea of the motley colours of his body in a letter: I never saw any thing prettier. His wife had just lain in. I covered the mat on which her child lay with two handkerchiefs; and the mother's countenance expressed the most lively gratitude. Her features were interesting; her complexion yellow; her teeth beautifully white. I regret to say, both husband and wife seemed to feel very little pleasure at meeting with their countrymen.²

The Mayor of Tinian has 12 pesos per month. I would not live six months on this land of exile for all the treasures of Potosi.

The only place adapted for supplying ships with water is the well, of which I have spoken above. Three steps lead down to it; its opening is 10 to 12 feet: it is near the shore, and the water is tolerably good. As to the two lakes, the first of which is two leagues east of the anchorage, and the other four or five northwest, the water is a little brackish; and the cows, that frequent them daily, render it very muddy.

Some of the valleys are covered with the cotton plant, of which scarcely any use is made.

When our conductors returned from Seypan, we departed, and had the pleasure to see tears of regret drop from the eyes of the three young daughters of the Mayor... We passed by Aguigan, a rock, clothed with verdure, on which several goats were left some years ago, which no doubt have all perished. The coast is a perpendicular cliff, and almost inaccessible.

We arrived at Rota on the 1st [of June 1819], at nine o'clock in the morning, where we were again most kindly received. We again set sail, and after twelve days' absence, anchored, on the 2d, at Agaña, at eight in the morning, well pleased with our voyage, but not at all desirous of undertaking another in the same vessels.

1 Ed. note: The *Uranic* visited New South Wales later during the voyage.

2 Ed. note: Perhaps there was jealousy between those from Lamotrek and those from Satawal.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

The inhabitants of the Marianas are quite ignorant of medicine; the two principal physicians of the colony are the Governor and the Priest; and both of them employ specifics, which are efficacious and universal. The plant termed *Acapulco herb*, which is a radical cure for the leprosy, is common here; and that may be the reason why so many people are found afflicted with this cruel disease. The remedy employed by the Governor is a decoction of cockroaches, which he gives of every patient, whether afflicted with pains in the back or breast, ulcers, fractures, &c. He tried hard to convince us of its efficacy, and carried his politeness so far, as even to wish us an attack of cold, the gout, or of any other disease, that he might have an opportunity of proving to us the virtues of his specific.

The remedy employed by the Priest is **cream of tartar**.¹ If a person breaks his leg, Fray Ciriaco is summoned; he carefully strews a few pinches of it over the fracture, and the sick man walks without pain. By the same means he restores sight to the blind: he fills a paper funnel with his medicine, lets a little of it fall through on the eye, and blows on it to spread it. At first the pain is very acute, but it diminishes on the second application, and it rarely happens that the patient is not cured by the third. I have been, indeed, in some measure disposed, since my return, to sell this secret, at a dear rate, to astonished Europe; but I have a pleasure, by anticipation, in publishing it for the benefit of humanity. Let no incredulous person seek to undervalue the importance of the discovery made by the priest of Agaña. I have been assured *here*, that there are only four blind persons in the colony, who would not have been in that state, if they would have submitted to two more applications of this excellent remedy.

Medinilla, the Governor, levies 130 pesos a month as his salary; and about 20,000 a year for the expenses of the colony. Although the latter sum goes chiefly into his pocket, for the colony costs almost nothing, he would have done better to travel in *barbarian* Europe, curing the lame and the blind; the riches of all countries, and the gratitude of ages, would have amply paid him for giving up the government of the Mariana Islands. Incredulous beings that we were! we several times ventured to express doubts of the truth of his statements; and almost always, after a mature examination, we have been punished for our blindness and presumption.

[The monument to Fr. Sanvitores]

For example, we are indebted to him for the explanation of a circumstance, the truth of which we could now attest on oath, and which we before regarded as very absurd.

¹ Ed. note: See any large dictionary for its description, and chemical formula.

At the time of the conquest of the island, a certain brother *Saint Victores* [sic], (of whom I shall speak more at large in another letter), in his endeavours to convert *Matapang*, one of the most formidable enemies of the Spaniards, was massacred by him, and his body thrown into the sea. The place where he disappeared is still red with the blood of the martyr; and the spot on which he first fell under the blows of the assassins, remains dry and barren. Although the Governor is short-sighted, he has several times seen this double miracle; but as we, following the example of St. Thomas, desired also to *see* and *feel*, we set out for *Timhoun* [i.e. Tumhon], distant more than two leagues from the town, almost certain that we were to be edified. As we were afraid, however, of the snares of our own prejudices, six of us went together, being persuaded that faith would enlighten some one among us, and that the others would have no vain pretexts to oppose truth.

The road leading to *Timhoun* is very agreeable, with a great number of large and healthy *pandanus* trees growing on the sides: at the Isle of France and at Bourbon this tree grows feebly on the sides of the hills, seems to live there with difficulty, and dies solitary and neglected. We hasten forward with impatience to the place pointed out; we arrive, and see clearly that the *water is red* in certain places, and the *soil dry and barren*. We stand still with astonishment, reproaching ourselves for our incredulity. In vain did the most unbelieving of our companions take up handfuls of the sand which coloured the surface of the water, and try to convince the rest, that the grass and earth of a spot marked by a crucifix had been pulled up; the miracle was not the less proved, and we all agreed that Mr. Medinilla, though short-sighted, might have seen the sea slightly tinged with blood, and the soil dry and barren.

The tide flows—the red disappears, the miracle ceases; but at certain hours of the day, the Governor's veracity will be always justified.¹

LETTER LXXXIX.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

Today is the festival of the King of Spain; it is announced by the roar of cannon, the ringing of two bells, and the sound of the only bugle and triangle of the capital. Four soldiers accompanied by a drummer are going through the streets, in order to have them cleaned. The balcony of the Governor is decorated with the *true* portrait of Ferdinand VII. to which all the inhabitants respectfully take off their hats. There are to be public dances in the evening; and besides those of the country, Mr. Medinilla is to have some natives of the Sandwich and Caroline Islands at his house, to amuse us with the

1 Among the wise counsels which Mr. de Quélen gave to Father Ciriaco, he particularly recommended to him, that instead of abusing the credulity of the inhabitants by the perpetual repetition of false miracles, he should be more careful to exhibit in his own person a model of the evangelical virtues, of which he said very little in his sermons. We are not certain if these hints were comprehended, for they were delivered in good Latin, with which the Curate of Agaña is not very familiar.

ceremonies in use among those people. We cannot feel sufficiently grateful for these attentions.

Raynal says, in his *Philosophical History*, that it was a general but erroneous belief, that the women in the Archipelago of the Marianas possessed the power which in Europe and other parts of the world is assumed by the men, and which seems bestowed on them by nature. He combats this opinion with his seductive eloquence; but the philosophical principles on which he reasons, though true in nearly all nations, cannot be applied here; and this may perhaps be another of the many thousand mistakes of that author's historical romance, a work of deep research, in which, however, truth frequently suffers. Facts here attest the justice of the opposite opinion.¹

The first Spaniards who conquered this Archipelago neglected nothing, (as their persecutions have convinced succeeding nations) to establish their own manners and customs in their new possessions. Armed violence triumphed over timid weakness; the Indian, no doubt, champed the bit which kept him in subjection; but pain commanded him, and who can long resist its commands? His heart changed not; but new times and new masters introduced new principles; the previous institutions, particularly those which were opposed to the Spanish manners, were abolished. At first severity was inclined to spare nothing; gradually however it relaxed its pretensions, and only armed itself against such usages as were in too direct an opposition with those it wished to establish. A deference to certain prejudices might indeed induce a belief that the new laws were inefficient; but was not this condescension, perfidiously generous, regarded by the skilful policy which adopted it as a more infallible means of attaining its end?

Some trifling concessions were granted to soothe and complete the conquest of a people, already weakened by many massacres. Not only were some ancient customs permitted, but the invaders even pretended to adopt them. The superiority of the women had nothing in it terrifying to the Spaniards, who were fully able to set their minds free from that species of dependence; and the respect paid to this weak principle was probably the means of putting a stop to the further shedding of blood. Notwithstanding the chivalrous gallantry which so strongly characterizes the Spaniards, it is certain that among them the men have never been dependent on the women; whence I am convinced, that as this is still the case at the Marianas, the women have at all times exercised the greatest influence there, and that the men were in a species of subjection to them. You will not, I dare say, be displeased if I give you some details on this point.

At present when a woman takes a husband whose fortune is less than her own, he performs the labours of the household, and takes on himself the most menial offices; if the dowry of the woman is not greater than the fortune of the man, or if it is less, the toils are equally divided.

If the brother of the father of a young woman preserves from imminent danger any individual whose fortune is considerable, he is bound by way of proving his gratitude, (if he is not disliked), to marry the sister or daughter of his benefactor, and has no right

¹ Ed. note: See Doc. 1772C.

to exact a dowry from his future wife. When I say he must act in this manner to show his gratitude, I ought to add that the law can oblige him to do so. I know, however, that by the Spanish law persons may refuse to conform to this practice; but such is the general respect for their ancient institutions, that nobody has hitherto dared to infringe them; and I am acquainted with a number of families at Agaña, who regulate their conduct by such principles.

The relations and friends of a family meet at its residence when death calls away one of its members: and they seek to dissipate their sorrow for the loss by feasts and entertainments. A peculiar dress is adopted for outwardly marking their internal affliction. For a boy, they wear mourning for two months; for a girl, it is worn for six.

In domestic life, disputes between men are decided by the women; but disputes between the women are never decided by the men.

The scenes and dances of the country which we have seen represented today, are also proofs of the ascendancy which the women here have always enjoyed over the men. The dances are called *the dances of the ancients*. Formed in a circle, the performers took hold of each other by the hand, and turned round, humming a monotonous tune; they made some ridiculous gestures, placed their hands above their heads, and, without executing a single graceful movement, they repeated unceasingly the same figure, and vainly fatigued themselves in endeavouring to amuse us. One incident, however, attracted our attention. A young knight, with a cocked straw hat, and ornamented with tufts, presented himself in the arena, armed with a stick representing a lance, and in a pompous speech defied an adversary to the combat; the dances had ceased, and the heroines of the day surrounded the field of battle. Here the entertainment was suddenly cut short, no warrior dared to show himself, and... *the festival finished for want of combatants*. We were enabled, however, to procure some details, which I shall now give you.

The person who first enters the arena, proposes an individual combat; the adversary who comes to dispute the victory with him, is not accepted if he is a relation of the challenger; if he is not, the contest begins. The conqueror is not crowned till he has beaten all who present themselves, and only receives the promised reward (generally fruits or linen), when the women have given their sanction. They alone have the power of separating the combatants; and they only crown the hero of the field.

Such practices may also, as well as the former instances I have quoted, be the effects of gallantry. But it seems to me that a country which is as yet but half civilized, and where such usages have existed from time immemorial, is exactly that where authority was likely to be in the hands of the women, and where the men had learned to obey. Though supported by so many proofs, to which it would be easy for me to add others, my opinion may not form an unexceptionable testimony; but, if I am wrong, I shall,

without doubt, find some defenders in Europe; and how many of the fair sex are there who will avow with me, that the empire of reason and justice exists nowhere, but in the country where they command!¹

LETTER XC.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

To the dances of the country succeeded those of the natives of the Caroline Islands.

The most lively gaiety animated the countenances of all the performers. Their amusement was not merely a sport; it was a festival. They did not laugh for laughing sake; they did not move about merely to fatigue themselves; bursts of laughter painted the state of their hearts, and these were happy. Formed at first into two columns, the dancers began a single-toned and very harmonious song, which they accompanied with most graceful gestures, and lascivious movements of the body. Their eyes expressed voluptuousness rather than pleasure, and seemed as if they expected their mistresses.

A more lively song succeeded to this amorous scene, for these people have learned to vary their amusements. They took each other by the hand, ran round in a circle, and made a great many ridiculous gambols; each placed his foot on the thigh of his neighbour, and all of them laughed at our surprise and pleasure. As soon as a dance was finished, one of the performers stepped out from the rest, to inquire of us if we were satisfied.

After these displays, which were both original and diverting, some dances succeeded, so curious, that the pencil only can convey an idea of them. In these the merit consisted in the difficulty. Armed with long sticks, held in both hands, the joyous Carolinians ranged themselves in two lines. At the commencement one person raising his voice to fix attention, marked the beginning of the dance; a general chorus replied to this appeal; the sticks were struck against one another with a musical cadence; blows were struck to the right and the left; but this was only the prelude to a more extraordinary display. The scene very soon became more animated; the dancers change their places, flee from and pursue one another, disperse and intermingle without even causing confusion; forming admirable figures and delightful subjects for a painter. Now in groups of four against four, then eight against eight, they attack each other with rapidity; a blow threatens the loins, a weapon turns it off; a stick is on the point of striking a head, the stick of the next man is there, as if by enchantment, to stop it; soon the blows fall thicker; each one at the same moment strikes, wards, and returns a blow. What activity, what velocity, what address, are necessary to pass so frequently under the weapons of one another, without jostling or confusion, or ever being at a loss! The eye can hardly follow them; and the attention would be fatigued, if astonishment did not take its

¹ It has been frequently asserted, that the inhabitants of the Marianas were unacquainted with the use of fire, before the conquest of the Spaniards. This is one fable more to add to all those already published. In a country subject to such violent storms, and covered with so many volcanoes, this absurd opinion requires no refutation.

place. The figures are changed every instant; the dancers also change their adversaries, and the most perfect harmony constantly prevails in this national fête. Finally, three louder cries, three more rapid motions, three more decided blows, finish the picture. The dancers are certainly somewhat exhausted; but they seem to be fully rewarded by the pleasure and surprise of the spectators.

Happy people! may the day still be far off, when, attacked by ferocious enemies, you shall be obliged to exchange your feeble reeds for murderous weapons! May the voice of humanity penetrate to all nations, and arm them for your defence; for the enemy of your amusements and your happiness, is also the enemy of the human race.

In speaking of this interesting people, it is difficult to exhaust the subject; I shall however beg, in the present letter, to give you all the details which we have obtained. Circumstances are favourable to us. An officer under the Governor has resided for some time in their country, and speaks their language a little;¹ and more than 50 individuals of the different islands of the Carolinian Archipelago are constantly under our eyes. The order in which my ideas may be exposed is of no consequence, provided my memory omits nothing.

[Carolinian customs]

The existing character of a people shows itself, as it were, in every remarkable event; and though it is not right always to judge of it only when under the influence of weighty circumstances, yet I think it cannot be denied, that when the mind is strongly affected by some new pleasure, or some unexpected calamity, individuals, and consequently nations, then particularly show themselves in their true colours.

The natives of the Carolines, hitherto strangers to all those trifling interests which disturb our enlightened Europe, are always the same. Such as you have found them the first day, you will find them ever after. The appearance of danger does not displace the smile which is constantly on their lips. They pray, but their countenance is always calm; it is the seat of innocence. As we were sailing through their Archipelago, the canoes of every island came out under all sail, and surrounded our ship; a single friendly gesture on our part was sufficient to inspire them with confidence. When an exchange was once agreed on, we never had to complain of their sincerity; and, indeed, they often sent us fish, cloth, or shells, before they had received the objects we destined for them. In a word, our presence amongst them was regarded as a day of jubilee. The opinion we then formed has not been falsified by the opportunity we have since had of knowing them better. What people is there who improve upon us on acquaintance?

Trade attracts the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands to the Marianas: they bring shells, cloth, wooden vessels, and cordage made from the bark of the plantain and coconut trees; for these articles they receive in exchange pieces of iron, copper, nails, and

1 Ed. note: The man was Major Luis de Torres, of course.

bad knives. It is not known who was the first Carolinian bold enough to venture this length, and yet the epoch of his voyage is not very remote.¹ It is supposed that the winds having driven his vessel out of her course, blew him as far as the Marianas; that by the aid of his experience the Carolinian pilot returned to his own country, and, like another Columbus, displayed to the eyes of his dazzled countrymen the wealth of the islands he had visited. The love of gain, strengthened by the love of the marvellous, smooths the difficulties of a long voyage. For these men danger is nothing, as soon as they dare to look on it. But in order not to lose the fruits of such glorious attempts, it was thought that mutual exchanges and reciprocal benefits would establish concord between two people situated at so short a distance, and yet so different from one another; each believed himself enriched by the productions of his neighbour, and one effort crowned with success led to other and fresh experiments. The iron, as supplied by the inhabitants of the Marianas, was not adapted to the purposes of those of the Carolines. When the latter returned home, they rendered it suitable to their wants. Their rude instruments and imperfect machines were gradually improved; and this commerce, still in its infancy, is of infinite advantage to both people. The most civilized of the two had the glory of imparting benefits; the other, the uncommon merit of knowing how to appreciate them, and of feeling the necessity of exchanges so useful to the progress of arts and industry.

Every year the proas of the Carolinians made a voyage to the Marianas, and every year the people learned something new: but, undoubtedly, it was not sufficient that a few courageous men should profit by so many advantages; means were to be found to render useful to all the discoveries made in these difficult voyages. However intelligent were these modern Argonauts, their short stay at Guam, controlled by the winds and the seasons, only rewarded imperfectly for their trouble. Their active imagination allowed them to do but little; and during an absence of ten months, numerous regrets would give birth to many imperfect recollections. In their future voyages they promised themselves to observe and to imitate everything; but the multiplicity of objects which arrested their attention, overloaded their memories, and the chaos of ideas produced both weariness and discouragement.

The present Governor of the Marianas has contributed to remove the obstacles which at first appeared insurmountable. A few years ago, he sent an intelligent blacksmith from this place for the purpose of teaching the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands the art of working the iron, and of making instruments; but by some incomprehensible negligence his ambassador went away without his tools. His voyage was not, however, quite useless. By his skill and knowledge, he in part compensated for his forgetfulness; and Mr. Medinilla, by this act of philanthropy, deserves the gratitude of his neighbours.

The Governor General of the Philippines, anxious to contribute all in his power to the welfare of a people who had been described to him in the most pleasing colours, ob-

1 Ed. note: The first recorded visit went back almost one century, to 1721 (see Doc. 1721C and others).

tained permission from his Sovereign to cede to those who would embrace Christianity, *Seypan, one of the most fertile of the Mariana Islands. As soon as the proposal was made, it was accepted with gratitude. One of their Tamors*, who had come to Guam with his wife and son, would not even return to his former home; but departed after a few days for his adopted country. (He it was whose portrait I sketched at Tinian). More secure means were required to transport so many persons, than the frail barks of the Carolinians; and a brig is every day expected from Manila, which is to go for them. The regulations to be established in the new colony (the Chief of which is already appointed), are preparing. He has taken possession of his dominions, and it seems not too much to assert that he will make his people happy.

I shall continue the subject in my following letters.

LETTER XCI.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

One of the most celebrated pilots of the Caroline Islands followed the example of the *Tamor*, who is already established at Seypan. He had been mentioned to us as a very intelligent man, and Captain Freycinet was desirous to see him. From residing a year at Guam, where he had been waiting the arrival of his wife, he had learned a few Spanish words; and we had also an interpreter, who spoke his language tolerably well. His features were full of expression; and Lavater¹ would have described them as characteristic of genius. His forehead was broad and expanded; his eyes small and lively; his nose rather large; his mouth well formed; his teeth as white as snow; and his smile extremely agreeable. By means of grains of Indian corn, he contrived to represent all the islands of his Archipelago, and to mark their relative positions with wonderful ingenuity. He named every one of them; designated such as were easy of access, and those which were surrounded by reefs of rocks, and told us what were the productions of each; in short, he neglected nothing which could prove to us that he was acquainted with the geography of one part of the Pacific Ocean. He had learned, undoubtedly, in one of his voyages, that the natives of Yap, an island situated near Manila [sic], are very ferocious; that they have muskets (*pac*), powder, and carry on war against their neighbours.² He spoke of them with terror: but he was unable to inform us if they had already ventured as far as his own country.

It may be remarked, before proceeding further (and it may be useful to navigators to know it), that the inhabitants of the Carolines make their Archipelago extend to the Philippines inclusively, and that the inhabitants of the Marianas almost always call the Sandwich [i.e. Hawaiian] Islands the Northern Carolines.

When we enquired of our pilot by what means they guided their vessels during their long voyages, he cut some pieces of bamboo and made a compass with them, indicated

1 Ed. note: Inventor of "physiognomy." Johann Caspar Lavater (1741-1801) was a Swiss philosopher, poet and theologian, born in Zurich.

2 Ed. note: He may have been speaking of Palau, rather than Yap.

the winds which blew most generally in his country, pointed out the places of the stars and constellations, and gave them names; adding, that when these guides failed them, they regulated themselves by the currents, the course of which was known to them by many years' experience. What imperfect guides!

Welewel is the name they give to the polar star; and according to them, the Great Bear has only five stars. By means of some grains of maize, he made us comprehend that they turned round an immoveable point.¹

He answered almost all our questions with sagacity, clearness, and precision. When he saw he had committed an error, he instantly rectified it; and very often had recourse to calculation when his memory failed him.

His wife, whom he has waited for a whole year, arrived by the last proa: when they met, they exhibited but feeble demonstrations of pleasure. She was fatigued, no doubt, by the disagreeable voyage. Her face was somewhat faded, but the expression of it was extremely mild: her eyes were languishing; her mouth small and amorous; her teeth very white; her bosom rather loose; her foot remarkably small; her complexion rather yellow; she is tattooed to the knees. The scene she gave rise to this morning is worth describing.

As she appeared delighted with a portrait of the King of Spain, which she saw at the end of the saloon, the Governor and I conducted her close to a picture of the Virgin which was in another apartment. At first she regarded it with great attention; then she enquired, who was that beautiful woman? We replied, that she was the mother of a good and just God, who reigned on high, and saw us. She begged permission to embrace her; as soon as it was granted, she got upon a chair, and was much surprised to find the figure insensible to her caresses. When she turned the frame and saw the canvas, her astonishment increased; such a phenomenon was beyond her conception. We explained the secret to her, and I was afraid her kindness towards me would increase to adoration, when she learned that I could multiply such *women* at pleasure. I promised to give her some I had sketched; and she was so delighted that she overwhelmed me with caresses. This curious scene gave rise on my part to an indiscreet curiosity: I enquired if in her country they showed their love for anybody by outward and sensible signs? In order to reply by her deeds rather than her words, she threw her arms round my neck, turned me round and round, and did so much, that if I had not put a stop to her transports, the presence of the Governor and several other persons, who had followed us, would not have been any restraint on her demonstrations of tenderness.

When we returned to the saloon, her daughter enquired (seeing the portrait of the King in a frame) why they had cut off the head of such a handsome man, and put him in a box? A savage only could have made this mistake, and the painter would be very wrong were he therefore to congratulate himself.

1 Ed. note: A modern dictionary says that *Eluwel* is the belt of Orion, whereas *Fuusemwhoghut*, i.e. the star that does not move, is the name for Polaris.

The songs with which the Carolinians accompanied their dances were all in the same tone, and consisted only of two or three notes more or less articulated. I have not heard one for two voices; and our concords do not appear harmonious to them. We enquired in vain the meaning of the words they sang; they were unable to inform us; but they said these songs had been transmitted to them by their ancestors, and that probably the language had changed. The Major of Agaña has, however, translated one, which he pretends is expressive of the sweet pleasures of maternity. I should not be surprised to learn hereafter that it was a war cry.

The **religion of the Carolinians** is confined to the recognition of a supernatural power, which may lend a favourable ear to their prayers. They burn their dead; and they believe that good men who have not beaten their wives, are carried above the clouds to be eternally happy; while those who have stolen iron, are changed into a dangerous fish, which they call *tiburón*,¹ and which is continually at war with other fishes. Among these people war is the punishment of the wicked. What a lesson!

Don Luis de Torres, the Major of Agaña, has assured us that the natives of all the Carolines believe in a deluge, and in one God in three persons—the father, the son, and the grandson. Don Luis was brought up in the Spanish fashion and attaches implicit belief to the pretended miracles of Father Saint Victores. He informs us also, that in all the villages of this Archipelago there are schools of navigation, under the direction of the most skilful pilots; and that no Carolinian [man] is allowed to marry until he has given proofs of his dexterity in steering a *proa*. For this examination a time is chosen when the sea is rather high, the candidate is placed at the sheet (for the Carolinians steer their vessels entirely by the sails) and there, surrounded by reefs, and in the midst of foaming waves, he must make his proa sail a certain distance without allowing its outrigger float to touch the waves. I could not have believed that they possessed so much skill, if I had not sailed in their vessels.

LETTER XCII.

...
 [Already reproduced as Doc. 1804A4: Major Torres' voyage to the Carolines in 1804.]
 ...

LETTER XCIII.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

The inhabitants of the Carolines have no characteristic physiognomy: each individual differs from all the rest; everything varies in them, even the colour of their skin; generally, however, their features express goodness, and inspire you with confidence. They smile with such grace that they appear like great children, to whom every novelty

¹ Ed. note: Shark, in Spanish.

is an amusement. They are supple and active, swim like fish, and keep their head almost always under water, which is much less fatiguing to them than it would be to us. The bodies of the chiefs are tattooed in a very elegant manner, but the operation must have caused them a great deal of suffering; the head, hands and feet, however, are exempted. It appeared to us that the Chiefs possessed a higher order of intelligence, and most probably they must have given many proofs of their superiority before they were permitted to command. Obedience in the one class here appears to be only the deference paid to superior merit; while in the orders of the Chiefs, they recognize merely the dictates of experienced wisdom.

In moments of difficulty and danger, one man directs the whole, and the others submit without appearing to be slaves. At feasts and merry-makings all classes mingle indiscriminately, and he is the Chief who is the gayest... how many happy exertions are made to deprive him of his enviable place!

All the natives of the Carolines have their ears pierced, and they enlarge the hole with a fish-bone; but as, from their earliest infancy, they wear considerable weights suspended in them, the cartilage at times descends as low as the shoulder; Buffon¹ supposes, that, wearing no clothes, they used this method to preserve their most valuable effects. It was necessary for me to see this before I was convinced of its truth. All the presents which we made the Carolinians, of nails, small knives, and fish-hooks (and these objects possess great value in their estimation), they put into the holes of their ears, tying them with a knot or two to keep them fast. But Buffon was misinformed when he says, in the same place, that the natives of the Mariana Islands blacken their teeth with a root, and whiten their hair with a liquid, both of which he neglects to name.² If the inhabitants of this part of the world have in general black teeth, it arises from the use of betel, lime, and tobacco; it is not, however, with the intention of beautifying themselves that they employ these substances, but because the pleasure which they derive in chewing them is greater than their regret at lessening the beauty of their teeth. As to the liquid with which they are said to whiten their hair, I believe it has never [sic] been in use here. All the inhabitants have very black hair, which, being constantly rubbed with lemon-juice, acquires a lustre that our coquettes would no doubt appreciate very highly.

It would be easy for me to collect a great number of traits characteristic of the excellent disposition of the Carolinians; every day has brought under our notice some interesting anecdotes, but I shall only mention two.

When the canoe in which I happened to be, was upset at Rota, Bérard had no sooner announced the accident, than the Carolinians disputed with one another who would have the pleasure of rescuing me; and on our reaching their proas they did not even

1 Ed. note: Charles-Louis Leclerc, Count of Buffon, was a famous French naturalist, born in Montbard (1707=1788). His best works have been published in a collection called "Histoire naturelle."

2 Ed. note: It was true of the ancient Chamorros only.

congratulate my deliverer, looking upon his conduct as a thing of course, and being unwilling to lavish their commendation on so simple a matter.

Our intrepid pilots asked us one day, during the voyage we made with them, for some details of the events which had happened to us since our departure. At first we told them a few laughable anecdotes, and then wishing to amuse ourselves, described a fictitious feast of cannibals, to whose ferocity we pretended some of our companions had fallen victims. We told them, that having landed on an unknown island, two of our sailors who had separated from their companions were seized by about a hundred of these Anthropophagi, armed with bows and clubs; that they were fastened to a great stake and roasted; and that we only arrived on the spot at the moment when one of them had been just devoured: that our first feeling was for revenge, and, unwilling to wait, we discharged all our muskets at the cannibals, killing six and wounding several more:—that the remainder, terrified at the strange noise, and the death of their comrades, immediately took to flight; but we having shown ourselves, and thus allowed them to observe our small number, they returned to attack us, uttering horrible yells. We stood firm, and, having had time to re-load our muskets, we did not fire until they came almost close to us. We added, that the great number killed caused so much terror, that the rest again retreated to deliberate what was proper to be done; and that perceiving the danger of engaging further in the affair, and profiting by their retreat, we re-embarked, and carried to the corvette the news of the tragical death of our comrades; that then she approached the land, and soon destroyed all the houses of a village situated on the side of a hill.

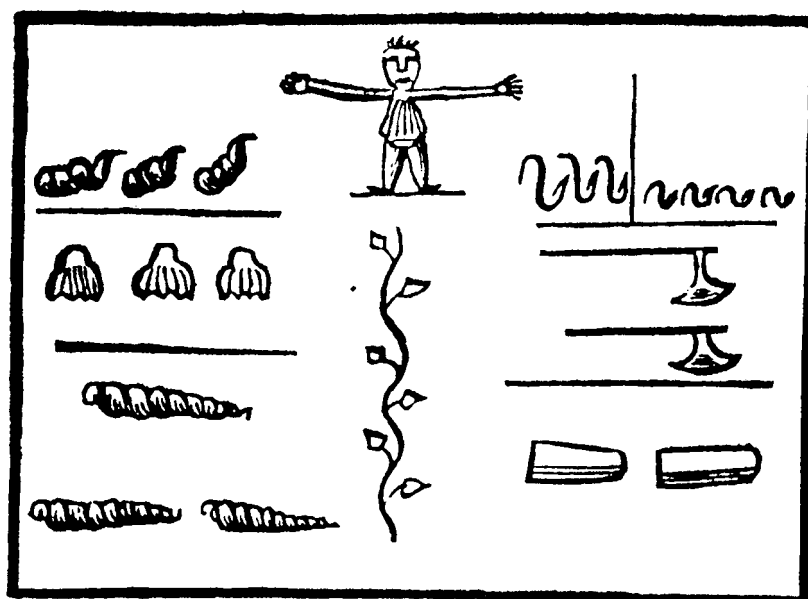
During the recital of this fiction, you should have seen, my friend, the countenances of the Carolinians vary as they were animated, affected, or composed. A feeling of insurmountable horror was expressed in their features at the description of the cannibal feast; and they actually jumped with delight when we told them how we had avenged ourselves. They blamed us for not having entirely extirpated this villanous race; we were guilty in allowing a single one to escape. What pleasure will they experience, should they one day learn that this island has been swallowed up with all its inhabitants! When I asked that I had only been delivered from their hands by the address of Bérard, who from a distance had brought down a savage who was on the point of felling me to the earth, they threw their arms round the neck of my generous deliverer; and this spontaneous movement was less the effect of the pleasure caused by my deliverance, than of that which arose from the destruction of another enemy.

The idea of this horrible scene, which they took pleasure in recalling every hour of the day, produced so great an effect on their imagination, that some time after, the principal pilot came to the Governor's house to inquire of me in the name of his comrades, if the island of which we had told them was near the Carolines. I satisfied him perfectly on that head by informing him, that these ferocious people had no boats, and were quite ignorant of navigation. With this information he would, I am sure, convey, on his return, joy and tranquillity to the hearts of his alarmed countrymen.

They know, however, that in other countries as well as in Ombay (where we had placed the scene of our narrative), there were cannibals. They pronounced on several occasions the word *Papua*, and it is certain that there are men-eaters on some parts of the coast of New Guinea.

The two Carolinian women whom I have seen at the Marianas resemble one another so much, that they might easily be taken for sisters. Their features are regular; the nose however is rather flat, and the lips are somewhat too thick, though the mouth is small, and their smile is extremely graceful.

I have before told you of the intelligence of these people, so little removed from a state of nature. I shall now give you an example. It is a copy of one of their letters, written to Captain Martinez, at Rota, who had commissioned a *Tamor* of *Sathowal* to send him some shells, promising him in exchange a few pieces of iron. The Captain gave him the sheet of paper. Here is the letter; the original is in my possession, and is in red characters, of which the following is an accurate facsimile.



Letter from a Carolinian pilot of Satawal to Capt. Martinez.

The figure at the top of the letter was placed there as the bearer of compliments; the marks in the column on the left hand, indicate the sort of shells the Carolinian sent to Captain Martinez. In the column on the right, are placed the objects which he desired in exchange, viz. three large fishing-hooks, four small ones, two pieces of iron of the shape of axes, and two pieces a little longer. Captain Martinez understood the letter, kept his word, and received that same year, as a token of satisfaction, a great number of handsome shells, of which he made me a present.

Adieu, my dear Battle. After my voyage, I shall feel great regret, I assure you, at not having been able to remain for some time in the Archipelago of the Carolines.

LETTER XCIV.

Agaña (island of Guam).

Some years ago, an American vessel coming from *Atooi*,¹ and bound to Guam, was lost on Agrigan, one of the Marianas, a very fertile islands, but continually agitated by earthquakes, caused probably by the numerous volcanoes it contains. The people on board saved themselves; and in calamities of this kind, ranks are levelled, and authority frequently little respected, some venturous sailors, despising the orders of their Captain, repaired a boat which had been wrecked, and confiding only in their own audacity, abandoned themselves to the winds in search of another country. It would appear that their confidence had been misplaced, for hitherto nothing has been heard concerning them.

Those who remained, well satisfied to have escaped so imminent a danger, wisely occupied themselves in embellishing their new abode; they cultivated small spots of ground, sowing a few grains which had been saved from the wreck; and in a country still unknown, they began to occupy themselves with plans of future happiness. There were twenty-two persons in all, of whom eight were females, natives of the Sandwich Islands; of these the most amiable or the most eager of the men soon made a conquest. The island was about to be peopled, and in a few years it would have been unknown who were the founders of the colony, had not a brig from Manila accidentally touched at the island, and carried the intelligence to the Governor of the Marianas, of these individuals residing in a country under his jurisdiction. Mr. Medinilla gave orders to the Captain of his vessel to go in search of the persons shipwrecked, and convey them to Guam. The natives of the Sandwich Islands were made slaves, under the ridiculous pretext, that the crew of the vessel, on board of which they were, had mutinied.² They were all appropriated by the Chiefs of the colony, Mr. José Medinilla retained only 19 for himself, and gave the other three to two of his officers, who would not affront him by refusing them.

All these unfortunate persons are now before us; they are going to perform some of the dances of their own country, and are waiting with the greatest impatience for the signal to begin.³

[Hawaiian dances]

The men are squatted on their heels; their breasts and arms are naked, and their waists covered with a large piece of cloth. The signal is given by a long and loud howl,

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- 1 One of the Sandwich Islands. Ed. comment: The Island of Kauai, Hawaiian Islands. For the true story, see Doc. 1816C; there was no shipwreck.
 - 2 Ed. note: The true pretext must have been that their status, at home, was that of slaves.
 - 3 They are for once permitted to remember their country.

which all of them utter in conjunction; their muscles are in motion, their eye-brows are contracted, their eye-balls roll furiously; from their mouth pours forth a barbarous song; they spring up, turn round, fall down, rise again, bend their heads, elevate them haughtily, then beat their breasts with their hands, until they are quite red: it seems as if they would destroy themselves. But what do I see? their eyes measure each other from head to foot; their gestures are threatening, their rage is at its height; I must stop. It is impossible to form an idea of their exclamations, their frantic movements; their maddening cries; their terrific convulsions, and their delirious gaiety. At the close of these terrible dances, the men appear like wretches capable of committing the most atrocious crimes.

With the same kind of convulsions, and greater indecency, there is as much disorder in the dances of the women. I could almost fancy myself present at the massacre of the husbands of Eurydice, on the mountains of Thrace.

In men, thus made slaves contrary to the law of nations; in women obliged to submit to every order of their avaricious masters; in all these unfortunate victims of such revolting injustice, bending beneath the weight of chastisement; we are daily witnesses of the most striking proofs of goodness, mildness, and ready obedience. There is but one crime they can be reproached with, and that is thieving; and it must be admitted, that they appear incorrigible: neither menaces, blows, privations, nor imprisonments, nothing in short can cure them of this propensity; and at the very moment that a criminal is sentenced, you will see him, true in his instinct, meditating another theft, and exposing himself to a double punishment.

Every individual of the colony appears to arrogate to himself the same rights over them as a barbarian slave-master, and has no more scruple in beating a Sandwich islander, than a Turk has in impaling a Christian.

And what, madman, is their crime!¹ You command, they are obedient; their days are numbered by their toils, yours by enjoyments; they watch for you, and you seem to repose, only to increase their labour. Do you grudge them the little nourishment which sustains their toilsome life? They prepare your subsistence, and present it to you on their knees. Cannot the bloody traces of their lacerated bodies bridle your inhumanity? No, no; in cold blood you inflict your blows; you count their scars, and the number cannot satisfy your rage; you are the strongest, and your power has made you barbarians. Would you support, as they do, the heavy irons with which you overload them? Cruel men! let the aspect of so much misery wring the weapons from your hands, if it cannot soften your hearts. At least allow your interest to lessen your rage. When it has exhausted their strength, already nearly destroyed, who will then serve you with equal zeal? who will listen to your commands with such ready obedience? who will support so many torments without murmuring, without conspiring perhaps against your lives? Will you choose your slaves among the poor, hideous, and weak wretches who multiply in the land which they ought to have torn from your grasp? Will you render the

1 At present they only steal from strangers.

whole colony subservient to your ambition—to your caprice? Take care that the moment of despair does not become that of revolt. Outrages will then be repaid, and you will groan doubly from the weight of your sufferings, and from the hatred and contempt you will entertain for your oppressors.

The women are much less to be pitied than the men. At first their masters made them subservient to their pleasures; and the servants, who shared in this easy conquest, were afraid of committing themselves by impolitic cruelty. The toils to which they have since been subjected being less severe, their murmurs are more rare, or their activity less discouraged.

It will not be long before we discover the difference which exists between men debased, so to speak, by suffering, and the same individuals delivered from opprobrious chains and left to themselves, or rather to nature.

LETTER XCV.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

The unfortunate natives of the Sandwich Islands, whom we have at present before us, are tall and well made; but have rather a repulsive physiognomy. Their eyes have an expression of cruelty, which forms a contrast with their mild and timid manners; and some of them want two of the incisors of the upper jaw, of which they have been foolishly deprived according to a custom of their country. All of them have large feet, and crooked legs; they walk awkwardly, by fear neither heat nor fatigue. I knew that one of these unfortunate men had stolen a handkerchief from me; I sent for him on pretence of rewarding him for a trifling service for which he had already been recompensed, and presented him with another. On the following day the stolen handkerchief was returned among some linen I had given him to wash, and in counting the pieces before me, he was awkward enough to make me remark that nothing was lost. Among the Spartans this unskillful thief would certainly have received a severe correction. For my part I was contented with making him believe that I valued the handkerchief highly, that he might not repent the sacrifice he had made.

The women are not so handsome as the men, and nearly as tall. At a short distance their sex can only be discovered by the prodigious size of their bosoms. They swim with extraordinary skill, and generally choose a time for this exercise, when the sea is very rough. Equally robust with the men, they are well adapted to the labours of the field, and even prefer to the tranquil cares of the house, the hardy occupations of the country; where enjoying more liberty, they can more readily give themselves up to their inordinate taste for sensual indulgences. If you offer a present to a young female of the Sandwich Islands, you may be certain she will accept it; but also be convinced that she will not make you wait long for a testimony of her gratitude. Your present will lose much of its value in her eyes, if you disdain the proof of her affection. In general their figures are not graceful; but they have a very agreeable laugh, and brilliantly white teeth. At their arrival they wore their hair cut short, as we were informed by the Governor; at present some of them have beautiful black hair, of a surprising length. Two of them are

handsomer than the handsomest females of the Marianas; and a young girl is still much regretted here, who was very pretty, very unfortunate, and the victim of unexampled villany. The adventure is recent.

When the unfortunate people who were shipwrecked in the American vessel arrived at Agaña, one of the females was taken into the palace of Mr. Medinilla, but was soon afterwards sent away at the request of another mistress, whose rights were of an older date. A man named Eustaquio, who by his situation of domestic to the Governor, was the second person at Guam, chose this young and beautiful Sandwich Islander for his servant. In the first transports of his passion, he exempted her from the most laborious tasks; and being less cruelly treated than her companions, she was the means of diffusing hope and consolation among them. We sometimes see impudent valets bold enough to fix their eyes on the conquest of their masters, and share with them the favours sold from caprice or lewdness; but it is much more common, I believe, to find masters mean enough, and sufficiently the enemies of their own reputation, not to blush at coveting and seducing the wives or the mistresses of their valets. From the time of Almaviva¹ of patient memory (and Beaumarchais had not drawn a fiction), to our own time, what a number of youthful libertines have acted this shameful part! The permission given in the present case to a rogue of a lacquey to preserve the most beautiful slave for himself, indicated some concealed design on the part of the master, which warned the valet to be very circumspect and vigilant. All men are not Figaros, and, without being courier to an embassy, a man may frequently be obliged to be absent from his Susanne, and thereby expose himself to the danger of one day finding his brows adorned. In one of those moments so critical for a lover, so favourable to a seducer, the young woman received an order to attend the Governor (and it was a second Basile who was entrusted with the office, to keep any intruder out of the way). The light-footed Eustaquio arrived, however, precisely five minutes before his mistress left the apartment of her first master. What passed during the half hour that she remained there is indeed unknown; but jealousy, vigilant and observing, thought it saw clothes disordered, blushes suffusing the cheeks (rather difficult through a copper-coloured skin), and indecision in answering; as if a sofa, the presence of a Governor, a Lieutenant of Infantry, and the fear of reproach could not produce these effects. Be that, however, as it may, the nominal lover saw in these trifling circumstances, proofs of the perfidy of his mistress. In Spain a young cavalier would have gaily poignarded the unworthy pair, who had betrayed him; but here that kind of vengeance would have been too noble, and besides it would have been rather difficult to immolate both victims at once. Some glasses of a liquor called here *tuba*, of which she was extremely fond, were given her; the dose was so often repeated, that she soon lost her senses; and on the following morning, to the great astonishment of everybody, she was found hanging to the ceiling by a cord, with which the unhappy Eustaquio had been amusing himself the whole day. It is said the

1 Ed. note: Character in the Barber of Seville, and the Marriage of Figaro, by Beaumarchais, a French writer born in Paris (1732-1799).

assassin gloried in his crime; but I can hardly believe it; for whatever may be the faults with which the Governor is reproached, and however great his regard for his domestic, he would certainly have severely punished any man who had been guilty of so infamous a crime.

LETTER XCVI.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

During the night, the Governor caused some curious dances, which he called *dances of the ancients*, to be executed in the front of his palace. They were followed by some agreeable representations, and preceded by a comedy, in fifteen or sixteen acts; in which, two persons grotesquely dressed, and three little sucking pigs, appeared by turns on the scene, and excited roars of laughter from the pit and the galleries.

The amusements of the evening were concluded by an interesting ballet, which requires to be described more in detail. It is called the *dance of Montezuma*; and it is said that it was performed in the dominions of that Sovereign, upon occasion of some public festival, or religious ceremony.

The costumes have even been brought from America; they are magnificent, and their antiquity has not tarnished their lustre. The silk of which they are woven is extremely fine; the flowers, and the various colours with which they are covered, are well arranged, and the fringes round the borders still brilliant. Certainly nothing so handsome had before been seen at Guam; and these mantles, with the embroidery, would give every nation a high idea of the industry of the people who made them.

At first sixteen dancers presented themselves, forming two parallel lines, distant some paces from each other, and carrying fans, made of the feathers of different birds, which they waved with considerable grace. They moved with the left hand a coconut filled with small grains, the noise of which resembled that made by our children's rattles. The orchestra was not brilliant; but the air which accompanied the dancing was harmonious, and might possibly be a national air. The performers advanced slowly, crossed one another, and sometimes formed graceful figures; while the person who represented the King, or the Chief of the fête, with two young pages walking at his sides, moving with short steps, opened the ranks with a gesture, and gravely retired, after waving his enormous fan and his sceptre over the heads of the dancers. It would be easy to find a meaning in each act of this little drama; but it is more prudent merely to suppose that it was only an insignificant amusement, in which pomp was substituted for interest, and where there was no other intention than that of pleasing by variety.

Some performers, provided with hoops, appeared in the second act, and formed some very fine groups, unknown to our theatres; while the King, who was peaceably seated on his throne, which was only an old and crazy arm-chair, appeared to enjoy the fête, and to be amused by the cries of two grotesque figures, covered with wretched rags and hideous masks, and armed with enormous clubs, with which they gave each other violent blows. Gayer movements and more animated airs succeeded; the dancers made some graceful steps to the music of castanets, and quitted for a moment their monotonous

paces. The fourth and fifth acts were both novel and amusing; armed with light shields and sabres, called *macanas*,¹ the dancers crossed over, sought out and attacked each other, aiming blows which were skilfully parried; in short, they represented combats of individuals and a general battle. They were separated by the presence of the King, who advanced in the midst of them, and placed his sceptre between the combatants; perhaps he was giving a lesson of peace to his divided subjects. The dancers, forgetting their quarrels, and their motives for discord, threw away their arms, took each other gaily by the hand, and surrounded their generous Sovereign, as if to thank him for the concord which prevailed, and for the peace which he had procured them.

[The Maypole dance]²

The amusements of the evening were closed by a national country dance, performed by men, and by children in female attire; they turned round a small pole, the top of which ribbands of various colours were attached, in such a manner, that the males running round one way and the females the other, covered the pole entirely with the ribbands, which produced a charming effect. It is singular enough that this dance is also practised in some of the provinces of the south of France, and that people so widely separated should have adopted the same practices in their amusements. Here it is called *the dance of the clothed stick*.

The various scenes which the Governor caused to be exhibited to us, and the other curious fêtes, for which we were indebted to his politeness, have given him strong claims to our gratitude. The performers were most of them children at school, under the direction of their master; all of them acted their parts admirably, and displayed great intelligence. The epoch when the splendid costumes of which I have spoken were brought here, and how they came, are both equally unknown; and we shall not seek to ascertain either. One thing is certain, however, that if these fine silks are of ancient manufacture (and the species of design makes it probable), the people who wove and painted them had not many steps to make, before they attained that perfection which our best workmen have reached. I have sketched all the dances, and endeavoured to give an exact representation of them; but this can only be very imperfectly done with the pencil.

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- 1 Ed. note: As I said in earlier volumes, this word meant “war-clubs,” or tomahawks, in Mexico, and had nothing to do with the same word, that formerly meant “sorcerers” in the Marianas.
 - 2 Ed. note: I have seen this dance in Merida, in the Yucatan peninsula of Mexico, and it was as described below. Other dances performed at the same time were similar to those of southern Spain, and the Philippines as well.

LETTER XCVII.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

As I have undertaken to give you a slight sketch of the manners of the people we might meet on our voyage, and of the progress made by the most civilized in throwing off the prejudices and barbarous customs, which are inherent, as it were, in those whom we call savages, I have drawn from the stores of my memory some account of the facts which have marked the different epochs of the nations of whom I am to speak. Perhaps some trifling errors as to date may slip into my recital; but you will certainly find none in the facts which I relate. Let us have no fictions in the history of the world. I prefer the most abstract truth, to the most brilliant and ingenious invention.

I believe Strabo was the first to remark, that we were indebted to Alexander for a knowledge of the East; to the arms of the Romans for our acquaintance with the West; and to the victories of Mithridates for information concerning the North. But their conquests, being confined to the land, and purchased with blood, were slowly carried forward; while a thirst for gold, the original source of commerce, opens a more expeditious and secure road.

It was only in the fifteenth century, that the taste for discoveries was excited by two feeble nations of the South: a single man effected this change. His ardent mind conceived a vast project; and it is doubtful which most merits the admiration of ages, the perseverance of his efforts to undertake it, or the boldness and genius which endured its success.

Christopher Columbus, rising superior to the unfortunate circumstances of his youth, had retired to Portugal, after his native country, Genoa, had rejected his proposals. John III of Portugal did not even deign to notice them; and Isabella of Spain, entirely occupied with the great design she had planned of driving out the crowds of Moors with which it was infested, made all her prayers centre in the capture of Granada; and saw in the projects of a great man, rather the crude dreams of an adventurer, than the sublime conceptions of a rising genius. Granada was taken; Columbus obtained the command of three small vessels; America was discovered, and Spain thenceforward regarded herself as the first nation of Europe.

Several bold and enterprising men, formed in the school of Columbus, happily achieved what was begun under such brilliant auspices. The new discovered world was purchased by torrents of blood; and with the riches thence acquired, Europe ceased for a time to be the theatre of memorable events. Every daring character then attempted a discovery; and the success of a single individual opened a vast field to those who, to courage, at that time the most common quality, added perseverance, which was only possessed by a few. The Cape of Good Hope had been doubled; and commerce invited the nations of Europe to the Moluccas and the coasts of Bengal, but the dangers of a long and difficult voyage restrained the avarice of merchants. Christopher Columbus and several companions of his first success, made fruitless attempts to discover a passage to the East Indies by the West.

After innumerable trials, which drew some men now celebrated from oblivion, Magellan, a Portuguese, a man despised by his own Sovereign, and who had become a voluntary subject of the King of Spain, passed through the straits which now bear his name, traversed the vast Pacific Ocean, and stopped at the Philippines, where he became the victim of his own imprudent courage; and his vessel, under another commander, announced to astonished Spain, that the great problem which had engaged the attention of so many illustrious philosophers, was at length resolved.

As it is not my intention to give you the history of those early adventurers, who have been such pure sources of glory and advantage to their country, I pass over a long period, and come at once to the conquest of the country which occupies our attention.

It may be remarked, that wherever the tribunal of the Inquisition is established, the spirit of discovery is stopped, as well as the progress of arts and sciences: wherever, also the Spaniards and Portuguese have extended their power, their persecutions have made slaves, and never acquired allies. Their first act being to change the religion of the conquered countries, the necessary result was, that men entirely unacquainted with the sublime truths of our faith, armed themselves for resistance, because there was not sufficient knowledge to enlighten them. Hence the weak became the victims of the strong, and hence arose persecutions and cruelties.

When the Carolines and the Marianas were first discovered [rather conquered], these fertile islands were peopled by an industrious race, whose character appeared simple and credulous. Manila was then growing into a flourishing colony; and from thence the first vessels sailed which were to achieve the conquest of this Archipelago. José Quiroga was the first Spaniard who attempted to subjugate these islands. He was quick, hasty, and impetuous, unacquainted with those sentiments of generosity which are more effectual than arms, in gaining the mind and conquering the heart. Equally severe to himself as to his soldiers, he exposed himself to the same dangers, and submitted to the same privations. He visited timidity with disgrace, and repressed murmurs by cruel punishments. Several times he had to put down revolts; and on all occasions his presence of mind, and his impetuous courage obtained him the most signal victories. The resistance of the natives was regarded as an outrage by his arrogant soul; the slaughter he made of them opened the country to him in all directions: unable to support the yoke he wished to impose on them, the natives retreated, beaten but not subdued, to a barren rock (Aguigan), where they hoped to find security from persecution and tyranny. They were soon however pursued to this last asylum; and those who escaped from slaughter were brought back to Guam, and treated as slaves.¹

In the midst of these scenes of ravage and barbarity, it is refreshing to have our attention arrested by any circumstance which diminishes their horror. Religion when armed with the sword, has made many proselytes; but when that influence has been once removed, the faith which was imposed by irritated violence, and adopted by de-

1 Ed. note: There are several inaccuracies in the above tale, and the reader is invited to consult earlier volumes of this series.

fenceless weakness, is no longer adhered to. Mildness and persuasion alone effectually gain the heart; and the name of Father Saint Victores [sic] ought to be as dear to the inhabitants of this Archipelago, as that of Las Casas has been to the savage hordes of America. He alone dared to check the cruelties of Quiroga;¹ and such was the disposition of the conquerors of the fifteenth [sic] century, that what they would have regarded as an unpardonable presumption in a soldier, they were afraid to check in a minister of religion.

[Fictitious story about Matapang]

At the very time when the torch of discord burned with a dreadful glare over all the island of Guam, Father Saint Victores, with the boldness of a martyr, traversed the country under no other protection than the standard of Christ; by words of peace and gentleness, and the insinuating tone of persuasion, he won the hearts of the inhabitants, and thus diminished the horror they entertained of the Spanish name. From the bosom of recesses not yet violated, he fulminated severe orders, which Quiroga, although enraged, did not dare to disobey: but, alas! the zeal of the pious missionary was not long effectual against the ignorance of the natives, and the barbarity of the conquerors.

One of the extraordinary men, produced in every country to be the leaders of other men; intrepid from instinct, ferocious from calculation, forgetful of past, and insensible to future miseries; one of those men, in short, whose existence never goes beyond the present, had made some resistance at the Marianas to the Spanish arms. Shut up in the interior of the island with a considerable number of partisans, he murmured at the praises bestowed by the fugitives on Saint Victores, and in the conduct and insinuations of this Catholic hero, saw only an additional perfidy. *Matapang* was the name of this dangerous man; he had left his two children to the care of his wife; and she, influenced by the virtues and moderation of Saint Victores, had entrusted them to him in order to make them Christians. Nothing more was necessary to induce Matapang to resolve internally on taking an atrocious revenge. In men so little masters of their first impressions, personal interest always prevails over the public good. He assembled his comrades, addressed them with all the fire of indignation long suppressed, kindled in their minds the sentiment of vengeance, and artfully gave them to understand, that their own future safety and the flight of the Spaniards depended solely from that time forward on the death of Saint Victores. His discourse revived the courage of the most timid; every one determined to lay a snare for the zealous missionary, and to destroy him in one of those journies, which he repeated perhaps with too much imprudence. Nor was it long before an opportunity offered. Matapang found means of attracting him to his own retreat; at first he thanked him for the trouble he had taken with his children, and solicited him to continue his attentions to those who were so dear to him. But to put his zeal to the proof, Matapang requested him to baptize a goat, of which he was very fond. The answer of the Christian minister may be easily guessed; and as he firmly refused to

1 Ed. note: All wrong; Quiroga arrived at Guam seven years after Fr. Sanvitores' death.

do what was demanded of him, Matapang, aided by two of his partisans, fell on him, and knocked him down with a species of wooden axe, which, except the sling, was the only weapon in use among the first inhabitants of the Marianas.

Whether Quiroga was displeased at this atrocity is doubtful; but it is certain that to revenge it, was one of the motives for the horrors committed by his soldiers. The imagination recoils at the recollection of these scenes of carnage; to give an idea of them, it is sufficient to mention, that at the first trial of the Spanish arms, the inhabitants of the Marianas amounted to more than 40,000 [sic], and that at the end of two years 5,000 only remained.¹

It was at this epoch that the first settlement was made. The natives were subjected to very severe laws, from the operation of which they had no means of escape; they bent under the despotism of their oppressors, and that hatred which arises from a sense of inability to resist tyranny rooted itself in their hearts.

LETTER XCVIII.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

Magellan gave the name of *Ladrones* to the Mariana Islands, because he was there made the dupe of his own good faith; and even now, there would be no injustice in continuing the appellation, the inhabitants having still so great an attachment to the endearing custom of appropriating to themselves the property of others.

As soon as the Spanish dominion was established, though on rather tottering foundations, the first care of the victors must have been to maintain their spirit of superiority over their new subjects. Quiroga had returned to Manila; Father Saint Victores had fallen a victim to his apostolic zeal; and the person who succeeded to the command of the expedition, was solely occupied with such investigations as would give at home a high idea of the country which had been subjected, and with the more sordid care of quickly making his own fortune. He had requested some additional aid from the Governor of the Philippine Islands, as he was afraid Quiroga has sailed for Europe; but chance came more promptly to his aid than he could have ventured to hope for.

The Carolines had attracted the attention of the Court of Madrid, at the same time [sic] that the conquest of the Marianas was under consideration. Nine [sic] small vessels from Luzon were conveying to the former Islands several ecclesiastics, whose zeal for the propagation of their religion sent them into voluntary banishment from an abode of ease and tranquillity. The winds were contrary from the beginning of their voyage, and, a terrible storm having thrown them out of their course, eight of the vessels perished on the Island of Guam;² but the ninth fortunately took refuge in a creek, where it was sheltered from the tempest. The only monk who was saved remained some years at the Marianas, where he preached with as much zeal and success as Father Saint Victores, but with greater good fortune. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the

1 Ed. note: That, of course, is so untrue as to be revolting.

2 Ed. note: This is a pure invention, like the rest of this story.

persons of most consideration among the original inhabitants soon became the bigoted protectors of the religion of their oppressors, and presumed to interdict the lower classes from the privileges which they desired to possess exclusively, of enjoying the good things in a future life, which were promised them.

A work published at Manila, in 1790, by Father Juan de la Concepción, a discaled Franciscan, contains some details of the ancient customs of this people: I have looked over this enormous compilation, and found it a production of ignorance and credulity. The descriptions of the miracles which took place at the Marianas occupy alone five or six volumes, and it would be absurd to attach any credit to a multitude of ridiculous tales of sorcerers and of saints who took part in the conquest of this Archipelago.

Here is a page translated for your edification.

“No sooner had Quiroga arrived at the Marianas, and proclaimed to the inhabitants the new religion which he had brought them, than the sea retreated, as if to inform him that he ought not to return to his own country till he had successfully terminated his enterprise. On the day after his landing the earth was agitated with a terrible noise, which was a presage to Quiroga, of the trouble and anxiety he was to experience in completing the conquest of Guam. On the third day, a most glorious sun animated all nature, and the Spaniards felt certain of success. On the fourth, a violent wind forewarned them of the resistance of Matapang; and on the fifth, some trees having been blown down by the storm, no doubt could be entertained as to the death of Saint Victores, or as to the frightful massacres of which the colony was to be the theatre. Everything happened as nature had predicted; Saint Victores fell a victim to the fury of Matapang; Quiroga, in his just revenge, exterminated a great part of the natives, and the standard of the cross shone only for a small number of the just.” So much for one.

“Father Saint Victores had scarcely fallen from the mortal blow of Matapang, when his soul, bounding over space, borne on the wings of the wind, arrived in his own country, and there announced this misfortune. The churches of the whole of Spain were hung with black, the bells tolled of themselves; the Court went into mourning; it was regarded as a general calamity. Eight or ten months afterwards, Guam was agitated by two or three earthquakes, the cause of which did not remain concealed.—The crime of Matapang was to be expiated.” So much for the second.

“In one of his journeys to Tinian, Father Saint Victores at length succeeded in converting to the true faith, one of the most obstinate and incredulous of the natives, whom he had at different times attempted in vain. As the latter was returning to his country-house, in a state of deep reflection, he saw six females coming towards him very handsomely dressed, who were eating fire. Only one of them was clothed in black, the others in a thousand variegated colours. He saluted them in Spanish; but these aerial females answered in the Indian language, and menaced him with great misfortunes, should he refuse to submit to the new laws which had just been imposed on him. The incredulous convert promised to obey, and making the vision he had had public, he seconded prodigiously the zeal of Saint Victores.” So much for the third.

“A strong proof,” he adds, *“of the truth of our religion is, that a short time after Guam was conquered, it was agitated by several shocks of earthquakes, which threw down some huts; but after the inhabitants had addressed their prayers to the true God, no other shocks were felt for the space of two years and a half.”* So much for the fourth.

I should be long before I had finished, were I to relate to you only the tenth part of the ridiculous stories of which this history is composed; but I was agreeably surprised to find in the midst of the trash of the fourteen volumes of which it consists, several pages consecrated to the Carolines, which are very curious. They are much more correctly written than the rest, and in a better spirit; there is not a single recital of miracles; everything is simple and natural; and to make his book interesting, the author has no occasion to have recourse to prodigies. It is impossible that these pages could have been written by the same hand which produced the rest.

LETTER XCIX.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

Only a single instance of the smallpox has been seen here; but as this terrible disease is perhaps on the point of reaching this, as it has already ravaged part of Bengal, and some of the islands in the Indian Ocean, our medical men have taken precautions to anticipate its fatal consequences, by the introduction of vaccination. Unfortunately the vaccine matter was too old, and failed in producing the desired effect. The attempt, however, will not be entirely fruitless; for the Priest of Agaña, who took the trouble of attending the numerous experiments made by MM. Quoy and Gaimard, intends to have some matter brought immediately from Manila, or Canton. If cock-fighting therefore allows him sufficient time, he may yet be of use to the flock confided to his care.

You will suspect, indeed, that medicine and surgery have made but little progress at Guam, since the only remedies in favour are cockroaches and cream of tartar, administered by the Governor and Fray Ciriaco. Notwithstanding the excellence of their universal specifics, our infirmary was daily besieged by great numbers of sick and wounded, who by some inconceivable fatality had found these remedies quite inefficacious. The inhabitants of Guam, it is true, are difficult to treat, and little accustomed to the convenient style of European patients. They do not come to ask for remedies: but they say with ludicrous confidence, *cure me*; as if doctors were bound to heal their patients.

Last Sunday a stout fellow, in a moment of impatience, irritated at the obstinacy of his mule (for these animals are as headstrong here as in Europe), struck it so violently with a stick on the head, that the poor beast fell down dead. Afflicted at this disaster, the churl runs to our hospital, informs the surgeon in a sorrowful tone of the cause of his trouble, and supplicates for his assistance, for which he would be eternally grateful. The surgeon tries to console him for the loss, and tells him that as the mule is dead, his art is of no avail. The man insists, weeps, and intreats him to make the attempt, for he places a great deal of confidence in his skill; the surgeon, to get rid of his sorrowful im-

portunities, tells him that he does not prescribe for beasts. "And whom then do you cure in France?" replied the man, and went away.

The inhabitants of the Marianas are in general mild, and confiding in their behaviour towards foreigners; but they like to be treated familiarly. You cannot give them a greater pleasure than by addressing them in the easy language of friendship. Enter a house, shake the master heartily by the hand, give one embrace (but only one) to his wife, give twenty however to the daughters; take a seat, share their frugal repast, say that everything is excellent; you are well received, presented with a hammock, one of the young females comes to swing it, and you fall asleep, to the harmonious but monotonous sound of some Latin canticle, or of some Chamorro song. Next morning, when you awake, you are offered some trifle, which you are at liberty to refuse; but if you accept it, gratitude requires you to acquit yourself of the obligation; and, according to the custom of the country, you must offer something of at least double the value of the object which you have received.

Before we were acquainted with this singular practice, we were astonished at the generosity of these poor people: but when you are informed of the custom, buy, and never accept any thing; if you do, you are certain to be plundered. If you make a present of a pocket-handkerchief today, tomorrow you will be asked for a shirt, and in a few days after for a sheet.

At Agaña, the inhabitants are so given to this custom, that if you at any time neglect to make presents in return for what you have received, you will soon hear the *generous* donor remind you of his gift, talk to you of it at every hour of the day, and finally desire to have it back, without a blush. This is general; and from the highest officer at Guam (I except the Governor, whose real generosity we have had opportunities of appreciating),¹ to the most wretched peasant of Tupungan, everybody is mindful not to derogate from this ancient law: a curious example of it happened from my having one day, out of compassion, given an old shirt to a sick man at Agaña. As we were about to depart, his daughter brought it back, telling me in a tone of regret, truly affecting, that her father could not reward me for my present. In a moment of generosity I offered her another; moreover gave a parting kiss to the young messenger, and exonerated her family from every species of obligation.

Simple people! with regret I see the moment approach when I must leave you.

LETTER C.

In recurring once more to the subject of the coconut tree, and the innumerable benefits derived from it, I must take the opportunity of making you acquainted as well as I can with the form and characteristics of this superb vegetable, the noblest present which Heaven has made to the Islands of the South Sea.

¹ I must also make an honourable exception of Don Luis de Torres.

The **coconut tree**,—which, considering the richness of its foliage, I am not afraid to call the monarch of the woods, and the most valuable of all trees, when I reflect on its utility,—shoots from the earth with a trunk of two feet in diameter, which rises majestically to the height of one-hundred feet, and waves its crown of verdure in the air. Its foliage, formed of a broad and flexible spine, bordered with long secondary leaves, yields to the slightest breeze, and in regular and graceful motions figures to the astonished eye the undulations of agitated waves. The leaves rustle against each other with a gentle murmur, softly interweave, expand majestically, and collapse without feebleness. They are large and vigorous in proportion as the tree is young, and as it grows old they become more scanty; they appear to form its strength, as the strength of Samson consisted in his hair; stripped of this ornament, its grey stem seems to bend beneath the enormous weight of the fruit which hangs at its head, and grows there in the form of bunches. The nuts form only a part of its wealth; as large as our melons, they contain in their double covering, a liquid more limpid than that which falls from the most agreeable cascades of our Pyrenees. It is sweet and grateful, but pernicious when used to excess, as well as the delicious cream which it deposits on the sides of the interior shell.

To climb to the top of the tree, the negroes, the savages, and the inhabitants of the Marianas, all employ very nearly the same means. They make small notches in the trunk; or still oftener they form a sort of ladder, capable of bearing the greatest weight, out of the spine of the leaves, which they tie together perpendicularly to the surface. These means, however, are only made use of for children; for as soon as they grow to be youths, they climb the straightest trees with wonderful agility, and I have seen some of them who laughed at the difficulties they presented, and sought them out that they might show us their dexterity.

Without taking into account the agreeable and simple food extracted from the nuts, just cast your eye on the following table, and judge for yourself, how much this tree is beneficial to the islanders of the South Sea, and more particularly to the inhabitants of this isolated Archipelago.

From the fruit, or from the liquid which flows from incisions made in the unexpanded parts of the fructification, are obtained:	Excellent sweetmeats, Good brandy, vinegar, Honey, oil.
From the shell:	Cups, small pieces of furniture.
From the trunk and leaves:	Very strong ropes, clothes, Thread, materials for roofs.

To this imperfect enumeration you may add a multitude of little things which are very useful; such as baskets, mats, solid hedges, and impenetrable partitions; and you may then easily imagine, how highly the possession of the coconut tree is here esteemed; and indeed, in it alone consists the greatest wealth of this country.

Were I a botanist, I should feel pleasure in giving you a learned description of a number of noble vegetable productions, which nature, attentive and benevolent, has dis-

seminated in this extensive portion of the globe. I should describe to you the *navigators tree*, whose name indicated its benefits;¹ the bread-fruit tree,² almost as useful as the coconut tree, but much less plentiful; the fan palm-tree,³ resembling very much an elegant vase, from which the leaves, of a magnificent green, shoot forth like rays; the *areca*,⁴ the *pandanus*,⁵ the Indian-fig tree, which of itself forms a forest. But it seems better that you should wait for the publication of our great work. Few botanists have studied the vegetable productions of India and of this vast ocean, with so much care as my friend Gaudichaud; and nobody is better qualified to give a scientific description of them, or to distinguish their different properties.

LETTER CI.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

Music is one of the most agreeable amusements of the inhabitants of the Marianas; they sing the moment they awake, they sing during the hours of rest, and they fall asleep singing. Their airs are languishing, harmonious, and for three voices; there are also two or three [Spanish] *boleros* and some *seguidillas*: but in general they prefer that which lulls and composes, to that which animates and enlivens; and their singing may be considered in some measure an emblem of their life. Almost everybody has some taste, and plays tolerably well; but their voice is nasal, and accords better with their native airs than with those of Spain, which are more varied. The national couplets are always composed in honour of some saint of Paradise, or to celebrate some great event, such as the arrival of a ship. Our coming awoke the slumbering muse of the poet of the place; and we often heard songs, the burthen of which related to our voyage, and to some persons of the expedition; and which, if they did not indicate talents, were at least an evidence of a turn for satire.

Dancing is only customary among children. At the sound of a *mandolin*, or of a song, a little boy and girl (their arms behind them, their heads held up, having an important air), follow each other with great rapidity, and with gestures similar to those of our boatmen. Their bodies are agitated; they measure each other with their eyes: the young girl seems as if she endeavoured to save herself from the pursuit of the youth; she runs round a hat placed on the ground, and her lover runs after her; this barrier is respected, and it must not be passed: but when he has caught the fugitive coquette, it rarely happens that she does not consent to give him a kiss, or allow one to be taken: if it does happen, a more fortunate wag instantly takes his place, and lassitude frequently grants that which had been refused to an obstinate pursuit, to tender and assiduous attentions. Observe the resemblance to the *Chega* of the Isle of France. These petty ex-

1 *Urania speciosa*.

2 *Artocarpus incisa*.

3 Ed. note: Or travellers palm.

4 *Areca odoracea*.

5 *Pandanus [odoratissimus]*.

hibitions, which are very pretty, take place almost every evening, in the front of every house; we, all of us, took great pleasure in stopping to look at them, and I believe that the vanity of the actors was flattered by our curiosity and our applause, as well as by the accompaniment of some trifling present.

I have already spoken of several diseases, to which the natives of these islands, and of almost all the other islands in this ocean, are subject: but that disease, the ravages of which are most felt at Otahiti, at the Sandwich Islands, and even at Timor, has hardly been felt at the Marianas. Our medical men met with not one instance of it; though our crew, by their imprudent confidence, often exposed themselves to its terrible effects. It seems that means have been found to conquer the disease, for it was formerly well known here, it is said, under the name of the *French disease*,¹ but at present only a feeble recollection of it remains. May they long remain ignorant of its terrible infliction!

LETTER CII.

Agaña (Island of Guam).

I have now described Rota, Tinian, and Guam, and the manners of their inhabitants; and, I may say, all the Marianas, for the other islands of this Archipelago are uninhabited. I could undoubtedly have added something more; for instance, some observations on the privileges which the ancient nobility of this country assumed; of their forbidding the lower classes to receive baptism, pretending that they were to enjoy exclusively the eternal happiness promised them by our priests. I prefer however passing over such absurdities in silence; for in reading my remarks, you would no longer believe yourself (where I wish for a time to place you) nearly five thousand leagues distant from your country.

Guam is forty leagues in circumference. All the southern part of the island is volcanic, consisting of mountains, of reddish channeled formation, or rather of basaltic lavas. The northern part, which is almost desert, is formed of calcareous madrepores, of which the sides nearest the sea are abrupt and elevated. In the midst of this calcareous mass, in a place called *Santa Rosa*, a small volcanic peak has started up. Masses of madrepores surround almost the whole of the island, which is rather defended by its own insignificance, than by nature, or the forts which the Spaniards have built on it.

The woods and mountains of Guam offer to the naturalists some objects worthy of research and investigation. Great numbers of birds, in every variety of splendid plumage, hop from branch to branch, and rarely attempt to escape the attacks of the sportsman. The purple-headed turtle-dove, whose colours are of surprising softness, and whose form is extremely graceful, is undoubtedly the handsomest. The king-fisher comes next, some specimens of which are magnificent; but in general the birds of this

¹ Ed. note: He refers, of course, to a venereal disease, most likely syphilis.

large part of the globe, though of brilliant plumage, have a monotonous voice or a disagreeable cry.

The sea is even richer than the land. It contains fishes of every kind, variegated with a thousand colours. The collection made by our medical officers is valuable; and they, I am persuaded, will collect many species unknown in Europe.¹ If I may believe Major Don Luis de Torres, whose veracity is unquestionable, great havoc is made of the inhabitants of the sea, by means of a small fish, the name of which I have forgotten, and which is preserved in reservoirs, and fed with great care. As soon as one of these is supposed to be sufficiently instructed in his business, he is put into the sea, and the fisherman, by striking aloud on his boat, makes him return with all the other fish, which he has been clever enough to entice into the nets.

There are thirty-five rivers in the island, some of which bring down grains of iron and of copper. The principal of these are Tarofoto, Ilig, and Pago; they run straight into the sea, and small vessels may ascend the first to a considerable height. Although the country is very mountainous, the current of these rivers is very slow; that of Agaña, for instance, scarcely moves at the rate of a mile an hour. They are not well stocked with fish.

Guam, Rota, and particularly Tinian, were, at the time of the conquest of this Archipelago, covered with ancient colossal monuments; but at Seypan not a single trace of any such has been discovered. At present they are only met with at Tinian and at Rota; and their ruins attest the genius of the founders of a colony, which ought to have escaped the ravages of time, and the sacrilegious arms of their fanatical conquerors.

LETTER CIII.

San Luis de Apra (Mariana Islands).

Yet more painful adieus! yet again must we break the pleasant ties by which we had been bound. We sail tomorrow, my dear Battle; and you will agree with me that these continual changes, this tedious monotony of a voyage, almost always far from land, these days so uniform, in which each slowly revolving hour so perfectly resembles its predecessor, are enough to exhaust our perseverance. The consoling idea, *We shall get home,* presents itself indeed sometimes to sustain our courage; but at the least contrary circumstance, the fatal "*when*" occurs, and the horizon of hope is obscured. There are moments when I almost begin to believe that he was not far wrong who said, "*that to be quite happy in this world, a man would require to have a bad heart and a good stomach.*"

Some causes of rejoicing however present themselves to our imaginations; we are steering towards the Sandwich Islands, where Cook terminated his glorious career. Our

1 The greater part of this collection, which cost them so much care and trouble, was buried in the waves at the Malouine Islands. Ed. comment: At the Falkland Is., where the Uranie was shipwrecked.

sick have, at the Marianas, recovered their health. The provisions are good, the water delicious; our crew have abundance of brandy, and, though the voyage may be long, we are without fear for the future.

This seems a proper moment to give our purser¹ that tribute of praise which he deserves; not only for the disinterested zeal with which he had continually procured us necessaries at all the places where we have touched, but also for the extraordinary activity he displayed at Guam; and above all for the prudent firmness he exhibited in some discussions which arose concerning the quality of the provisions which were intended for us. Neither favours nor trifling concessions could turn him from the strict line of his duty. He never lost sight of the rights of the sailors; he supported them, he demonstrated the impropriety of preferences granted to this or that individual, and he said, "*it shall be so,*" because he knew that his will coincided with that of the government.

Our money consisted in articles of commerce. They were landed, and with them Mr. Requin bargained for what we wanted; without taking advantage of the confidence of the inhabitants, no-one could have behaved with more prudence in the purchase of provisions than he did. As soon as it was day-break, the stores were crowded. Poultry, sucking-pigs, game, were brought and exchanged for saw, nails, knives and hatchets; and when it is recollected that these islands bore the name of *Thieves' Islands* on account of the ruling passion of the first inhabitants to appropriate to themselves what did not belong to them, and that a number of their descendants have inherited the same passion, an idea may be formed of the embarrassment which must have arisen from the exaggerated pretensions of some dealers, and of the vigilance which their discontent rendered necessary to prevent disorder.

With people who are so artful and impudent, with an innate propensity to thieving, it is necessary sometimes to employ a certain degree of severity, mitigated in our case by our conviction of superior strength, and that the culprits are not sensible of the extent of their offence; and it was always by favouring those who showed themselves deserving of his confidence, that our purser punished the others who had given him good cause for suspicion. Was not this giving a lesson of honesty to them all? It is particularly in these close relations of self-interest, that it is curious and useful to study the manners of a people, and to examine their customs in the most trifling details. All their actions have one aim; all their words are weighed; all their looks have a direction. Elsewhere, man is often what circumstances force him to be; here however he is himself, because he defends his interest and his rights. I doubt not therefore that Mr. Requin was able to profit by the hours which he passed amidst these curious, good-natured, and superstitious people.

We are all on board; the anchor is to be weighed tomorrow at an early hour; it is past noon; to reach Agaña I must perform a journey of three leagues; and yet I hasten thither... I wish to see, to hear *her* once more. If you had known her, you would pardon my weakness; and perhaps you would not pardon me for leaving her.

1 Mr. Requin, of Toulon.

I arrived at Agaña, breathless, exhausted with fatigue; she was still weeping. You will believe that there was sincerity in this attachment, when I shall have told you, that this young woman was a savage. Oh! yes, I was very wrong in returning to see her.

VOCABULARIES

...

THE CHAMORROS,
Or Inhabitants of the Mariana Islands.¹

		[Editor's notes]
Head	Ulu	[still Ulu]
Hair of the head	Gapun-Ulu	[now Gapotulu]
Brow	Ha-i	[Ha'i means forehead]
Eye	Mata	[still Mata]
Eye-lashes	Pulu chalam lam	[lit. means Blink hair]
Eye-lids	Chalam lam	[means Blink]
Hair	Pulu	[still Pulu]
Nose	Goui-ine	[now spelled Gui'eng]
Nostril	Madulu Goui-ine	[now Maddok Gui'eng]
Mouth	Pachoud	[now Pachot]
Tooth	Nifine	[now Nifen]
Molar	Akakam	[lit. means Back bite]
Tongue	Ula	[still Hula]
Lip	Aman	[now Amang]
Upper lip	Aman hulu	[lit. Lip above]
Lower lip	Aman papa	[lit. Lip below]
Chin	Achai	[still Achai]
Ear	Talan-ha	[now Talanga]
Neck	Agaga	[[still Agaga]
Throat	Famag-niuan	
Nape of the neck	Tun-ho	[now Tongho]
Chest	Ha-uf	[still Ha-of]
Belly	Tuyan	[still Tuyan]
Navel	Apuya	[still Apuya]
Back	Tatalu	[still Tatalo]
Back-bone	Tolan-talu	[lit. Bone of back]
Shoulder	Apaga	[still Apaga]
Arm	Hius	
Elbow	Tumun canai	[now Tommon kannai]
Hand	Canai	[still Kannai]
Bone	Tolan	[now Tolang]
Bone of the arm	Tolan hius	
Thumb	Tamagas	[now Damagas]
Fore-finger	Talanchu	[now Tatancho]
Middle-finger	"	
Ring-finger	"	
Little-finger	Calanke	[now Kalanke]

1 Ed. note: For the sake of simplicity, I have transformed some French spellings to the more usual Spanish vowel sounds. See also HM2: 95-97 for the first vocabulary of 1565.

Posterior, buttocks	Pudus	[now means Hemorroid]
Thigh	Chachaga	[still Chachaga]
Knee	Tamun-adin	[now Tommo]
Leg	Adin	[now Addeng]
Stick	Tu-un	[now Tonnas] ¹
Mirror	Lamlam	[see note below] ²
Calf of the leg	Mamanan-ha	[now Mamanha]
Tibia	Sadnu hud	
Foot	Adinei	[now Addeng, same as Leg]
Ankles	Acula	
Great toe	Tamagas adin	[same as thumb]
Little toe	Kalanke	[same as little finger]
Copulation	Uma-ha-as	[now Uma-uyu]
Palm of the hand	Ataf	
Soles of the feet	Foffugai	
Footprint	Fegay	[now Fegge]
Hat	Tuhun	[now Tuhong]
Leather sandal	Doga	[now Dogga]
Ancient necklace	Gwini	
Chamorro knife	Daman	
Fine	Guasi	
Stone	Achu	[now Acho]
Flint	Gagud	
Egg	Chada	[still Chada]
Chicken	Manug	[now Mannok]
Proas	Sagman	[now Sakman]
Sea	Tasi	[still Tasi]
High sea	Matine an	[see note below] ³
Water	Hanum	[now Hanom]
Coconut	Nidyu	[now Niyok]
Coconut water	Chugu nidyu	[now Chugo niyok]
Coconut wine	Tuba	[still Tuba]
Father	Tata	[still Tata]
Mother	Nana	[still Nana]
Man	Lae	[now Lae, or Lah]
Wood	Hadyu	[now Hayu]
Straight	Tunas	[now Tonnas] ⁴
[Finger-] Nail	Papakis	[now Papakes]
Lightning	Lamlam	[still Lamlam]
Thunder	Hulu	[still Hulu]
The body of a man	Tataotao	[still Tataotao]
Double	Gi-hine	
Opening	Madulu	
Umbilical cord	Acag	

1 Ed. note: Formerly applied to love sticks. See also Straight below.

2 Ed. note: This word also means Lightning (see below) and meant flash. The Spanish word Espejo is now used instead.

3 Ed. note: Possible misunderstanding. Mate means low tide.

4 Ed. note: Word formerly used to describe bachelor's love stick.

Break the back-bone	Hulug tatalognia	
Cabin, hut, house	Guma	[still Guma]
Wrestling	Afulu	[now Affulo]
Road	Chalan	[still Chalan]
To scratch	Caguas	[now Kaguas]
To wink to a woman	Acheg-hi	[now Achetge]
To look [at]	Atan	[still Atan]
To look with understanding	Atan seguit	
To show, point with the finger	Tanchu	
Rat	Chiaca	[now Chaka]
Crow	Aga	[still Aga]
Kingfisher	Si-hig	[now Sihek]
Tinian-fowl	Sassegniat	[now Sasgnat]
Sultan-fowl	Pulalat	[now Pullatat]
Turtle dove ¹	Totot	[still Totot]
Gray turtle dove ²	Gaga	[generic word for animal]
Plover	Dulili	[still Dulili]
Gray curlew	Calalan	[now Kalalang]
Slate-coloured crab-eater	Chuchuku	[now Chuchuko]
Stone curlew ³	Dulili	[still Dulili]
Grayish heron	Cacag	[now Kakkak]
Pelican	Padyadya	[now Payaya]
Black-bird ⁴	Sali	[still Sali]
White-tufted crab-eater	Chuchuku-apaca	
Tropic bird	Tiunie	[now Chunge]
Type of nightingale	Gapio	
Duck	Gahanga	[now Nganga]
Red woodpecker	Egigi	[still Egigi]
Flat-billed fly-catcher	Nosa	[still Nosa]
Fan-tailed fly-catcher	Sotin	
<i>Balistes niger</i>	Sata	[still Sata]
<i>Tetrodon meleager</i>	Mangau	
<i>Labrus</i> ⁵	Bu-ha	[now Bua]
Lizard	Elitei	[now Hilitai]
Bat	Fani-hi	[still Fanihi]
Moray eel	Acman	[now written Hakmang]
<i>Acanthurus chirurgus</i>	Magnia-a-Apaca	[Mañahak ... = Surgeonfish]
<i>Acanthurus minor</i>	Magnia ac Atulun	[Mañahak ... = Rabbitfish]
<i>Holocentrus</i>	Chalag	[now Chalak = Squirrelfish]
Rose-coloured fish ⁶	Achine-chun	
Brilliant Labrus	Tan hisun	[now Tangison]
Black <i>Chætodon</i>	Fomo	[now Fohmo]
<i>Chætodon</i> with yellow streaks	Doddu	[now Doddo]

1 With a purple-coloured head.

2 With a brown collar.

3 Black and white in colour.

4 *Turdus pacificus*.

5 Yellow-coloured *Labrus* with a curved back.

6 Good eating.

<i>Syngnathus hippocampus</i>	Pipupu	
<i>Ostracion</i>	Danglun	[now Danglum = Boxfish]
Shrimp	Wan	[now Uhang]
Flounder	Tampat	[still Tampat]
<i>Piscis geographicus</i>	Sesdyun	[Sesyon = adult rabbitfish]
Crab covered with moss	Panglau achu	[lit. rock crab]
Crab with a fin	Panglau aniti	[lit. ghost crab]
<i>Cancer geographicus</i>	Panglau lagnia	[lit. oil crab]
<i>Echinus</i>	La-us	[a starfish]
<i>Chima gigas</i>	Ima	[Hima = Tridacna shell]
<i>Spondylus</i>	Tigime	[a type of oyster]
<i>Cypraea</i>	Cheguei	[Cheggai = a cowry]
Variiegated cone	Aleline	
Bivalve, fluted shell	Pagan	[now Pagang = a clam]
Fishing-net	Tehi-chulu	[now Chenchulu]
Sparrow-hawk	Tehalaga	
Saw	Lagus	
Shadow	An-Ninine	[now Anineng]
Sluggard, idle	La-hun	
Fathom	Hius	
Half-a-fathom	Echun-Hius	
Half-a-yard	Tamwan	
Span	Infantifi	
Armful	Asna [sic] diniduk	[error for Acha Diniduk]
Handful	Inakiun	
Pace, or yard	Inagua	[Inagua = pace, step]
Two armfuls	Ugua diniduk.	

Numbers	for Persons	for Dollars, etc	for Fathoms
1	Acha	Asidyei-Ashidyei	Tak-Achun
2	Ugua	Uguidyei	Tak-Uguan
3	Tulu	Torguidyei	Tak-Tulun
4	Fadfad	Farfatei	Tak-fatun
5	Lima	Limityei	Tak-Liman
6	Gunum	Godmityei	Tak-Gunum
7	Fiti	Fetguidyei	Tak-Fitun
8	Gualu	Guadguidyei	Tak-Gualun
9	Sigua	Seguidyei	Tak-Siguan
10	Manud	Manotei	Tak-Manud.
11	Manud Naguay Acha	Manotei Nagui Achidyei	
12	" " Tulu	" " Iguityei	
13	" " Fadfad	" " Torguityei	
20	Ugua Nafulu	Uguityei Nafulu	
30	Tulu Nafulu	Torguityei Nafulu	
40	Fadfad Nafulu	Farfatei Nafulu	
50	Lima Nafulu	Limityei Nafulu	
60	Gunum Nafulu	Godmityei Nafulu	
70	Fiti Nafulu	Eetguityei Nafulu	
80	Guhalu Nafulu	Guadguityei Nafulu	
90	Sigua Nafulu	Siguityei Nafulu	
100	Gatus	Gatus	
200	Ugua Nagutus	Uguityei Nagatus	
1,000	Chalan & Manud Nafulu	Chalan, or Achalan	
10,000	Manud Achalan	Manotei Achalan	
100,000	Gatus Achalan	Gatus Achalan	

Note: The names in the first column are employed to enumerate persons; those of the second to count monies, coconuts, melons, etc. and those of the third for fathoms. The third does not go beyond 10.

Remarks on the Possessive Pronouns:

'Mine' is *hu*

'Thine' is *mu*

'His' is *gna*

'Our' is *ta*

'Their' is *igna*, if they are absent, but *midyu* if present when spoken of.

It will be supposed from our giving these details, that they were communicated to us by some person who was perfectly acquainted with the Chamorro language. They were collected by my friend Mr. Gaimard, from Don Luis de Torres, to whom we are also indebted for the following vocabulary, and several interesting notes on this archipelago.

[Vocabulary of the]
CAROLINE ISLANDS.

Head	Ronies; Rumai; Simoie
Hair	Alomei; Alerumei; Timoe
Brow	Man-hoi
Eye-brows	Fatu; Fatel; Fatuel; Fati
Eyes	Metail; Metai; Mesai
Eye-lashes	Caporal; Metal; Capolul; Ne metei
Eye-lids	Palapul ne metal
Upper eye-lid	Autol ne metal
Lower eye-lid	Asepuacepual ne metal
Nose	Puati; Puatine; Puatil; Podi
Nostril	Puele puati; Puel puatine; Puale puatil; Asemalibodi
Mouth	E-Huai
Tooth	Ni; Ñi; Ni-i
Incisor tooth	Ñiluei; Ñiloe
Small molar	Iliponegieluei; Nili
Large molar	Puraluei; Puraleonel
Tongue	Lonei; Lonel; Laonel; Loel
Lip	Tiluei; Tilonel; Tiliaonal; Aliseu
Cheek	Tepal; Aisapal; Ausepai
Chin	Etei; Atel; Jatel; Ate
Beard	Aluzai; Alisel
Ear	Talin-he; Taline-han; Taline-hai
Lobe of the ear	Robalolon-hei; lolal; lolal taline-hai
Passage of the ear	Pitalan-hei; Pui taline-hai
Neck	Falui; Falue; Urongai
Wind-pipe	Urun-hei
Nape of the neck	Longurun-hei; Lugulonhuel; Longul- huei
Breast	Lupai; Uponal; Uponei; Uati
Belly	Fegai; Ubu-oi
Navel	Puze; Puje; Pugua-ie
Back	Ta-huri; Taguri
Back-bone	Ruta-huri; Luta-guri; Sulta-guri
Collar-bone	Lepan; Alegwi; Lupal-ale-bwi
Shoulder-blade	Evarai; Avarai; Efarai
Shoulder	Evarai; Avarai; Efarai
Arm	Rapelepei; Chapelepei; Lapilepei
Fore-arm	Marelepei; Merelepei; Melalipei
Elbow	Rapelepilapei; Apelepelepei
Bone	Rulupei
Hand	Galeima; Pranema; Pralemal; Plalipei
Fist	Catel; Comuru; Comural
Finger	Atilipai
Thumb	Catulepene; Catulepal
Fore-finger	Carurap
Middle-finger	Catulu
Ring-finger	Catuseponk
Little-finger	Catudegwid

Hip, haunch	Onilai
Posteriors	* Loneti
Buttock	* Puruei; Puruel; Palipaliaonati
Thigh	* Rapeleprei; Rapeleperei; Ufo-i
Knee	Pongwei; Pongone
Leg	Braleparei
Ankle	Curubwul; Curubwulpere
Heel	Capelepeleprei
Calf of the leg	Salaleprei; Sagaleprei; Lesaliperai
Foot	Parapareprei; Paraparalederei; Peraperal
Great toe	Catulepereprei; Catutepelprei
Second-toe	Catuglereprei; Caturugwilprei
Third-toe	Catulong
Fourth-toe	Catuseponeg
Fifth-toe	Caturug; Caturuk
Toe	Atiliperai
Copulation	Sirik; Fei
Palm of the hand	Prekemei
Sole of the feet	Faleprei; Faniperai
Breast	Tusagai; Ti
Bosom of a female	Rabut; Faifene; Ua-iti
Nail	Cub; Cui
Skin	Ponai
Blood	Achapwe
Man	Mal; Marr; Merer
Woman	Rabut; Faifie
Married woman	Au-tagwel
Unmarried woman	Liper
Father	Temal
Mother	Cile
Son	La-hub; La-hal
Daughter	Magai-ani
Grandfather	Tuvei
Grandmother	Faifel-tuvei
Grandson	Fa-ham
Granddaughter	Filragol
Dead man	Emis
Infant	Sari; Tarimar; Oligat
Little child	Sarikid
Baby	Sarikitikit
Pregnant woman	Oebobo
Old man	Amare; Tufe
Curly hair	Chimorur
Smooth straight hair	Larimurac
End of the bosom, waist	Maror
Pulse	Mimeracal
Sweat	Mwiamwi
Cannibals	Muho
Excrement	Pag-ha
Lumbar region	Lugulugul
Maniac of the Carolinians	Copalai; Copalei; Capalei; Apale

Knife	Tapetap; Sar
Knife blade	Tugutugul
Knife handle	Kelemal; Cumaru
Small basket of pandanus	Rugud; Seu
Hammock	Hulul
Square fishing-net	Hu
Coconut cup	Paure
Fire-steel [i.e. flint]	Calelers
Piece of wood for preparing fire	Capet
Sack, or bag	Saro
Mortar	Lalef
Pestle	Tontayu
Strainer	Moitaru
Cauldron	Ra-hona
Wooden spoon	Ulemi
Salt	Tamurilau; Tamaurilau
Calabash	Cahuvara
Cake made of maize	Longumelimari
Rope	Tali; Amei
Sling	Cahuled; Amarepoi
Hat	Pering; Parue; Parun; Parun-hei
Fish-hook	Kū
Bag, coconut ¹	Putau
Anklet ²	Rimm
Tattooing	Mak
Mantle, cloak	Aonis
Adze	Puarang ³
Musket	Pak
Mat	Kiegi
Stuff	Tūr
Bow and arrow	Etank
Elephantiasis	Peremats
Leprosy	Kilisapo-o
Wound	Clo-o
Scar	Ekilas
White spots on the skin	Roanig
Medicine	Tare
Doctor, physician	Rogi
To drink	Tehali
To eat	Mun-ho
Water	Ral; Raloo; Ralu
Sea	Tasti; Amorue
Sea-water	Ralu ciete
Something to drink?	Ulumi?
Something to eat?	Mun-ho?
Give me some coconut?	Casitu-roal?

1 Made of the leaves of the coconut tree.

2 Hair ring worn by Carolinians round the bottom of the leg.

3 Ed. note: Parang was their own word for iron.

Light me a fire?	Hasilu-yaf?	
To speak	Capet; Fagatie	
To speak a great deal	Egamelei-capet	
To weep	Tan-he; Sing; Na-olocar	
Tear	Somene	
To whistle	Cacajur	
To sing	Puarecu; Parug	
To shut the eyes	Masüru	
To spit	Cutuvi; Atue	
To walk	Rik	
To jump	Siutak	
To take short speps	Uati-uati	[also means Wait, see below]
To prick	Saru	
To cut	Fela	
Wait for me	Uati-uati	
Let us go	Farae	
To rise from one's seat	Cauloc-ulayet	
Seated	Batodeu; Faizabal	
Lying down	Huloc; Azuc	
In bed and asleep	Huloc; Emasurug	
To get out of bed	Rumetac	
To blow the nose	Musuri; Malibodi	
Secretion from the nose	Rale puatel	
To suffer	Etumai	
To bark	Yari	
Come	Puatoc; Eto	
Come all	Puatoc puatoc elagumi elagumi elagumi	
To strike with a hammer	Sugu	
To search for stones	Egarapu	
To put in the pocker	Lupuagali	
To take out of the pocket	Calicabol	
Coat pocket	Pua-el	
To put on one's hat	Parung	
To take off one's hat	Uatilik	
Put on your hat	Parun-hac cute haponers	
How do you do?	Cupu Tumai ha?	
Very well	Emuamag	
Very ill	Etamag	
And you?	E Fau?	
Well, thank God	Emuamag e faluk	
God	Jalusu	
Where are you going?	Gupalai agnel?	
I am going to Guam	Farak macutac	
I am going to the mountain	Ipualag, hulu hulu-hul	
I am going to the fields	Farak macutac	
What are you doing at present?	Hulag helon hol?	
I am taking a walk	Jonegau	
Good-bye	Cuzamel	
Yes	Chim; Chin; Ua; Ua O; N-hu lamuab	
No	Esor; Eshwar; Ela uru; Elipugaish	
What is the name of that?	Efaitum	

To yawn	Maladel; Ma u aladel	
To sleep	Mauru; Maturu	
To row, or paddle	Fatib	
To steer to the larboard-side	Athia	
To steer to starboard	Fa-an	
To dive	Tuluc	
To sneeze	Mossi	
To vomit	Muas	[= belching, see below]
To scratch one's self	Garigari	
To rub one's self	Tarei	
To pinch a person	Pua-ig	
To strike with the fist	Tuk	
To slap (hit with the hand)	Püli	
To bite	Cue	
To chew	Lulu	
To break wind	Ula	
To cough	Nau	
To belch	Muas	
To shake hands	Iruational	
To pull by the hair	Lurop	
To pull out the hair	Amalucum	
To shoot one's self	Inirash	
To rub one's eyes at waking	Diganles	
To drift (canoe)	Oreor	[to go out of her course]
To threaten someone	Lualuor	
To make haste	Cabe-cabe-cabe	
To be sick	Ezamuag-sorneas	
To tack	Gash	
I have seen	Iroeri	
Dance of the Carolinians	Nimoraput, Puaruk	
Stick dance	Lialenini	
A kiss	Moungo	
A box of the ear	Ubup	
A blow with the fist	Tongua	
A kick	Vadi	
A stab with a dagger	Rei	
A Nobleman, or Chief	Tamor	[now written Tamwol]
House	Imm; Emu	
Bamboo	Pua-hi; Pa-hi	
Plank	Pap	
Wood	Pafi	
Faggot	Coli	
Leaf of a tree	Ëzo	
Door	Tielauk	
Window	Songalok	
Ladder	Catami	
" first step	Ital	
" middle step	Faliu	
" last step	late	
Iron	Paran; Lulu	
Slats of bamboo	Papa	

Roof	Fatefat-iasu	
Tile	Emezoau	
Projection of the roof, Penthouse	Aguitaguid	
Large chest	Por	
Small chest	Shap	
Tree	Pelaguluc	
Green tree	Lauru	
A dead tree	Epuat	
Bread-fruit tree	Vaivai	
Coconut tree	Roau	
Cocunut	Tohoho; Ro; Sho-o	
Coconut water	Ral-ro; Raninu	
Coconut wine	Gari	
Coconut shell	Maribirip	
Coconut coir	Peiu	
Piece of coconut	Peitrok	
Coconut meat	Numaces	
Banana	Onish	
Ripe banana	Wiss	[now written Wiisch]
Unripe banana	Urilo	
Orange	Curuguru	[now written Gurugur]
Solamim [sic]	Tujun	
Rind of the orange	Kilil	
Orange seeds, or pips	Faun	
Federico (palm)	Faletauru	
Small fruit for dyeing scarlet	Dualepu	
Inner part of this fruit	Autel	
Fowl	Moa; Maluk; Baluk	
Egg	Tagulu	
Cock	Malegumal; Acabwas	
Crowing of the cock	Coc-co	
Flesh	Fetugul	
Beak	Repua lemalek	
Wing	Irapau	
Feet or claw	Perel	
Flying-fish	Magar	
Shark	Prio	[now written Paraaw]
Gecko, house lizard	Lipeipae	
King-fisher	Ua-onbuesh	
Louse	Cuai	
Bullock	Ama	[generic term for Animal]
Noddy	Amma	[idem]
Stone	Fahu; Fahuk	
Fern	Amare	
Bread-fruit tree	Vairai	[but Vaivai above]
Bread-fruit	Areparepa	
Ditto, another species	Meias	
Trunk	Trocu-Pelagulu	
Branch	Pelagulilei	
Fruit	Ta-huaste	
Land, earth	Merolo	

Burying-place	Mata	
Road	lale	
Tobacco	Capuroco	[= Tabaco in Spanish]
Fish	Ig	[now written lig]
Town	Ualo	
Now	Ralei	
Tomorrow	La-hi; La-hu; Nahu	
Sun	Alet; Yal	
Moon	Meram; Aliguleng; Marame	
Star	Fuhu; Fiez; Igatorosh	
Firmament, sky	Lan-he	
Cloud	Sarone; leng; len-ge; Maniling	
Rain	Oroo, oroo; Oro, oro, curu	
Wind	Ian-he; Inao	
Stony body	Fadaula	
Rainbow	Rasime	
Thunder	Patch	
Lightning	Veruer	
Venus (bivalve shell)	Peli	
Large murex (Triton shell)	Saue	
Tridacna (shell)	Cho	
Madrepore (coral)	Fahu	
Bat	Poe	
Prayer to calm a storm	Farsali	
Helmet (shell)	Muhihel	
A wen	Bibi	[a benign skin tumor]
High island	Iarelong	
Very high island	Iarelong-meas	
Low island	Malic	
The middle, center	Elabepag	
To blow with a Triton horn	Abonon sa we	
Yes, Sir	Is samol	
Straw-hat of the Carolinians	Pering	
Chin-strap to hold hat	Aliparung	
Fair wind, wind abaft	Ianguior	
Wind abeam	Atuor	
Close to the wind	Atuglafan	
Wind ahead	Faiguie as	
Wind astern	Iocunap	
Wind on the quarter	Olume	
Sunrise	Rene; Nisol	
Sunset	Lebonui; Puni	
Sun at the zenith	Rene	
Sun at the horizon	Ewel Dials	
North	Maiban	
South	Mayur	
East	Matarae	
West	Melisor	
Sweet basil	Uaran	[or sweet scent]
How much?	Filao?	[now written fita-]
Night	Pum	

How many nights?	Fita Puni?	
Coconut husker	Pua-si-gari	[the iron part]
Coconut husker	Pulapeigari	[the handle part]
Wooden rolling pin	Feiraparak	[to make pastry]
To roll paste	Iga-iga	
A roll	Ura	
What is warm	Isapuers	
Warm from the fire	Isapuera elierf	
Cotton	Iss	
Bad smell	Emars	
Sailor's jacket	Cozel; Causel	
Candle	Pules; Pulis	
Rosary	Pulu; Pu	[a generic term for Beads]
Tail	Feti Shamual	
Paddle	Fatel	
Robe, gown	Capil	
Woman's corset	Cuzel	
Red	Ero	[actually Araw means blue]
White	Epurapors	[now written bwerhebwerh]
Black	Erotal-ho	
Large, high, elevated	Etalai; Elalai	
Small, low	Emurumors; Moremore	
Cistern	U-hau	
Footprint (on the sand)	Lauloc	
Rolling of a ship	Marigeron	
High seas, waves	Lolapalap; Coromolimoin	

The names of the **constellations**, and of the different parts of a **Carolinian proa**, as given to me by Mr. Bérard:

The North Star	Welewel	
The Great Bear	Ulega	
The Little Bear	Mainap	[on shoulder of Little Bear]
The Goat	Malegedi	
The Lyre	Mül	
The Swan	Shepi	
The Dolphin	Shepi	
The Crown	Süta	
The Eagle	Mulap	
Arcturus	Aromai	
Castor and Pollux	Taninian	
The Raven	Sharapel	
Aldebaran	Ui	
Orion, incl. Rigel	Taragariel	[including surrounding stars]
The Three Kings	Eliel	[part of Orion constellation]
Sirius	Tululu	
Pruscion	Mal	
Spica Virginis	Tumur	
Antares	Tumur	
Tail of Scorpio	Mu-yel	
The Southern Cross	Toabub; Pupu	

Venus Fuzel; Fural
 Jupiter Opicur¹

Thanks to Major Luis de Torres for the following names for the division of a year among the Carolinians:

Year	Fahalip	
Month	Maram	
Night	Pum	
One night, or 24 hours	Sepum	[They count by nights]

The year of the Carolinians is divided into ten **months**, with the following names:

Tungur	[part of Hefang season]
Mol	[id.]
Mahelap	[id.]
Sota	[id.]
La	[id.]
Cucu	[part of Rag season]
Halimatu	[id.]
Margar	[id.]
Hiolihol	[id.]
Mal	[id.]

The first five months, known by the general term of *Hefang*, comprise the bad season of the Caroline Islands; *Rag* is applied to the other five months.

Each month is composed of 30 days, and the names of the **days of the month** are as follows: Sigauru; Helin; Mesali; Mesor; Mesafur; Mesaguar; Mevetien; Hemetal; Xuapu; Hiaropugu; Hepai; Holapue; Hal; Lamao; Hemar; Hiohur; Letu; Guiley; Jalaguolo; Sopars; Hefelag; Hubosolang; Roralihelag; Sopar; Himemuhil; guiley; Homalo; Romalifal; Hiorofû; Heseng; Herraff.

The Archipelago of the Carolines is named in the language of the country, Lamurain, Lamuxin, and Ipalau. A Carolinian, whom I met at Agaña, made me acquainted with different islands, which he thus named:

Sauk, Suk or Pulusuk; Tamatam; Puellap; Roug; Hulahul; Pisserar; Filaluk; Puluwat; Jale; Satawan; Pik; Piguolo; Fayu; Olimerau; Lamutrok; Puk; Feleit; Uralu and Uraluk; Tahuas and Taluas; Elatt; Selat; Ulatan; Care; Nemoi; Cahutac and Tahutac; Falepi; Ifeluk; Serailap; Jaste; seralap and Felalap; Payo or Paliao; Rauruk; Seriap; Feralu-us or Felalus; Mutugusu; Tagaila; Jalar-Caraid; Nissegai; Eramlap or Eranlap; Erupek or Aurupik; Fais; Mogumog; Esurug or losoro; Namu; Sun or Son; Sagalai; Lamo; Serahul; Ysppe; Molug; Cahenan or Caheni-hane; Palul or Paleu; Peliu or Peliliu; Recapesan [i.e. Arakabesang]; Aiupucul; Recamai; Arapokel or Arapoket; Erongulmalapay or Rugualepai; Argon, Argol, or Argub; Crelau; Nargumai; Atalendran or Atalene-hane; Neihuan; Aran-harell or Aran Harrett; Yauru; Rekeriu; Alehal; Sigal; Sutamin; Eican; Ahucaho; Pul; Merier; Sun-rune [i.e. Sonsorrol]; Catugupui; Fahupui;²Lume; Polap; Pelepiel; Montugulei; Cassinlon; Lull; Luc; Lamolepi; Opane; Pual; Eal; Alamarau.

1 Ed. note: The French version has some canoe parts listed here, but the English version has amalgamated them into a single list further below.

2 Ed. note: The last two are recognizable as Cadacopuei, another name of Tobi Island.

Numerals:

1	lot; Hiot	6	Hob
2	Ru	7	Fiz; Fus; Fis
3	lel; leli; lol; Hiel	8	Wan; Wal ¹
4	Fan; Fel; Fang	9	Ti-hu; Li-hu
5	Limme; Libe; Nimme; Lim	10	Sek; Seck; Seg
11	Seg-Maseu; Seg-Maceo	16	Seg-mahutoau; Seg-mahulu
12	Seg-marua-au; Seg-Maru	17	Seg-mafisu
13	Seg-mehalu; Seg-masalu	18	Seg-mahualu
14	Seg-mefa-u; Seg-mefohu	19	Seg-matuoau; Seg-matihu
15	Seg-malimu	20	Ruèk; Monterucke
30	Serik; Selik; Elig	100	Sia pogu; Siapugu
40	Fa-hik	200	Ruapugu
50	Limèk; Nemeke	300	lelepugu; Elepugu; Selepugu
60	Holik; Ulik; Ulèk	400	Fapugu
70	Fizik	500	Limmapugu; Nimmapugu
80	Onalik	600	Hulapugu
90	Ti-hueke	700	Fizipugu
		800	Walepugu
		900	Tonapugu
1,000	Sanress; Cenress; Zelle		
2,000	Ruanresse		
3,000	lelineresse; Elinresse; Selineresse		
4,000	Fanresse		
5,000	Limanresse; Nemanresse		
6,000	Holunresse		
7,000	Fizinresse		
8,000	Walineresse		
9,000	Tiunresse		
10,000	Selle; Sel		
100,000	Rual		

Names of the different parts of a proa of the Mariana [rather Caroline] Islands is built, and of all the things which form part of her outfit.

First piece of the bottom	Pulolona	[Made of a single piece of wood]
Second piece	Papelona	
Symmetrical projecting pieces	Mechaliba	[Forming the bow and stern]
First plank of the topsides	Pelebalisia	[the gunwales?]
Second plank, enclosing booms	Eleghesha	[Confining the two supports of the outrigger]
Cross-piece to support lower end of yard	Malua	
Another cross-piece in which helm is fixed	Fadelububu ²	
First bench or thwart	Tiutatib	
Second bench or thwart	Milim	

1 Also Wane; Hual.

2 Ed. note: Wrongly translated as Rudder below. It is now written Payul fatul, I think.

Third bench or thwart	Shadaguio	[Ghiyo is an outrigger boom]
Large plank, sometimes of a single piece	Peraf	[part of outrigger platform]
Plank which makes the pump-room [sic]	Apung	[now = box for fishing tackle]
Pump-room [sic]	Folap	
Bench or thwart	Maraguai	
Supporters of bench or thwart	Olibon	
Knew of same	Laganu	
Cross-piece for fastening the sheet	Walimel	[now written Walemwel]
Outrigger	Tinemai; Tam	[Taam is now the float]
Supporters of the outrigger and float	Kia	
Float, Lee-board	Sho-sho; Tam	
Hook-fork of the float	Cam	
Cross-pieces of the hooks	Wegheu	
Cross-pieces or beam of the outrigger	Metarevan	
Upper part of the netting or cage	Aimel	
Opening of the cage	Jepel	
Two supporters of same	Shua	
Cross-pieces of the supporters	Walian	
Helm, rudder	Fadelububu	[see above]
Bailer, hand-scoop	Ammat	
Oar, paddle	Fadjeal; Fatin	[now written Fatuf]
Proa, canoe, or boat	Waa	
Mast	Ahu, or Aug	[now written Ayu]
Shroud-stay fixed to the float	Humalap	[perhaps same as Umalalap]
Shrouds to windward	Sheldeguel	
Shrouds or rigging to leeward	Tanigueshe	
Sail	Wa; Na; Ona	[now Uuw]
Sail halyard, outhauler	Sheal; Urur	[now Salii, and Uruur]
Ropes, sheets	Amai [sic]	
Sheet	Moël; Mwel	[now written Mweel]
Brails	Shealliserac	
Small stays when the wind is abaft	Ror-ho	
Boom	Limm	
Yard	Shede	
Seams that connects the planks together	Firai	
Oakum covering the seams	Puer	
Great cages or huts on both sides of the proa	Cuma, or Aimel	
Coconut mats to cover the cages	Atterac	[that word now Ghili]



Jacques Arago.

*“Ton nom est un reflet du grand nom de ton frère;
A vous, François, les cieux, à toi, Jacques, la terre.”*

Your name is a reflection of the great name of your brother;
The heavens belong to you, François, but the earth is yours, Jacques.

F2. Second narrative of Arago—Poetic version

*Source: Jacques-Étienne Victor Arago. Souvenirs d'un aveugle. Voyage autour du monde (Paris, Hor-
tet et Ozanne, 1839).*

Note: This version had never been translated before.

[Volume 2]

Chapter 11.—From Timor to the Mariana Islands.

...

The sails were unfurled at the same time; the wind took hold of them and we were on our way.

Soon we saw the Anacoretas Islands appear at the horizon, surrounded by dangerous reefs; then, before us the thousand islands discovered by Bougainville, then later the Carolines, happy Carolines, low-lying, smiling, calm, thrown there as a gift, like a heavenly thought in the midst of this vast ocean inhabited by wild natives. Behold the flying proas splitting the air! They follow us, reach us, draw alongside, encircle us.

—“Lulu! lulu!” [iron] they shout everywhere, and the islanders climb aboard, on their guard but impatient to see and touch everything. These sailors that I will mention soon, because I am to sail with them, live there under these beautiful greeneries, without internal quarrels and at peace with others. Brave, human, generous, beautiful of body and of soul, smiling when caressed and when affection is shown, jumping like children when receiving playthings, accepting a trifle with utter gratitude, placing it within the extended ear lobes that are their pockets; but always offering you in exchange some elegant waist mats, bone fishhooks, marvellous shells, fearing to appear less generous than you, not out of pride but by pure kindness. Real men, such as one is always glad to meet anywhere! Noble and devoted hearts. Let civilization do its work and you'll soon see what will become of these fortunate islands which until now our vices have not touched. We would have liked to cast our anchor for a few days within this fragrant archipelago, but we were running short of fresh water. In any case, none of these islands have a port, and it is probably because of this unusually happy circumstance that they have remained pure and free in the midst of so much corruption and cruelty.

I had often heard that the **flying proas of the Carolines** were small craft so fashioned that, with a triangular sail made with mats, two outriggers and a pilot steering with his foot, they could virtually split the wind. Well, what seemed to me then like a ridiculous overstatement on the part of travellers turned out to be the sparkling truth. It is one of the strangest maritime phenomena to see those brave islanders, standing or squatting on their elegant proas, play with the winds, triumph over violent monsoon winds, and pass like swift swallows in the midst of currents and the most dangerous and tightest spots between reefs. A capsized craft is of no concern to them as they work at putting it right side up again, just like we would at home in a calm pool using block and tackle. As for these courageous and intelligent men, do not fear for their lives. The sea is their element, storms are their most desired form of leisure. One cannot understand

so much suppleness and agility in the midst of so many unforeseen obstacles. The Carolinian is at once a man, a fish and a bird.

All the individuals who came aboard showed a graceful demeanour and freedom of movement. They had a noble gait, meaning in their gestures, real pleasure in their childish laughs. Nevertheless, it was easy to see, even in their eagerness to come to us, that some sad memory was making them very distrustful. Such brave men that some pitiless captain must have wronged and robbed of their joy! Two of the islanders who visited us and whom the others treated with respect had upon their thighs and on their legs some delightful tattoos, drawn with perfect regularity. They were two petty chiefs or kinglets, but, even without such ornaments in use by so many people, it would have been easy to recognize their superiority by the nobility of their manners, their superior height and muscular strength. A narrow waist cloth was covering the loins of each individual. The rest of their body was bare. Some of them were also wearing necklaces made of coconut leaves and cute bracelets very artfully made.

A group of five or six natives, no doubt to mark their welcome and our good reception, began to dance. I cannot tell you how amusing and odd was this little celebration so politely improvised.

Just then we were sailing slowly because of the almost imperceptible wind, but a squall line appeared at the horizon, announcing some rain. We lacked water and, in order to gather some during the shower, we put up our tents and went down the hold to get some cannon balls to throw upon the canvas and thus make like a funnel. When the Carolinians saw the projectiles born by the sailors, they became afraid, shouted in an ominous manner and appeared to accuse us of treason. Even if we tried to renew our caresses, they sprang into the nettings, threw themselves into the waters like loons and swam to their craft in the distance.

The Caroline archipelago soon disappeared over the horizon. When I lost sight of it, I felt a tightening in my heart such as I had felt early in the cruise. Nevertheless, I still did not know at this point what I was to be thankful for in the future towards one of the most powerful kings of these islands, where until now live the most beautiful, the sweetest and the most generous people in the world.

Chapter 12 on the Mariana Islands.

Guham.—Humata.—Leprosy.

A philosopher may find an appropriate subject of study even stranger than that of primitive people. Here we are in one of those exceptional countries where doubt and uncertainty can be met at every step, even when the facts appear more striking and more settled.

The Mariana Islands are neither wild nor civilized. One can see, side by side so to speak, ancient morals and modern customs, superstition and idol worship from ancient times half erased by the fanaticism of the Spanish conquerors who have bequeathed the entire archipelago to their successors. European vices are in constant struggle, sometimes victorious, sometimes vanquished, against this freedom of conduct on the part of the natives of this place, once called correctly Island of Thieves (they like the name) and that could just as easily have been called the Island of Libertines, if only they would have understood the meaning of the words "virtue" and "corruption" as in our ethics. It is, I swear to you, a spectacle both strange and instructive at the same time. Contrasts are so close together that the historian appears as if contradicting himself when he is so truthful as to be too candid. The people one sees in the morning do not resemble the people of the evening. It is Roman Catholic from one specific time to another, and Chamorro and idol worshipper from a different time to another. Here he is devout, there he is free of any cult. A man may steal and then goes gaily to confess having stolen to a priest. He will saintly carry out the imposed penance and think about another petty larceny without his conscience bothering him, when he'll become conscious of having one. The young woman you see there, in her doorway will welcome you teasingly and will exchange, in front of her mother who does not care, her favors against a rosary. Here everyone goes to church, everyone prays with fervor, men on one side, women on the other. All strike their chest with force and frequently kiss the earth with the greatest of humility. Once the divine service is over, religion is forgotten completely. They are men, women, rivers, woods, plains; life goes on without any obstacles, the way is kept clear of thorns. Water, wind, daylight, the sun are things to be enjoyed. One breathes freely and advances thus towards the grave where one may lay without a remorse because one never understood the true meaning of good or evil, vice or virtue. However, let us not yet generalize and retrace our steps.

Without the happy visit of the good Carolinians, our crossing would have been the most distressing part of our voyage. Many of our best sailors had followed our friend Labiche into the ocean deep, and many more, lying upon their frames, were waiting for their turn, twisted by horrible cramps. Thus Marchais would still faintly swear, Vial did not give any more fencing lessons in the now silent gun-room, and Petit, almost always at the bedside of the dying, would still try and revive him with his pathetic stories!

At last a voice shouted: "Land ho!" It is the Marianas, the Islands of Thieves, yes, but there can be found, if we believe some seafarers, beautiful and sweet forests through which the wind glides, pure and refreshing. There can be found the clear and calm waters of hope, almost of happiness. See how the foreheads aboard ship become free of

frowns, how the mouths smile, how the words come out less serious. In the gun-room open a puff of wind from the land, the sick look with a weak eye for a mountain on the horizon. The corvette, pushed by a strong breeze, rushes majestically towards the main island of the island group. The exaggeration of certain seafarers is evident, or else the country has lost its fertility and its wealth, because the peaks that stand out against the clouds are bare, harsh and crowned with huge blocks of black volcanic rock. At their foot, however, and the nearer we get, we can see a few green tufts of rich vegetation. As soon as the land rises, with it is spread, like flags along the shoreline, a great and wonderful curtain of palm trees, coconut trees, breadfruit trees, banana trees, so pretty, so sparkling with their young colors that my memory has lost some of its wealth.

Decidedly, the seafarers are not all liars, as it is said, and here I speak for my co-religionists only; I am not interested in converting the unbelieving.

After having coasted along Guham for half a day and almost touched Cocos Island, on one side of Humata Harbor, we let the anchor drop at about two cable lengths from the shore line, not far from a Spanish ship arrived the previous day from Manila.

The harbor, with a delightful bottom, is defended by three forts called, one the **Lady of Sorrows**, another the **Saint Angel**, and the third **Saint Vincent**.¹ no wonder as we are in a Spanish archipelago.

The ridiculous custom of saluting with cannon fire caused a great misfortune to two garrison soldiers, little accustomed it seemed to operate guns; their whole body was burned by a powder charge. However, due to their hardy constitution and the willing care of our doctors, they managed to live through the horrible pains.

The Governor of the colony, who had come to Humata to receive the news brought him by the three-masted ship **La Paz**, received us with a cordiality so frank, gave us such a clean and well-aerated place for our poor cripple, and showed us so many considerations that we took it upon ourselves not to burden him with etiquette that he might have taken for offending aloofness. One hour later, we had the freedom of his palace.

The village of Humata consists of about twenty bad huts made of coconut strands, well bound together, and built on piles. The Governor's palace is long, wide, impressive, one-story high, adorned with a wooden balcony, with a kitchen and a bedroom. This looks strangely like those square and slippery cages thrown upon the Seine River and used by washerwomen in the capital [i.e. Paris]. Patience, we'll see more later, as Guham holds many more marvels for us.

As for the hideous specters inhabiting the houses, it is a horrible thing to see. Here are women dressed with a dirty stinking piece of cloth, knotted at the waist and coming down as far as the knees. The rest of the body is stark naked; the hair is disorderly and dirty, the eyes without sparkle, the teeth yellow like their skin, the shoulders, the neck, eaten by leprosy, here tracing deep cuts, there hollowing out the flesh, more often

1 Ed. note: Rather San José.

painting everywhere some fish scales or a shimmering cloth; one is taken aback by horror and pity.

Some men are a worse thing to see, and one would be tempted to strike with rods these big and strong frames that pain and sicknesses have attacked without killing them, and who at last die because death conquers everything. Around them are vast and beautiful forests; their feet trod a powerful earth; the air they breathe is sweet; the water they drink is pure and clear; the fruits, the fish they eat are delicate and numerous; however, laziness is there at their door; it lies down together with them in their hammocks, this shameful laziness that leaves them with muddy rags, floods them with vermin, renders them like brutes, restless, dissected. O! I tell you, Humata is nauseating.

Mr. Medinilla, the almighty Governor of this isolated archipelago, about whom I will tell you later, and whom I blame myself for having wronged, told me when I referred to these miserable beings lying here and there displaying their livid wounds to the sun.

—“They are a condemned people!”

—“What do you mean?”

—“They are all lepers; my capital looks much better.”

—“But the people of your capital come down here, and I have seen many of your servants shake the hand of these unfortunate people; isn't leprosy contagious?”

—“It is, but if one of my people becomes a leper, I will chase him and ban him to Humata.”

—“Why don't you prevent this dangerous contact? Why not prevent a misfortune? Why not force these men to work because work makes the muscles strong and supple? What kills them is idleness.”

—“No, it is the dirt, and I am powerless to stop this horrible calamity that afflicts all the families living far from my capital.”

—“You speak so well of your capital; would it in fact look like a town?”

—“Yes, but a town not like the others, it is unique; it is a city or a jungle, as you wish.”

—“Is there a palace as good-looking as in Humata?”

—“I hope that you will favor me with your visit. Then you'll decide for yourself if it is worth such a title.”

—“Alas! Humata is dreadful.”

Be that as it may, our sick were quickly recovering, gaining strength as if by magic, and we were soon ready to leave to go near the port of Agaña, capital of the Island of Guham. The coast, no matter how one looks at it, is rich and of varying interest, but the numerous reefs, upon which the waters roar and seethe, prevent anyone from nearing the land. Even the cove where we anchored is not safe and a ship cannot remain there except during the calm seasons.

The violent northerlies rarely blow within St. Louis Harbor, protected as it is by Cabras Island and Orote Point upon which a useless gun emplacement has been built. Moreover, I strongly recommend to ship captains to anchor at Humata instead of here, because the shoals are very numerous and often lie high and dry at low tide. Upon one

of those coral rocks, they have built a citadel at great cost. It appears reasonably capable of repelling an attack, but which ship would ever approach it when trying to take over Guaham?

When we saw that we were condemned to stay some time in this harbor, so beautiful to the naturalist but so frightful to the sailor, we remembered that the Governor of Guaham had told us about one of these islands, famous for the visit that Admiral Anson had made there during his great voyage, and where, according to Mr. Medinilla, we would find some strange ancient monuments. We talked to the Commander about it, and he authorized Mr. Gaudichaud, Mr. Bérard, and myself to undertake this perilous trip in frail craft. Temerity, sure, but "to see is to possess" said the poet, and we wanted to possess it. Besides, one dies so much better when in company.

Thus, leaving our friends aboard the corvette, we boarded a boat and headed for Agaña, our real point of departure. It goes without saying that Petit and Marchais were chosen by us to accompany us in this first run, so sad they were already for not being able to escort us as far as Tinian.

The channel between Guaham and Goat Island (Cabras) is not more than six miles at its widest, not less than three at its narrowest. This island is covered with shrubs, most of them useless for the most part, except one, the *Cicas*, called *federico* in this country. The islanders have made it their principal food. There is no potable water other than that gathered sometimes in a pool more than four hundred feet in diameter, fed by rains and doubtless dug by the first conquerors of the Marianas. On the other hand, the coastline of Guaham appears everywhere rich and varied. Reefs abound as far as Agaña and hardly leave three difficult passes suitable for small craft. The first one is facing Tupungan, a village with about fifteen houses that Marchais proposed to attack all by himself, armed with one of Petit's legs. The latter, whose brain had probably been warmed up too much by the sun, responded to this witticism by a sally of his own. Marchais tried to hit him with his elbow. Petit tried to fend off the blow and, losing his balance, fell into the water.

Forgetting that his adversary could swim like a dolphin, Marchais, whose heart never failed to render service, followed him in order to help him out. That is what the cunning Petit had been waiting for. He, now in his element, had at last found a chance to get revenge from countless kicks that Marchais had given him in the past. Never was a fight more amusing, more episodic. Marchais was furious, foaming with rage, and swallowing mouthful after mouthful of muddy salt water, whereas Petit, moving quickly about, was escaping from every move on the part of his adversary.

We finally called a halt to the determination of both fighters which was slowing down our advance. However, Petit refused to climb back aboard until after we got from Marchais his word of honor that he would not hold a grudge from this fight between friends in which he had lost for the first time.

The second pass is facing Anigua, a village as miserable as Tupungan and where leprosy is no less dangerous and no less prevalent.



The French sailor named Petit.

The coastal road appearing good, my two companions and myself decided to walk the rest of the way to Agaña, six more miles away.¹ Everywhere we saw a rich and beautiful earth, everywhere among the most elegant and majestic of trees, but no agriculture, no useful works to channel torrential waters flowing down from the mountains. What is Spain doing with this wonderful archipelago that others could rightfully capture and make useful to ships of all nations?

Finally, we found a hospital for lepers. I went in, because it was my duty to do so. I sketched some of these unfortunate people roaming here and there, like ghosts, along ruined walls. Twenty times I was tempted to escape from this place of misery. All the extremities of these unlucky people had been violently attacked by the disease; not one of them had a nose, and most of them had their tongue falling into tatters.

A young woman named Dolores came running to me and pleaded with me to take her away from this rotting grave. Seeing no wound upon her body, I was about to bring her along on my own authority when she fell suddenly at my feet and was twisted by horrible convulsions.

The story of this young woman is a sad but short one. Born in Tupungan and guessing, while still a child, that only flight would guarantee her not getting the awful disease afflicting her village, she fled into the bush where she lived for two and a half years, sleeping without a shelter upon the grass and eating nothing but fruits. Nevertheless, she became tired of this errant and unhappy life and appeared one day in Agaña. She begged the hospitality of a brave woman whose house was located at the entrance to the town and was received with kindness. However, as begging is not possible in this country, the strange request on the part of the young woman must have struck her generous protectress, who asked her where she was from.

—“From the bush,” she said.

—“Why from the bush?”

—“Because I feared the St. Lazarus’ disease.”²

—“Why then do you still fear this disease so much?”

—“Because it makes people suffer so much.”

—“Who told you so?”

—“My father, who died from it.”

—“Your father!”

—“Yes, and also a sister and a brother who were dying from it.”

—“Unhappy one, where are you from?”

—“From Tupungan.”

—“Get out of here, quickly, or I’ll kill you!”

—“Kill me, I accept, but do not chase me away, because I do not want to return to Tupungan.”

1 Ed. note: If the mileage is correct, they must have walked from Tepungan. Indeed, this is confirmed at the beginning of Chapter 14 below.

2 That is how leprosy is called in Guham.

—“Wait, wait.”

—“What are you going to do?”

—“To denounce you to His Excellency the Governor.”

That same evening, this pretty young woman, so pure, was captured and led to the hospital where I found her to be treated with a paste made from some shellfish for a disease that she did not have and showed no symptoms. There she was, defenceless, without protection, surrounded by the sick and the dying, waiting resignedly for leprosy that, thank heaven, had not yet touched her. Fright had made her crazy and an idiot; she would spend her days chewing on her hair that was so beautiful, and when she would see a stranger, she would rush forward, utter a shriek and fall to the ground into terrible convulsions.

Mr. Medinilla, who told me this story, promised, after my fervent prayers, to take the unfortunate woman from the frightful grave in which she was walled in, if in fact she was still free from the disease. He kept his word, and before I left Agaña, I had the pleasure to see Dolores, cured of her craziness and idiotism, housed in one of the prettiest houses in Agaña, presented to her by the generous Mr. Medinilla as a gift.

Chapter 13 on the Mariana Islands.

Excursion into the interior.—Dolorida.

I must make two steps backward, I will be back to Agaña in a few days.

What is one to do in a town when one has studied it all and seen everything?

Sight is, among the senses, the one that is easiest to satisfy. Alas! I was putting mine to the test!

There are some beautiful things in the world that, like interesting stories already known, leave you lukewarm or cold upon a second reading. I do not really know if one would become any less blunted by the frequent sight of a horrible spectacle other by a gathering of so many beautiful things.

Leprosy is here a guest in every home. It grows with the child just born. Shyly, it accompanies him into adulthood, grows and, getting stronger in time, crushes him in later years, pushing him into the grave... and there we come, strong and healthy, feeling good and generous, to study its ravages, to pay a visit to the unfortunate who is affected by it, as if this spectacle was good for the soul, a comforting scene, reflecting peace and happiness.

Always present, leprosy is a permanent feature of Humata, as I have said, but some individuals have not yet been affected by it. However, this horrible disease has a long reach. When a body has escaped its grasp, it is because God Himself has laid a hand and said: Enough!

Yes, God alone can prevent leprosy. Hear this: One day when I was up earlier than usual, I had left the kind of hospital where we lodged to go to the Governor's place. As he was already up, I began anew to question him about the seemingly uncaring manner with which he allowed healthy people to go at any time into the houses of the lepers, to have meals sometimes and even to spend the night there.

—"What is there to do?" he answered.

—"To be decisive and stop the spread of the disease."

—"Would you be able to stop the water over the Niagara waterfall?"

—"But the waterfall is a world apart..."

—"You have not seen it at all."

—"What! Humata isn't the hell of this island group?"

—"Humata is but its purgatory. Hope sometimes exists there. If we did not have such pure air in the Marianas, they would have to be abandoned like a city that yellow fever has visited."

—"Pestilence can be controlled."

—"I tell you, leprosy cannot be controlled."

—"Whatever you say, men can avoid it entirely by getting away from infected places."

—"I did try many times. When I tried to impress them by severe actions, do you know what they would say about me in my capital? That I was a non-believer, a free-mason, an atheist and an antichrist."

—"Why?"

—“Because, here in the Marianas, people believe that everything is pre-ordained by God, that a man with leprosy is bound to die sooner or later, and that you or anyone else could sleep side by side with a leper without fear, since it is written up there, whether or not you will become sick.”

—“Does everybody believe that?”

—“There are few exceptions.”

—“There are then two kinds of leprosy in Agaña?”

—“There are more than two, Sir.”

—“Well, I pity you as much as your people.”

—“One is born to suffer.”

—“Don’t you get one million a year from your king?”

—“There is no pay big enough for this kind of post, Sir, and that is why no doubt that the Governor in Manila, who appointed me, gives me only thirty pesos a month, a part of which I give to the unfortunate.”

—“I do not pity you anymore. Did I hear you say a while ago that there is a hell on Guham?”

—“Yes, I said so.”

—“Where is it?”

—“Not far from here, at María Dolores, at Angeles, and at Santa María del Pilar, three villages or rather three leper colonies.—

—“May I visit them?”

—“What for? It is such a horrible thing to see! The disease is so cruel there, so acute, that you will see human pieces go back and forth under the most beautiful trees in the world, drink from the clearest waters and fall into fragments as they walk. One does not go there unless he has been banished there.”

—“One must make some sacrifices in order to learn. Who takes care of these poor people?”

—“Nobody.”

—“You see, some people fear the disease.”

—“Not so. If a leper colony existed at the gates of Agaña, that has no gates, it would be as full as my capital. There are few people because it is far away. I must sent the sick there.”

—“I wish to visit Santa María del Pilar.”

—“Go ahead, Sir. The weather is beautiful, I’ll give you a guide. If you find two healthy people there, it will be a miracle.”

—“Why two people?”

—“Because there is but one woman whom God has protected for over five years, a saint, an angel... That is an edifying story!”

—“Is it true?”

—“Just as sure as leprosy.”

—“Tell me.”

—“For fifteen whole days (that was about five or six years ago), the inhabitants of the Marianas had not seen the sun. Brown clouds, stacked up one upon the others, were oppressing us, and even when the wind would blow strong enough, these huge masses stayed as motionless as mountains suspended over our heads. The heat was oppressive, the waves splashing, the tree tops rustling, the streams dried up, and the animals on the roads frightened. A horrible catastrophe was expected. People believed that the end of the world was near and the church was always full.

One night, however, there on the horizon towards Tinian, that I want you to visit and study, a light in the sky makes the sky bright. It grows and grows as if to burn everything. People look at one another in horror, make the sign of the cross, walk on their knees in the streets. All of a sudden, the clouds flee frightfully fast, the sky becomes clear, the animals get up, the streams start running again, but the earth is shaken repeatedly, the Agrigan volcano has joined that of Guham, the earth is broken, the houses upended, my palace half ruined and, in the middle of the general disaster, only the church is untouched.

The priest was in the pulpit. What a brave man! This holy apostle did not want to quit his post. When the storm stopped its ravages, when nature was bright again, every mouth shouted: “Miracle! Miracle!” Every heart repeated: “Hosanna! Hosanna!”

The good priest died a few days after,¹ but before he expired he asked for help on behalf of the lepers, asked those gathered around his death bed to promise to make pilgrimages within the villages where the disease was rampant, and he succeeded in getting that every year a devout man would dedicate himself to relieve the unhappy ones in the sad locations that I told you about. The holy custom is still alive and you will find at Santa María del Pilar such a person still free of the disease.

—“A young man?”

—“A young girl. She was but nine years old when she left as a volunteer nurse. She has been there five years and she doesn’t want to quit her post. She will die there, poor girl.”

—“I will go to Santa María del Pilar, if only to kiss the hand of this noble martyr.”

—“Here is a honest man who will guide you. He knows the way. You should be at the village in less than two hours. Bring a rosary to Dolorida. She will pray for you.”

—“I will bring her six and some shirts.—

—“See you this evening!”

—“See you then!”

We left, my guide, Petit and I, my guide with fear, I with a deep sadness, and Petit because I had told him, “Come along.” He had wrapped up my goods in a shoulder bag and would tell me from time to time:

—“Why are you going there? If you want, I’ll go alone to deliver your rags.”

—“No, I want to see them.”

1 Ed. note: This can only be Fr. Ibañez de San Onofre, whose stay in Agaña ended in 1814. This mention of his death while in office is the only evidence we have.

—“It’s not so pretty to see people covered with mange, from head to foot.”

—“It’s not mange, it’s leprosy.”

—“Leprosy, Sir, is mange number one. It’s awful easy to catch, they say.”

—“You don’t understand what curiosity is all about.”

—“Sure! but there is curiosity and curiosity, and the type that pushes you to stick yourself among gaping wounds, it’s stupidity. If it wasn’t for the friendship I have for you...”

—“Don’t get too carried away.”

—“OK, but I am coming along too and that must mean something.”

—“Well then, you’re going to María del Pilar only on account of me?”

—“Would I go on account of them? Say, you don’t know me yet, I see that. See here, I am feeling sad and blue. Did I ask you for one drop of brandy? No, I don’t want any, I won’t take any. When one visits an unhappy place, he cannot be happy.”

—“You’re a good man.”

—“You’re not telling me anything new. I know it as well as you do even if you don’t seem to realize it today.”

—“If I had not known it for a long time, I would not have asked you to accompany me.”

—“Good! Good! Now, I like you even more.”

We had left the beaten path along which ran a pretty streamlet to go into a wood, rather a beautiful garden. There were rows of banana trees, adorned with delicious bunches protected from the sun by the large natural shades that nature has given them. Everywhere could be seen breadfruit trees with enormous branches, large velvety leaves and useful fruits. There were also trees from the palm family, gathered like brothers, the pandanus tree, the palm tree, the coconut tree, separated down below but mixing their wavy hair like friends meeting and fondling one another. And then there were fragrant flowers underfoot, dotting the lawn, smooth as it was, and without any reptile. Love birds seemed to be surprised to see beings that walked and moved along.

—“By George! What a sight!” said Petit in his enthusiasm.

—“You don’t regret your coming?”

—“But what’s at the end?”

—“We’ll soon find out. There are some houses.”

—“They can be called houses the way the Governor’s place can be called a palace. What a joke! He calls palace a place with four walls, a large room without furniture and a shed. Does he think we come from the end of the world?”

—“Yes, and he is right.”

—“He must think we’re savages.”

—“What a temper!”

—“For good reasons. ‘My palace! My palace!’ that’s all we hear from him. A palace without a basement, what a pity! Didn’t he call soldiers those kinds of broomsticks adorned with some sort of uniform and shoulder boards? I stretched my leg in front of one of those brave soldiers, making as if to trip him, and that was enough to have him

fall down, and that same night, I saw my grenadier again; this time, he was pulling the feather off a chicken that was just as skinny as he was. Give me an army made up of such fierce men. Marchais, Vial, Chaumont, Barthe and I, with a few sticks, would be able to send them running in a jiffy.”

—“Shut up. We have arrived.”

—“OK, I’ll keep quiet from now on.”

Six creaky huts, low-lying but built on piles, were all the buildings in the first village. Everything was so quiet in the neighborhood that it looked like a cemetery. Nobody appeared on doorsteps, nobody could be seen on the lawns nor under the banana trees. My heart felt a pinch. I went into the first hut; there was a man there, alone, lying in a hammock that was hanging one foot off the floor. He looked at us with stupefaction and asked us who had sent us. I told him that we had come to visit the village and had brought a few things to help those who were worse off.

—“Well, give me something then.”

—“Where do you hurt the most?”

—“Nowhere in particular, but look at me.”

His legs were like walking sticks, eaten to the bones by leprosy. Petit, without consulting me, threw him a shirt and we went off, terror-stricken.

Inside another hut, a young mother with half of her body full of wounds and scabs, was giving her breast to a baby who was not older than three or four months. Here there had been some pleasure, some happiness, and maybe some love! Petit, speechless for a change, would have given all that remained in our bag, if I had not prevented him from doing so. In the third hut, we found something that resembled a man; but here there was also a young girl, on her knees next to a large squash full of water into which she dipped a rough piece of cloth which she then used to wipe the scabby limbs of the dying man.

—“*Ave Maria*,” said I, in a low voice.¹

—“*Gratia plena*,” she answered without turning her head.

As soon as she had finished giving her care, she stood up and was about to leave when she saw us.

—“Who are you?”

—“Foreigners, Frenchmen who arrived at Guham a few days ago.”

—“Charity, please, for those who are suffering.”

—“What do you think they need?”

—“Prayers first, then some clothes.”

—“Here are some clothes first, the prayers will come later.”

—“May Heaven pay you back!”

And the young girl disappeared.

—“Where is she going? I asked of my guide, who had not uttered twenty words since our departure.

1 This is the greeting used by visitors in many parts of Spain.



Dolorida (Guham)

—“She is gone to help other unlucky ones; she is always very busy.”

—“The work will soon overwhelm her.”

—“O no, Sir. Heaven will give her strength.”

She is a saint. Her name is Dolorida. In every house of the village some wretched men and women were lying upon mats or in hammocks and for so much misery one young girl was sufficient. When one died, Dolorida would run to Humata where two strong men were designated to help her. They would return alone.

A hundred paces from this group of huts, there were more, six in all, almost all empty, and a hundred paces further, by a plentiful spring, there were three small houses a little cleaner than those I had already visited.

—“Here lives Dolorida,” said my guide. “She comes home only at night when her work is all done.”

—“Can we spend the night here?”

—“You can but I must go back. You’ve seen everything.”

—“Quiet! Here comes Dolorida.”

The young martyr came in, knelt down, softly recited the Lord’s Prayer and a Hail Mary, and then held out her hand.

—“Your Lordship has done much good here,” she said. “God will remember this.”

—“I want to do more, Dolorida. Here are some more towels, handkerchiefs, combs, many shirts and scapularies.”

—“Scapularies!”

—“Blessed be our Holy Father (the Pope).”

—“Give me, give me. I’ll cure my sick people with them. I’ll cover them with these relics and they will walk!”

—“God may want them to suffer a while longer.”

—“You are right, but, Sir, they will all go to Heaven.”

Dolorida was a tender girl, brown, her skin being almost copper in color. The upper half of her body was bare. A clean skirt was tied at the waist and came down as far as the knees, uncovering some vigorous legs. Her feet and hands were very fine, her hair black and wavy, her eyes well shaped and a powerful, undescribable, look on her face. Her teeth were very white and her round fleshy cheeks indicated a strong health that long vigils had not weakened. Dolorida believed that there was Heaven after death, and this belief made her bear the horrible sacrifice. But in the midst of this high piety, what stupid superstition, what absurd tales! Witches and God always fighting, one winning, then losing; devils coming out body and soul from their cauldrons; angels, attacked by legions of the damned, forced to throw themselves into holy-water basins and to repeat the name of Jesus ceaselessly in order not to be dragged into Hell. All of this, of course, was hard to listen to. All of this, however, did not take away from the halo of kindness and humaneness that surrounded the young Chamorro girl.

I promised to send her more help before my departure from Guham and, as I was about to say good-bye to her, I noticed that Petit was missing. However, he returned

one moment later, downtrodden, sorry-looking, tears in his eyes and covered with only his large sailor's pants.

—"Where do you come from?" I asked.

—"From overthere, from a house where I saw an old man who has really shaken my liver."

—"Tell me quick."

—"It's a short story."

—"I bet you've been in a fight again."

—"What infamous act! There was this good man, eaten by disease, who looks like my old father the way I look like a lobster, and he tore me up inside when I came near him. By golly, I first took my jacket off, and I gave him, then my shirt that I don't want to get back, and finally my shoes that he will keep, because the good man still has some feet and mine can go without the soles from a shoemaker. Gee, I tell you, it feels so good to do something good!"

—"Petit, I think you're great."

—"If only you knew how much he looks like my old man! I'm not gonna get drunk for two weeks."

I came back to Humata smelling like a corpse.

—"Say," asked Mr. Medinilla when he saw me, "Isn't it strange?"

—"No. It's horrible, it's distressing, it kills you."

—"Would you go again?"

—"Maybe."

I did not go back but, two months later, I saw the pretty Dolorida in the Agaña church, fresh, and always pious.

—"You've given up?" said I, when I walked up to her.

—"No, Sir," she answered in a sweet voice. "I had nothing more to do in Santa María del Pilar."

—"How come?"

—"There are no more sick people..."

—"Are they cured?"

—"Dead..."

Two days before we left Guham, everything was quiet in the houses of Agaña and funeral songs could be heard from the church. A long procession came out of it. Soon, men and women, Chamorros and Spaniards, were walking slowly with their kerchiefs on their bowed heads and rosaries around their necks. Behind came the priest with a coffin underneath a white shroud. A grave had been dug, ten paces from the holy temple. Each bystander would come close, kneel down while crying, and throw a little dirt. Leprosy does not spare anybody. Dolorida, the young martyr, had gone straight to Heaven.

Chapter 14 on the Mariana Islands.

Guham—Agaña—Fiesta—Details.

Frightened by the sight of lepers, I fled and rejoined my comrades who were waiting for me in Asan. This is a real village, clean and well laid out. One gets the impression that the capital must be nearby; in fact, it is but a quarter of a league away. The vicinity, planted as it is with fragrant trees, is a lush garden where one is tempted to rest. I noticed something peculiar. In all the places where we had seen coconut trees, we had seen them straight, elegant, majestic. Here, the coconut tree changes its shape and remains that way all the way to Agaña. Its trunk, vertical at first, elbows out at twenty to twenty-five feet off the ground, runs horizontally a great distance without its foliage being affected, and grows straight up again some two fathoms from its brilliant hairy top. The sight of these wayward trees is a strange thing to behold, and from afar it appears as if hurricanes have conquered an entire forest.

I will not tell you how beautiful, varied, rich is the scenery from Asan to Agaña; no brush, no pen could depict it properly. Suffice to keep quiet and wonder.

This is a town, a real town with streets wide and straight, with intersections, a public ground, a church, a palace. You are not as in Europe because nothing resembles what one has seen so far, but it reminds you that there has been a recent conquest over a degenerate civilization. It is but a glimmer, a bad copy of our customs, our laws, even our vices and our absurdities, but it is progress nevertheless, good and bad, it is a first step, a new hope. All that is needed is for a good man to come here as governor, a man who would understand good customs, a kind reformer, with a true spirit, a strong character, and then the people of the Marianas would become citizens like you and I: a code of laws would watch over the interests of everyone, religion would guide all consciences.

With characters that can be easily shaped, one could expect everything from a generous leader. The man of the Marianas is in delusion, because he does not know where and what is the truth. Once the true path is shown to him, you can be sure that he will follow it until the end. If the old morals sometimes take over from the new institutions, it is because they contain so much nonsense that the common sense of the people makes short shrift of them. One must not expect to get everything at once. God Himself, more powerful than man, created the world in six days and what a world! One more week would have been better, I think.

[Description of Agaña]

There are 170 houses in Agaña, with only fifty in masonry; the others are made with bamboo, palm fronds and leaves, intricately woven. All are on piles, four to five feet off the ground, with a garden, front and back, including an enclosure where some tobacco and a few flowers. I swear to you, it is a pretty sight, most interesting to study. These houses are separated one from another. The way into the house is by a ladder that is pulled up at night, but that could very well be left in place, without any danger. They have but two rooms; one is the master bedroom, the other facing the doorway is

for the children, the chicken, the pigs, daily guests, and the visiting strangers, always welcome. The furniture consists in small stools, hammocks, slates to roll the tobacco leaf, and mortars to grind the *federico* nut. Add three or four pictures of saints, of Christ, of holy martyrs, coconut vases, wooden forks, rosaries, and some cakes drying in the air, and you will have a full idea of these hospitable homes where life goes on without a jolt, almost without any suffering, until one is suddenly old, because in this hot climate, so fertile, a man is a man when at home he would hardly know yet what life is all about.

The Governor's palace decorates the only public ground in the capital. It is a large dwelling, one-story high, half wood and half bricks, with many casement windows and a balcony overlooking the sea and the surrounding houses. Before it are located eight pieces of artillery in bronze, on their carriages, watched over by soldiers whose uniform I dare you to look at without laughing; the rags with which they have been decked out are so bizarre and ill-fitting. The palace walls, freshly painted, are a proof of Mr. José Medinilla's gallantry. He would not want to be accused of lacking in courtesy. If you go up into the palace, you find yourself in a large hall, adorned with a genuine portrait of Ferdinand VII and one of Our Lady of Sorrows that appears to feel sorry for the way she has been treated by the artist. Then, here and there, are colored images of French soldiers walking into Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona. Our soldiers are painted with bare arms, covered with blood, armed with daggers, eating live monks, children and women. The Governor, seeing me laugh and shrug in front of such atrocious things, asked me in all seriousness whether or not they were not true to life.

—"There is something true in these hideous scenes," said I seriously, "but the roles are reversed. Only the Spanish use knives and daggers."

The frames were removed that very day; the Governor knew when to please.

A lodging had been arranged next to the palace. We went toward it and soon were in front of a squad of twenty-four men or armed soldiers, led by a Major, a Captain and five or six Lieutenants. O Charlet! O Raffet! O Bellangé, help me! To sketch just one is to sketch them all as they have come from the same mold.¹

He is skinny, tall and lanky; his slap hat squarely on his head, its two corners, adorned with two huge tassels, come down to caress what can be called *épaulettes*, facing backwards on the shoulder blades. The chief, bald in front, had a few hairs tied up behind with either a black or a white ribbon, or even a small yellow or red string. He has a moustache or he has not, according to his whim. He holds himself as straight as the coconut trees of Asan that I told you about, and he swims in his uniform the way you would in a muslim cape. The latter is held upturned under the chin by a clasp and comes down to the bottom of the calves, themselves enclosed within leggings that could easily take in the thighs and the body too. A black or a blue belt holds the sword on the

1 Ed. note: They were all French painters. Nicolas Charlet (1792-1845) specialized in Napoleonic scenes. Denis Auguste Marie Raffet (1804-1860) specialized in Revolutionary and late Empire soldiers. Bellangé is no longer so well known.

hip, a sword like that of Charlemagne of France, long and flat with a torn scabbard. The whole carried over fine but very pointed shoes. Here you are, more or less, but it is the ridiculous stance of these mosquitoes in disguise that makes you wonder, it is the majestic and martial look that they try and give themselves that amuses and surprises. Verily, one should willingly travel to the Marianas only to see, only once, the military staff of the Governor General of the archipelago for the love of the King of all the Spains.

After our quick review, my two friends and I went to our lodging in order to prepare for our great excursion to Tinian, the island of antiquities. A doorway guarded by a sentinel smoking a cigar was next to ours. Within could be seen a jail with iron rings on the wall. Shrieks came out of this dark enclosure, and I went in unnoticed by the guard. A Sandwich islander, tied to one of the iron rings, was being beaten. His shoulders and his sides in tatters, were witnesses to the strength of the executioner. The latter, whom I will tell you about later, saluted me with his left hand while his right hand was finishing executing the sentence. Who had dictated the sentence? The Governor's valet in person. What was the Sandwich man guilty of? To have answered impolitely to the valet. Nobody on the island knew then what was going on in the jailhouse, save the executioner, the patient and myself. The task completed, the Sandwich man went away and the man who had just beaten him violently threw his knotted stick at his legs.

When a severe remark came from my lips, the wretched man shrugged his shoulders, whistled and left me alone. Such is life; when one person is good and kind, the next is evil and cruel; the tiger is followed by the lion, the vulture by the eagle, the valet by the master.

The first dinner that was given us by the Governor was preceded by a very nice dessert, where the most beautiful fruits of the colony were laid out in conceited profusion, but where grace and politeness were again prevalent. The Castilian spirit of the grantees was laid out in full insolence and pride. Mr. Medinilla was proud to convince us that noble Spanish blood was flowing in his veins. He took pleasure in speaking about Europe in order to convince us that its customs were not unknown to him. So much stylishness did subdue us. The evening meal was gay and charming and, to please us even more, the Governor asked our permission to bring into the hall twenty or so small boys and girls who lined themselves up in two rows like dwarf soldiers, and broke into Chamorro songs whose harmony could rival with a wildcat concert. Then, changing the tempo, they sang some very odd carols and ended up with loud war songs in honor of their noble country, their noble sovereign, their noble army, their noble citizens, and their noble nobles. Here is a sample of their patriotic songs:

[French version]	[English version]
Vive Ferdinand!	Long live Ferdinand!
Des rois le plus grand.	Our King so grand.
Vive George-Trois!	Long live George III!
Le plus grand des rois.	So great a laird.

Meure Napoléon!	Death with Napoleon!
Scélérat et capon.	The coward, the capon.
A cet infame coquin	May the scoundrel
Une cravate de lin.	Go straight to hell.
Qu'il vienne jusqu'ici,	If he comes overhere
Ce sera fait de lui!	He'll be finished, you hear!

Those things can be translated literally. However, Mr. Medinilla, guessing by our grimaces that such diatribes did not please us, sent the children off to the public square, asked our permission to go and have a siesta and invited us to a party on the morrow.

So, we went out of the palace and visited the town... It was already sleeping soundly. The people here live on their back or squatting. Even if the breeze is fresh and healthy, men and women remain within their houses, lying upon Manila mats or in hammocks. One could say that there is but two or three hours of daylight, the rest is night-time. Nevertheless, look at the well-formed muscles, the dynamic frames walking by; see the sparkle in the eyes of the girls, heads held high, a supple body, beckoning with the hand and a smile at the same time, and inviting you in the most charming manner to a snack of bananas, watermelons and coconut. O! all of this is due to the lush and strong vegetation covering Guham and sheltering the unkept grounds.

There is logic in all of this, however, and the cause is easy to find. Of all the peoples of the Earth the Spaniard is without a doubt the most vain. He admits no fault, other than the one he discovered himself. He admits happy qualities only in himself, and he prides himself in borrowing nothing from no-one, neither vices nor virtues. Spain is reproduced perfectly well in the Marianas. There are nevertheless rare occasions, too rare, when the Guham inhabitants come out of their slumber; it is when a ship comes to anchor in their archipelago. O! the town then awakens, shakes itself, queries itself, prepares a few things for barter; it is almost happy, what say I! It is completely happy, because there will, no doubt, come statues, crucifixes, scapularies against leprosy, rosaries blessed by the Pope and colored images illustrating the mysteries of our religion. This is, you see, a currency which never loses value in the Marianas; the pesos will fall out of use before the relics, and every young and pretty girl will surrender herself to you if you give her a St. James or a St. Barnabas. The Spanish and the Chamorro in them are still fighting each other. This year had been a happy one for the people of the Marianas: two Russian ships, the **Kamchatka** and the **Kutusoff**, have come to anchor before Guham, some time before, and the **Rurik** followed these a little later, the same **Rurik**, commanded by Mr. Kotzebue, which we had found anchored at the Cape of Good Hope, and that was on the last leg of her glorious voyage when we were starting ours.

[The curate of Agaña]

Have I told you that Agaña had a priest? Well, yes, this priest is the only one in the colony;¹ Humata, Asan, Tupungan, two or three other villages, the Islands of Tinian and Rota are in his care, and despite his vast responsibilities, he still finds time to steal some time away from his flock. For example, every day after mass, he gathers at his home many rich inhabitants who, cards and dice in hand, upon a bare table, rob and ruin one another under his immediate protection. It is he who keeps the bank, it is he who makes the rules, and if luck has not been too good that day, a little skill will make it right... Moreover, that is not the end of Fray Ciriaco's daily chores, and I dare not say here what shameful trade he is involved in to please foreigners.² I have attended one of his sermons; he talked about nothing but hell, peopled according to him, with libertine women, murderous children, lazy fathers, drunken men... but not one priest, not one governor, not one mayor among them. They would have been there in such bad company! The poor people of Guham, kneeling or squatting, while listening to the curses of the holy apostle of God, would kiss the earth devoutly, beat their chest roughly, and, after leaving church, begin again their everyday life without a care in the world. Thus is religion in the Marianas, an occupation of a few moments; it is a practice reserved for a specific period of time, one unfortunately that is not reflected in real life. One goes to church the way one eats, the way one goes to the river to bathe, the way one goes to bed. A young girl listens to your loving propositions, encourages them and gives you sure signs of her affection, but when the Angelus is heard, the young repentant girl is on her knees, forgetting that you are by her sides, devoutly reciting her prayer, and that done, she gives you back the privileges that the sound of the church bell had taken away.

Father Ciriaco does not understand religion any differently. How can you expect the people to know any better? It would be so easy, however, to lead him towards a more saintly purpose! He is so kind, so naïve, so disposed to accept every superstition, so ready to learn, that he would only need a guide with common sense to make him new again. However, the Marianas is a land of exile. Manila and the mother country only send here those who are a burden to them.

I had forgotten to tell you that, by pure politeness, the keys of the Holy Sepulcher, hanging from a pink ribbon, were put in the care of our Commander by the curate. The former carried them around his neck for forty-eight hours and did not give them back to Fray Ciriaco before Easter Sunday. All of this is very edifying.

Nowhere else have I seen so many religious processions and ceremonies, not even in Spain, or Portugal, or Brazil. Every day there is a new saint to glorify. Morning and evening, Fray Ciriaco goes all over the town, leading a dozen children dressed in red

1 Ed. note: Father Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo replaced Fr. Ibañez in 1814. He was a dark Filipino priest, formerly an Augustinian, banished to Guam. He died there in 1849 after fathering many local children. One of his descendants became a Monsignor... It appears that Fr. de la Virgen del Carmen was then absent from Guam, for reasons that I have been unable to determine.

2 Ed. note: That of procuring.

and white, singing verses and entering the houses for the curate's forced collection. As money is very scarce in the colony, the not-too-greedy collectors are satisfied with some fruits, vegetables, salted hams, good chicken, and I assure you that the curate's table and backyard do not show scarcity. I tell you, Spain has moved to Guham!

We had hoped that after Holy Week the wanderings of Fray Ciriaco and his acolytes would stop. Not so, his household was not well enough provided for. The streets continued to resound with pious chants. I will not enumerate the ridiculous acts imagined in order to stir the fervor of the natives and carried out at Easter. It is a sad thing to see and study; it hurts both one's intelligence and feeling.

Does Heaven then stays silent in the Marianas? Around seven o'clock that evening, we felt two earth tremors preceded by a sound similar to that made by many carriages rolling upon paving stones. Not one inhabitant remained indoors. The streets and the plaza in front of the palace were witnesses to people kneeling and kissing the earth with humility. It is not so ridiculous to say that fear is by itself a religion.

When I told you that Spanish customs are reflected in Guham as in a faithful mirror, I was being truthful but silly. There is not one husband in all of Castille more jealous than one Mariano taken at random, but, after this, you can count and take away without scruples their friends, sisters or cousins. They do not mind. They only watch over the treasure that they have risked everything for, and I assure you that they keep their eyes open. Moreover, I believe that they are bragging about morals more than is true, because Guham is known for its lack of murders and a profusion of adulteries. Such a coincidence is so rare in the world that a historian must mention it, if only to edify the people of Europe.

Police work on the island is, firstly, in the hands of the mayor of each village who renders a sentence that is without appeal. Then comes the *gobernadorcillo*, or little governor, who administers the punishment himself. Woe to the patient who does not accept with resignation the inflicted penalty! If he is to receive twenty-five blows with a stick and dares to complain about the harshness of the punishment, the quantity is immediately doubled and all complaints stifled. The logic of this needs no comments.

Generally, a murder is not called a murder unless it is political in nature, when the victim was a government employee. Other than that, they say only that a vengeance has been carried out. In the first case, the defendant is temporarily put in shackles, and is tried. If he is found guilty, he is sent to Manila, where they must be very surprised at the light manner in which justice is carried in Guham. A rich man does not need to bring his case to the local supreme court, chaired by the Governor, in order to obtain recourse for some outrage or theft. He brings his case openly to a band of thugs, tells them the wrong he has suffered, points out the victim and, in exchange for a price discussed and decided beforehand, reparation is done without the benefit of court clerk or executioner. Fray Ciriaco is then sent for. He comes in, pronounces in a low voice some prayers for the dead as fast as possible, throws a little holy water upon the corpse. A grave is dug and is filled in front of the church, and all has been said; justice has been done.

The avowed leader of this band of scoundrels who terrorize the countryside is called Eustaquio, first valet to His Lordship the Governor, who, alone in the colony was ignorant about his iniquity.

Do not be surprised to hear that there is in Guham a royal college and many high schools. Such high sounding names are to impress the people of Guham as much as visitors. In the first type of institutions, as big as a small hotel room, one learns how to read and sing; in the other schools, one tries to learn how to sing and read. Before everything else, singing, then the rest; one does not have to hold a book in church. Ciriaco, the curate, obliges you to strike up a hymn. The reading teacher receives 25 pesos a year and eight fighting cocks. The musician receives 100 pesos and 25 cocks that have been victorious many times in official fights.

Here we are far from Spain. I have seen in Guham two spinning mills, one with machines made in France, and the other with Chinese machinery that, by its simplicity and its output, easily won over its rival.

The respect with which children hold their fathers is considered a virtue in each family. The father is never referred to without the title of Your Grace, or at least, Sir. When he wakes up in the morning, he is surrounded by his children who caress him tenderly. They vie with one another in order to give him his clothes, his cigar, his breakfast, and they never pronounce his name without a slight bow of the head or curtsy. During the day, the whole family is busy sparing the chief all fatigue, and in the evening, after the prayer that he alone can say aloud, nobody lays down until the hammock or the mat has received the head of the family.

Boys can get married at 14 years of age, girls at 12. I have seen a mother of 13 who was breast feeding twins. These examples are very rare. The average number of children is four to five per family. I made the acquaintance in Agaña of an old man who had 27 children, all living, and Mr. Medinilla told us about a woman in Asan who had 37 of them, not one of them with leprosy. To cite such facts is to note them as exceptions.

The original language of the natives of the Marianas is guttural, in one word, difficult, and it is impossible to translate some of their sounds with only the letters of our alphabet. It would sound sometimes like a painful rattle, oftentimes sounds only escape through the nose. However, if it be true that style makes the man, one must agree that the first inhabitants of this beautiful archipelago had guessed that poetry existed and that centuries and conquests have impoverished it by substituting the majestic seriousness of the Spanish language for the vivid images of their own.

The Chamorro says, when speaking of the Carolinian proas: "it is the bird of the storms; they cut the wind, 'tis the wind itself." When speaking of the calm sea, he always says: "the mirror of the sky." And if you ask him what is God, he answers: "it is He." He says also that a beautiful day "is the smile of the Supreme Being," that the palm trees are the "plumes of the earth." He calls writing "speech of the eyes;" passions are "maladies of the soul;" clouds "ships of the air;" hurricanes and storms "furies." For this disappearing nation, language has few words and much imagery; the periphrase is at the very root of it all; one reaches the goal only after a detour, and it would

be correct to say that the Chamorro draws only in color. For anyone who studies carefully the rise and fall of nations, it is not difficult to guess that the first inhabitants of this archipelago have been conquered and soon there will remain none of these extraordinary men who a long time ago bestowed upon this land some huge and odd monuments about which I will soon say something, and which resemble so much some of the ancient ruins discovered in America.

There is a constant hatred between families with pure Chamorro blood and those linked with the Spanish. The first look down upon the others, the latter hate the former. From this come bloody fights in the countryside where mutilated corpses and a witness to the ferocity or rather the frenzy of the winner. It has happened to me in my walks to select without reflection two guides from opposite camps. They have always refused to accompany me, no matter how bright my promises and rewards; the Spanish would refuse saying with scorn: "He is a savage." The Chamorro, with brutality, would call the Spanish "a degenerate man." If a strict Governor does not put an end to these furious divisions by some strong measures, the colony will have a day of mourning.

Tired, after an adventurous walk, I was returning to the Governor's place when I spotted a large crowd that attracted my attention as they were gathered under a magnificent dome of coconut trees. I found Petit upon a tree trunk in the center of it selling some colored two-penny images, or rather bartering them for vessels filled with an intoxicating drink made from the coconut tree. These images, I had given them to him and the rascal had rebaptized them. Coriolan's mother kneeling by her son, he called "the Virgin pleading with Jesus."¹ Armide and Renaud in the garden created by Tasso was peddled as "Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden."² The fire by Salins was "Sodom reduced to ashes." A party of vaudeville comedians was "the last supper with the apostles." Phaeton stricken with thunder by Jupiter was "the fall of Satan." A boat with washerwomen on the River Seine had become "Noah's ark." Ganymede's abduction, "the Holy Ghost carrying an angel to Heaven." Ulysses victorious over Polypheme [i.e. the Cyclops] was "David bringing down Goliath."

Up there, my good Petit, with the eloquence of a sailor and in bad Spanish, would tell them the most amazing stories. As soon as he saw me, his delivery was enlivened anew, his gestures became more dynamic, his sentences more humming, his eyes brighter, and a little more I would have been converted too, along with the crowd, filled with wonder, that was holding him captive within its quadruple circle.

At night, before going to bed, the pious Mariano people, kneeling down in front of these holy relics, were invoking them in their prayers while beating their chest with devotion. It has been said before, faith is salvation.

1 Ed. note: Coriolanus, a Roman general who was exiled and later returned to fight his country.

2 Ed. note: Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), an Italian poet, in his *Jerusalem Delivered*.

Chapter 15 on the Mariana Islands.

Guham—Customs—Details—Mariquita and I.

One of these down-to-earth men such as we unfortunately meet from time to time in the world asked me the other day how far was Paris from the Marianas.

—“10,000 leagues,” said I.

—“Including from here to the Hague?”

—“Yes, Sir,” I said with some ire, “but counting from the cathedral...”

This man had on his feet some cloth slippers and a cotton bonnet with a yellow ribbon on his head. He is, no doubt, the author of an anonymous letter, mailed in Paris at the main post office on Jean-Jacques-Rousseau Street, and bearing on the envelope: “Sir, Mister Jacques Arago, man of letters, traveller, residing at number 10B, Rivoli Street, in Paris, Seine Department, France.”

I prefer to listen to the tic-tac of a large clock forever rather than listen to two hours of conversation with strange organizations that see truth only in things that can be measured with a compass, traced with a ruler and that, before they have not met him, still doubt that Mr. de la Palisse is dead. Perfect exactness exists only with numbers; all eyes do not see in the same fashion, and what my neighbor sees as being great and beautiful appears to me mean and ugly. Neither of us dies, neither makes a mistake; we each feel differently, that is all. Many of my fellow travellers have found the Marianas a charming country, others saw it as a place of sadness and disgust. As far as I am concerned, I agree with everybody; I have known there many hours of boredom and days of pure joy. Let us go on.

The clothing of the Mariano people is in perfect harmony with the hot climate of the archipelago. That of women consists of a loose blouse that leaves half the breasts uncovered, the neck and the shoulders bare; it is clasped at two or three points on the chest and fall almost to the waist without touching the skirts, themselves held to the hip by a large ribbon and flowing down almost to the ankle. This skirt is generally made up of five or six kerchiefs called “Madras.” Feet and legs are bare, as well as the head, adorned only with rich and beautiful hair, tied very low. Then you see rosaries and beads on the arms, on the breast. When she goes to church, it is rare that only one of them is seen wearing, instead of the charming Spanish mantilla, a striped handkerchief on her forehead that she holds under the chin and that floats behind her in the wind. Most of them put on a man’s hat as soon as they can. I cannot tell you how serious, strong, independent and domineering these creatures are, privileged as they are by precocious and powerful life.

The young girl of Guham does not walk, she leaps; more elegant than the woman of Andalusia, she is also more majestic and no less smart-looking. Do not expect to force her to look down even when you stare at her boldly; you would lose at this challenge that she never refuses. If you show yourself proud and patronizing, she is prouder than you and disdains your patronage. The young girl of the Marianas smokes and chews tobacco; her cigar is very big and there is exquisite coquetry in being seen with the mouth filled by a cigar that is six inches long and at least eight points in diameter.

The men wear a white shirt coming down to half the thighs, and wide pants that do not extend any lower and are tied at the waist. The legs and feet are bare as well as the head. Moreover, their walk, like that of women, has a look of freedom about it, a daring manner that suits their height admirably, even though small. One can see the muscles of their bodies, and of their legs and arms appear at the least effort made, and like those of Hercules by Farnese. All this, I tell you, is the way people live exceptionally at the awakened hours, because, according to their daily habits, they spend such a beautiful existence in rest and sleep.

The complexion of the people of the Marianas is dark yellow; their teeth are pure white when they do not burn them by the ridiculous and cruel custom of chewing betel nut and tobacco sprayed with lime. They have large and bright eyes and their feet, especially those of the women, are exceedingly small and delicate—this is very strange in a country where few people wear shoes.

It is the truth that Chamorro girls, when they married, did not take the name of their husbands, since even now, despite a long period of European domination, this old custom has triumphed over the will of the legislator. Should we not conclude with many writers that women used to play the major role in this archipelago? It is hard to find out in a country where history and tradition have come down to us through so many conquests and massacres. In both of the Indies, the moral victories that the Spanish have won have been through the sword: fanaticism does not proceed otherwise.

Nowhere in the world is superstition more prevalent. There is no small events for which the inhabitants do not give a supernatural cause. If a man, in the evening, sprains an ankle, it is because he did not say his morning prayers devoutly enough; if a young girl burns her *federico* cakes, it is because she walked by the chapel dedicated to the Virgin without bowing. To see them act and think like this, one would think that the Almighty is concerned exclusively with them, that it is He who presides over the smallest details of their daily life, and that it is by miracle that they walk and breathe.

A fire was eating up a house next door to that of Don Luis de Torres, first dignitary of the colony and personal friend of the Governor. At the sound of the alarm, we had come running. A neighboring house had already caught fire. The disaster was threatening to spread but nobody tried to prevent it, because some very serious things had been heard, as you shall see.

However, three of our sailors threw themselves in the middle of the fire and were trying to excite the zeal of the inhabitants by their example.

—“Why try the impossible?” Don Luis said to me in a sorry tone of voice. “The fire must be allowed to go on. No human force can extinguish it.”

—“Why?”

—“Because the head of the family came out of church last Sunday without taking holy water.”

However, the sinister prediction of this high person was denied; our brave sailors cut the disaster short, and the neighboring houses escaped a certain destruction.

—“Well?” said I to the superstitious official. “You see that with work and courage the events can be directed.”

—“It is courage that has triumphed here.”

—“Is it work?”

—“Neither.”

—“What, then?”

—“It is God. I had noticed these three intrepid sailors yesterday in church in front of the sacred image of St. James whose relics they were kissing.”

Alas! Marchais was one of them, and I am ready to bet that Don Luis could not have seen him devoutly kissing the relics of St. James of Compostelle.

The Chamorro takes after the Chinese by his devious conduct, his hypocrite character and his looks, but above all by his burning desire to steal. No sooner is he inside your apartment that he looks around for objects to steal. Everything that is within reach is stolen with a revolting shamelessness and cynicism. If you punish him for the theft he has just committed, you had better double the number of blows because, to be sure, he has planned a new petty larceny during the performance.

The Chamorro does not steal because of need but by instinct, maybe by habit, maybe also by religion. Oftentimes he will steal a potato, a rosary, a cake, a vessel, and a few moments later, will throw it far away. What does not belong to a specific person does not tempt him; what belongs to you will be his once his sly eyes have chanced upon it. In the evening, as soon as his work is done, when his day is over, far from regretting the damage he has done, he feels sorry, like the crocodile of the fable, that his take has not been more beautiful and more plentiful. He prepares himself for more researches on the next day.

All Chamorros are born conjurors, and they certainly deserve the epithet of “thieves” bestowed upon them by travellers.

In the middle of these sad remains of primitive customs, that a strict and sometimes cruel code of laws has not been able to uproot from this archipelago, allow me to rest my memory upon one of those rare episodes when the soul of the traveller, disappointed by wild and licentious customs, is revived by sweet and powerful emotions. Mariquita, no more than Rouvière, Petit and Marchais, no more so than the Carolinian *tamon* about whom I will tell you later, will not leave my memory, and for me, memory resides in the heart.

[The story of Mariquita]

A thickset, agile and dashing man had come to Humata with the Governor and had offered his services to run our errands and guide us in our walks. The very day of our arrival, I took him as a guide and we came back to the village only in the evening after sunset. I learned in the course of this excursion that he was from Agaña, was married to a pretty woman and had an even prettier sister, named Mariquita.

—“Here,” I said to my guide, “here’s a peso for you, a kerchief for your wife and for your sister this pretty crucifix. Are you happy?”

—“She will be even happier.”

—“Who?”

—“Mariquita.”

—“Why?”

—“She had begged me to bring her some relic.”

—“She is so pious?”

—“It is she who prays the most among us.”

—“How old is she?”

—“Fourteen.”

—“Not yet married?”

—“She has refused ten, twenty offers, and often she cries, we don’t know why.”

—“Didn’t you ask her the cause of her tears?”

—“Yes, but she says that we do not understand her, that she is not from this land, that she suffers inside, that she dreams every night about demons and angels, and she adds that she will soon kill herself. Maybe she is crazy.”

—“Maybe.”

—“Yesterday though, we saw her laugh on the way to church. It was the first time she had a kerchief on her head, because we are not rich.”

—“Take this. Give this pretty kerchief to Mariquita, the crazy one, and she will wear it next time she goes to pray God.”

—“O! you must come to Agaña, Sir, because my sister would run all the way here to thank you, and we do not want her to, for fear of the leprosy.”

—“Tell her I’ll come.”

—“Your name?”

—“Arago.”

—“Mister Arago, my sister Mariquita will wait for you on her doorstep with your kerchief on her forehead. You’ll see how nice she is! Her house is the fourth one on the left before you get to the royal plaza.”

—“I will not forget. Goodbye.”

—“Goodbye, Sir.”

The evening that we arrived at Agaña, I indeed noticed on the doorstep in question a young girl, meanwhile the crowd was pushing around us to see us up close and to hear us speak. I did not look at Mariquita except sideways in order not to attract her attention. After sunset, I came close to her house and saw people kneeling for the Angelus. Mariquita was speaking aloud, the rest of the family was answering in muted fashion. They were about to rise when I heard these words:

—“One Our Father for Mister Arago.”

And the Lord’s Prayer was devoutly and softly pronounced. I went up the four or five steps of the exterior ladder, knocked on the half-opened door. Mariquita got up like a gazelle that had been taken by surprise while sleeping.

—“It’s Arago!” she cried out.

—“No.”



Mariquita, a young girl of Guaham.

—“Yes.”

—“Who told you, Mariquita?”

—“It is you. You are Arago.”

The good girl kissed the little crucifix that her brother had given her in my name, and she looked at me with two big teary eyes that meant: “This, this kiss is for you.” I was then offered a stool. Mariquita laid down on a rough mat at my feet, her head on my knees and the rest of the family took place here and there in the same room.

—“Do you want some tobacco?” said the pretty girl. “Do you want some *federico* cakes? some coconut? a mat, a hammock, a kiss?”

—“I want all of them.”

—“You will have everything, but only from me, because only I can take care of you.”

It was, I swear to you, a new and unexpected sensation.

Ever since my departure, save for the Chinaman in Diely,¹ I had heard until that day but threatening words, raving and angry cries. Here, a sweet voice, expressions of kindness and thankfulness, and then a pair of black and loving eyes that did not leave me, two little hands innocently offered, and joy on all foreheads, smiles on all the lips. I believed myself to be in a new world. Indeed, I was. The brother arrived one hour after me.

—“There he is!” cried out Mariquita who jumped to his neck! “Thank you, brother.”

—“O! I was sure he would come.”

—“I was not so sure myself.”

—“Will you stay here long?”

—“Two or three months, I hope.”

—“And, after that?” continued Mariquita in a shaky voice, “you will go away?”

—“Yes.”

—“Your relic has not been blessed,” she said in getting up. “Take your kerchief and your Jesus, I do not want them anymore.”

She opened the door, stepped over the ladder and vanished through the shadows that were already covering the earth.

I spent the night in a hammock of this hospitable house, worried about this unforeseen flight that was troubling the household. However, vanquished by slumber, I fell asleep. When I awakened, I saw Mariquita on the stool, gently rocking me in my hammock with a string made of coconut fiber.

—“There you are! You have caused all of us some grief.”

—“I suffered also.”

—“How do you feel now?”

—“O! the pain does not go away so fast; it comes all of a sudden and it stays.”

—“Where did you spend the night?”

—“Overthere, near the church. I prayed God in order to get something.”

—“What did you ask?”

1 Ed. note: Diely, or Dili, was the capital of Portuguese Timor.

—“Good health for you for two or three months, and after that a big sickness.”

—“Thank you for your good wishes.”

—“If Heaven is good, my wishes will be granted. When one is sick, one does not embark to visit the world, one must rest where he is. If only you knew how happy we are on Guham, in Agaña above all! We can build two houses close together, we can have two hammocks side by side, we love and pray God together. As you see, I have asked Heaven for something very proper.”

—“You love me so, Mariquita. What did I do to deserve so much?”

—“I don’t know whether I love you or not, but you see, last night the moon was beautiful, today the sun will be beautiful, and they will remain so as long as you remain on our island.”

—“But there is a big black cloud on the horizon that will soon cover the sun...”

—“Yes, because you will go away.

And Mariquita’s eyes filled with tears, her hand would stop rocking me, and she seemed to wait for a re-assuring word that was impossible for me to give. I tried, however, to make her understand that I had duties to fulfil and that the friendship she had for me was no doubt due to her thankfulness. At this last word, she got up suddenly, sprang towards a huge slate upon which were burning some resinous branches and threw in the kerchief I had given her. Her sister tried to save a piece of it but Mariquita pulled it out from her hand and threw it back into the fire with a kind of anger that showed that she was not really angry.

—“Child!” said I, I have many kerchiefs in my suitcases. I promise, they are all yours.”

—“I will burn them all!”

—“At home, Mariquita, we only give to those we love.”

—“You love me then?”

—“Yes.”

—“I like this better than all the presents. Since you have me, you will not leave me.”

The pretty Chamorro girl got up happier, helped the rest of the family to clean up the house, recited aloud the morning prayers, and brought me a coconut that she had opened with extreme skill. Afterwards came delicious bananas and the ever so refreshing and sweet watermelon.

Still, I did not know what to think of this tenderness, so innocent and warm, on the part of the young Mariquita. Until then I had believed that the sweetest passions of the soul, love, friendship, gratitude were but the result of civilization and my researches have convinced me more and more of this fact. The kindness of a master for his slave could well awaken in the latter a desire for vengeance and freedom, but love, sympathy between two natures so different and perhaps opposite, that was what my reason refused to admit.

Mariquita was an exception in an exceptional country. From the sweet life about her, she would copy only the customs that were forced upon her by laws and compulsion. On the other hand, if I had not been attracted to this young and charming girl by

one of these intimate feelings that one gets in spite of a most intense effort at reasoning, it would have been easy to make a study of such customs for the benefit of my travelling journals. However, as soon as heart and reason are at odds with each other, it would be foolish to record events that one is unable to judge for oneself. Mariquita's candor laid bare both her Spanish qualities and her Chamorro principles and I was offered a way to exercise my curiosity without fear of making too big a mistake. Thus I noticed that her fondness for me would become more intensive whenever her father or sister were listening.

When Mariquita was happy, they would tell her: "You have seen him?" If her eyes showed sadness, they would say, smiling: "He'll come."

Mariquita would accompany me when I went hunting. Her trained eyes would spot from afar the bird that I wanted to get, and as soon as fatigue or slumber forced me to stop and rest, the young girl, unaffected by heat, would take all pains to protect me from insect bites and from scorpions infesting the woods. In her foolish hope to see me stay in Guham, she would bring me the most refreshing fruits, show me sometimes the agitated sea in order to frighten me, and would silently question me with her eyes in order to discover the innermost secrets that I was trying to keep from her.

Poor child! the day of our separation was soon approaching.

One night when a fierce storm, preceded by a strong earth tremor, kept me at Mariquita's place, I told her how reluctant I would be to leave when the time came.

—"You will leave me sooner than you think," she said in a sad voice.

—"How is it?"

—"You will die in a few days."

—"Who told you that?"

—"Aren't you going to Tinian?"

—"Yes."

—"Well, the flying proas in which you make the voyage often capsize. A storm like this one may overtake you and you don't know how to swim."

—"Such storms are rare in these parts."

—"But there are some, and then you'll die."

—"Will you pray for me, Mariquita?"

—"Yes, but I'll pray for me first."

The time of departure for the island of antiquities having come, the young girl accompanied me to the shore without saying a word. She just pointed out some quick clouds that the wind was pushing towards Tinian. When I was about to leave:

—"Goodbye" said I with a voice that I was trying to make as tender as possible. "In eight days I'll be with you again."

—"Or I with you."

—"You will be bad luck, Mariquita."

—"It will be justice for what you give me."

—"Will you love me while I'm away?"

—"Since I love you now!"

This retort would not have been logical in Europe, and I admit that I was made smaller by my candid lover.

My trip to Tinian lasted one week and during that time, offerings did not lack in church. My small crucifix, my scapularies had been hung at the foot of the statue of Christ decorating the main altar. As for the elegant kerchief that half covered Mariquita's head so gracefully, it had not been once out of the crude furniture where it was kept.

—"Prayers," said the young Chamorro girl, "are never better than sacrifices. I I had not given my treasures to God, if I had carried the kerchief, if I had eaten some *sandias* {watermelons} or bananas, you would be dead."

—"I owe my life to you than."

—"Yes."

—"Good! good for me, because life with an affection such as yours, it's happiness."

—"But your stay of two or three months here will be over soon."

—"Come on, my angel, I'll think of you always."

—"My poor friend, to think is to die!"

Mariquita's feelings, far from weakening, were getting more intense day by day. I did not go on any excursion on the island without my beautiful Chamorro companion. I will not tell you about all the tokens of affection that I received, all the sacrifices she accepted to spare me not only trouble but worry. When I went back to the leper hospital near Asan to complete some studies, Mariquita wished to follow me inside, and forced her way in with me. When I went swimming in the river that flows at the foot of Agaña, near the seashore, my guardian angel, who swam like a fish, went ceaselessly ahead of me in order to point out the least dangerous spot for me.

—"And all this," she would tell candidly, "is not to entice you to stay, since you must leave me, but it is to give you regrets in the future."

Mariquita had two souls, in a country where one soul can hardly be expected to be present in every individual.

However, the big day of separation arrived. The corvette, always at anchor at St. Louis, called back the crew and staff officers, the gun sounded the fatal hour, and Mariquita told me only these words, with a big tear in her eyes:

—"I will go with you."

Her father, her mother, her sister all wished to see me off, and we all took place in a boat that belonged to the family. At the anchorage, we first set foot on land to have lunch and say our last goodbyes.

—"Give me your hat," says Mariquita, "give me your tie also. Tomorrow I'll steal from the church my scapulary and my Jesus; then I'll have many things that belonged to you... but you! O my God! my God!"

Mariquita rushed away into the woods and disappeared from sight. Her sister and I went looking for her, and, after one troublesome hour, we found her at the foot of a banana tree that she was hugging convulsively.

—"Thank you," she said when she saw on my face the pain that I could not contain. "Thank you, since you love me, don't you. I wanted to die, but I'll live now, go."

—“Do you wish to come with us?”

—“Go, someone will talk to me about you, when you’ll be far away.”

—“Who is that, Mariquita?”

—“He or she, you know very well who.”

I reported on board, where, the windlass was already turning. I waved with my hand, with my eyes and with my heart my good Chamorro girl whose silhouette disappeared through the foliage. However, a few moments after my arrival on board, the wind changed, and unless another quirk in the weather happened, we would have to sail only the next day, at sunrise.

—“Oh, so much the better,” I shouted. “I’ll see her one more time.”

Chapter 16 on the Mariana Islands.

Guham.—Mariquita (cont'd).—Angela and Domingo.

I disembarked at about six o'clock, and, in my deep regret to have to leave such a true, if candid, love, I begged Lamarche, my friend and Lieutenant on board the corvette, to have my belongings put on shore should they sail before my return on account of a favorable wind. In affairs of the heart, it is not my personal heart, it is not my personal heartbreak that worry me, it is for my other self that I grieve so keenly.

The sun was getting to be low on the horizon, and I flattered myself that, in hastening my step, I would get to Agaña before midnight. In order to shorten the distance, I decided to leave the beaten and curvy road that followed the shoreline, and I cut across the woods. Here, there is nothing to fear, no wild gang of savages either to prey on the traveller. Only a few buffaloes come down from the mountain and flee at the sight of man. Some wild deer are awakened by the noise and leap into the thickets where they find safe refuge. The air is calm, the foliage is calm, and there is something solemn about being alone in these huge primeval forests, where one can leisurely dream about independence and freedom.

In my excursion on account of love, one thing happened to me and that is what happens to anyone who thinks that a straight line is the shortest way between two points. I got lost, and I realized it when it was impossible to go back. What to do? to go right on even if I never find my way again. On the one hand, I figured that the corvette was about to weigh anchor; on the other hand, I was secretly happy inside at unexpected joy that I was sure to bring to Mariquita, the poor child who was weeping for me, not knowing why or how she would hold me always near her. Alas! as in all the struggles with the heart, reason does not always win.

Meanwhile night-time was approaching quickly. I had already crossed the rocky bottom of a dry stream, that I supposed joined with the sea at Tupungan. I used this as a clue and redoubled my efforts. Everywhere a flat ground, fragrant, covered with a green lawn. Everywhere also some giant trees, coconut trees, palmettos, pandanus trees with their immodest shoots, breadfruit trees, so beautiful, so impressing, so useful, and I forgot about the corvette and almost Europe too in my admiration of the moment. A second stream, that I had noticed near Asan, again oriented me, and soon I was able to make out in the shadows the first houses of Agaña.

Poor Mariquita! I thought while hastening my quick step, tomorrow you will suffer another painful separation, but once more I will hear your sweet words, once more I will wipe away your tears!

When at her door, at the foot of the little ladder, I stopped to listen with the heart. I thought I was hearing a sigh and then a sob. I went in... Everything was calm and filled with sleep. It was as if passion had never been there, and Mariquita was sleeping even more soundly than her sister.

I was dead tired, but at that moment I almost went back; however, spite and sorrow were stronger. I sat down softly upon a stool, mute witness to so many secrets, and I waited for dawn, after having taken from my neck a charming kerchief and placed it

almost upon the head of the forgetful young girl. At dawn, Mariquita awoke, opened her eyes and saw my present:

—“Dios! Dios!” she shouted. “Arago is dead. An angel has brought me this kerchief that I had not dared to ask for.”

She got up, saw me and cried out:

—“You’re no longer leaving, isn’t it?”

—“Yes, I am, but I wanted to see you once more. I go more calmly now, because I saw you were sleeping; sorrow does not sleep much.”

—“No, but it kills me.”

—“You will die after I leave?”

—“Yes.”

Well, Mariquita did not die. One of my friends, Mr. Bérard, in his last voyage¹ saw the young Chamorro girl and also gave her some rosaries, scapularies, kerchiefs and necklaces.

Guaham is nevertheless 10,000 leagues from my country!

You have just read about the young and beautiful and pure-blooded Chamorro girl, pristine character, untouched by any Spanish trait, save this dreadful superstition that had been imparted to her from birth and with which her tastes, customs and her care-free life were imbued. I have nevertheless not told you everything, because there are some personal secrets that the pen cannot reveal; my self-respect would suffer as a result.

[The story of Domingo Valdez]

In contrast, here is a story about a wild passion, a life apart. Here is an iron soul, unmoved by any obstacle, not refusing crime to attain his goal.

Mariquita’s house was next door to that of Domingo. Domingo Valdez was a Spaniard from Manila; he had come to the Marianas in order to escape capital punishment for certain stupid acts which the law of the land had to deal with. Condemned in absentia, he had long lived in the high mountains near Manila in order to avoid the galleys. Finally, tired of this errant life, he came down to the plain one day, made his way bravely through the town, pushed as far as the port, seized a bark anchored in the bay, threw in some provisions, took to the high seas and trusted his fate to the winds and the seas. The winds and the seas were good to him because in a short time he made the Sandwich Islands, where his arrival much surprised the natives of Hawaii, to whom he narrated a pitiful story about himself in order to awaken their interest. There again, he was made welcome, and feasted. He was given a hut, mats, a taro patch (*tacca pinnatifida*), and Domingo lived thus for two years in Karakakoa, happy and esteemed by the wild natives of that archipelago.

1 Ed. note: Mr. Bérard, who was also with the Freycinet Expedition of 1819, later returned to Guam with the Duperré Expedition, five years later.

All of this is within the realms of human concern; let us not be surprised. But what to do in the Sandwich Islands, unless one be elected king? and how to become king in a land where the great Kamehameha had established his power? The scoundrel from Manila, forced to live as an honest man, became tired of this useless and monotonous existence. He took advantage of the departure of an American vessel for the Marianas, upon which he was given free passage. He arrived in Guham as an independent traveller, settled there under his true name, without the least bit of worry about the probable consequences of his foolishness or rather his recklessness.

If you come into this country with impertinence and daring, stand up proudly in the presence of your lawful chiefs, prove that you have some knowledge of civilized customs, call those beings around you savages, show that you know how to read and write; you do not need any more to become an honorable gentleman. Nothing sometimes resembles more greatness than baseness, more a man of genius than an ignorant man.

Mr. José de Medinilla was first taken in as much as his officers. He granted a good piece of land, free, to the newcomer who promised to regenerate the island, invited him to his table, to his councils and Domingo almost crushed the powerful Eustaquio, the Governor's valet, who did not let anyone dethrone him so easily.

Our brave reformer needed a companion. Life is so hard for anyone who spends his time meditating, specially when one's memories have nothing much honorable and comforting! Not one of these young girls passing in front of him dared hope such a high honor from Don Domingo. Nevertheless, precisely the one upon whom fell his choice flatly refused the proposal from the Philippine runaway. His pride was thus cruelly hurt. He could not believe the oddness of what he called an injury, and he decided to try again. Hurt pride does not let itself be beaten so easily; he was dealing with a young Spanish woman, deeply passionate, understanding love as well as Mariquita but with its tempests, even though her heart had remained until then unmoved by any seduction. Angela was cut to fit Domingo; these two natures, so hot, out of the ordinary, could not meet without understanding each other.

Angela was but 14 years old; however, in Europe, she would have passed for 20, so much so that her features, squarely drawn, had a male vigor about them, and her supple limbs had so much strength. She went hunting every day, went also to church with a sort of independence that her friends did not approve of, and, when earthquakes rocked the houses, she alone on the island did not make the sign of the cross nor knelt down to implore divine clemency. The people of Guham called her **Demonia** (devil woman), but everybody loved her because until now no-one could blame her for any feminine wickedness, such as is found among women in all parts of the world.

Angela had lost her father, her mother and a brother almost all at once; her sorrow had been deep because for certain souls there are no lukewarm emotions. The young woman was thinking about killing herself to follow her family into the grave, when she found herself face to face with Domingo for the first time. Both of them looked at each other at the same time like two beings who had seen each other before. They said noth-



Angela
Femme de l'île de Guham

Angela, a woman of Guham

ing but understood each other. You know, there exist some peculiar people you meet by chance along the way, that seem to be known to you or have always lived near you.

The day after their meeting, Domingo waited for Angela at the church door, and told her as she came out pensively:

—“Young woman, do you want to be my wife?”

—“No!”

—“Why not?”

—“Because I do not love you.”

—“I will wait.”

Eight days later, after a sermon by Fray Ciriaco, Angela was coming out of church when Domingo came up to her again:

—“Girl, do you want to marry me?”

—“No.”

—“Why not?”

—“Because I do not love you.”

—“Do you love another?”

—“No.”

—“I will wait.”

Angela had a very handsome boy as a next-door neighbor. He was dashing, passionate, had a pretty house, a charming garden and fifty coconut trees in a delightful valley in the interior of the island. That very night of the second meeting between Angela and Domingo, the strong Spaniard appeared at the house of the boy, carrying a corpse on his shoulders.

—“Here,” he said to the amazed family. “It is this poor clumsy man that has just fallen from a coconut tree, and that my cares have been unable to revive.

Sinister rumors accused Domingo of a crime, but nobody dared say so loudly, so well did he dominate the entire population.

Angela accompanied to the grave the mutilated remains of her neighbor whom everyone knew had asked her hand in marriage; however, her eyes remained dry, and after the funeral service, at which Domingo had also been present, the features of the latter became as if full of regrets and sorrow that he looked like a criminal pursued by remorse.

One whole month went by and the terror had left all the souls little by little. Angela was sitting, facing a turbulent sea, under the magnificent curtain of coconut trees that line the shore north of Agaña, when Domingo, standing behind her, pronounced in a harsh and solemn voice the words that he had twice used:

—“Will you marry me, Angela?”

—“No.”

—“Why not?”

—“Because I do not love you.”

—“I need another reason today.”

—“Very well, because you do not love me.”

—“I do love you.”

—“Give me a proof.”

—“What kind of proof?”

—“Find out for yourself.”

—“I will find.”

—“Good for you!”

—“And then?”

—“Then I’ll see.”

—“No, then everything will be set: you will marry me or you will marry no-one... Understand? Goodbye, Angela, see you tomorrow.”

—“Sure enough, the next evening, Angela had just finished praying upon the barren hill where Sanvitores had perished under the blows of Matapang (a very sad and very pious story about which I will tell you soon), when Domingo, waiting at the edge of the wood that borders the road, sounded off and pressed Angela with his questions:

—“Well, the hour has come, young girl. Any delay is impossible from now on, any indecision would be useless now. Do you want to marry me?” said he, while cocking the long rifle that he held in his strong hands.

—“No.”

—“Why not?”

—“Because you do not love me.”

—“I love you, Angela.”

—“I told you that I do not believe you, that I needed some proof.”

—“I will give you one if you ask me again.” He aimed at the young girl.

—“I am waiting for it.”

—“Here it is then.”

The shot sounds, a bullet flies, and the ear and part of the temple of the young girl are gone. Angela puts up her hand, that becomes flooded with blood.

—“Here, Domingo,” said she without emotion. “Take this hand, that I had refused to you. Now I am yours, because I see that you love me.”

When we arrived at Agaña, Angela had been Domingo’s wife for six months. They lived happily and nothing seemed to indicate that this happiness could not last.

The good and sweet Mariquita and the proud and wild Angela were about the same age, they had known the same events and the same pleasures, had breathed the same fragrant air. However, what contrasts between them!

That such differences be noticed at home, in old Europe, where everything is dictated by fancy, by fashion, by the times and institutions, that is perfectly understandable, but in a country only troubled by earth tremors, under a big sun hardly ever covered, in the midst of a fragrant and lush vegetation, for the blood to flow so differently, that is what the science of physiology could hardly explain.

[A distorted story about Sanvitores and Matapang]

Have I told you that this archipelago is forever under the yoke of superstition, older sister to fear and ignorance? Yes. Now, here is a tale of wonder, but a wonder that just one look can reveal, that just one minute of study and reflection can subdue and destroy.

Besides, I promised you an edifying tale. Here it is, taken from the pious archives of the island, devotedly kept within a blessed casket.

Guham was not yet subdued; the greater part of the inhabitants, scared by the ravages of the gun, lived in the interior of the island and escaped a general destruction by retreating ever farther. However, it is not only upon rich or poor land that conquerors wish to reign. Whoever wishes to subdue and regenerate it will need some slaves; so, the victorious Spaniards tried a few sorties into the interior of the island. The cross became comrade-in-arms to the sword, and the priest became a soldier. Sanvitores, a pious missionary from Seville [sic], had rushed in to spread the benefits of a religion of peace, and took a chance in trodding alone the cheerful countryside surrounding Guham, and, surprised as they were by such daring, the Chamorros refused at first to take revenge upon him. Sanvitores therefore lived among them, trying to penetrate the secrets of a religion he wished to destroy by initiating them little by little to the mysteries of a creed that he was trying to establish. Sanvitores was sweet, patient, charitable. He was preaching peace even when the Spaniards wanted war. He was reassuring, not trying to frighten, and asking pardon from his new disciples for the severity of his brothers that he promised he would appease. One day though, upon a hillock overlooking the sea, like St. John near the Jordan River, he was finishing his evening prayer when a furious Chamorro, named Matapang, made his way through the crowd, rushed upon the saintly apostle, grabbed him by the throat and crushed his skull with a knotted stick. This horrible act of vengeance over with, Matapang addressed his people, talked about the cruelty of the Spaniards, aroused their faded energy, and dragged Sanvitores' body into the sea that swallowed it forever.

Such is the true [sic] story, in the main and in detail. The victorious Spaniards have later added some fanatical tales, and here is what is said in the sacramental book of the colony:

“The spot where the body of Sanvitores fell after this sacrilegious murder remains dry and bare; grass cannot grow there, and the water of the bay where the body of the holy martyr was thrown becomes red like blood at certain times of the day.”

—“As for this double miracle,” the Governor told me one day, “it would be absurd to put it into doubt.”

—“Have you yourself witnessed them? Have you verified the fact?”

—“More than twenty times, Sir, and it is up to you to find out the truth of what I say.”

—“But if I get there with skepticism?”

—“Your skepticism will yield to the evidence.”

—“Well then, I'll go. Is Sanvitores' bay far?”

—“You’ll be there in two hours. Do you want a horse?”

—“No, no. Pilgrims travel on foot. God is not favorable to religious caravans.”

—“Go, go, Sir. I’ll be waiting for you when you return.”

—“I will not go alone to the holy ground, I do not trust my lack of piety.”

—“So much the better. The more numerous the witnesses, the more converts there will be.”

—“See you tomorrow then.”

I had related this odd conversation to some of my friends, and they at once decided to accompany me to Tiboun [sic].¹ I have not yet forgotten that Mariquita wanted to come along in order to direct, she said, her pleas to the protector of the colony to obtain **in my favor** a long and dangerous sickness. As you can see, I was threatened from all sides.

The road leading to the place of the miracles is enchanting. The ground is everywhere firm. Everywhere can be seen magnificent rows of pandanus trees under which one can walk as under big and wonderful sunshades blooming under the sun. Birds shriek in the foliage, a refreshing breeze brings you sweet smelling emanations, and the imposing calmness of these solitary places affects your soul and predisposes you wonderfully to faith. Nothing is missing in the trap, and specially I, more than my uncaring companions, had by my side the devout Chamorro who so strongly believed that divine power existed. So, as soon as she showed me Tumon Bay from afar, I could not prevent myself from feeling one of these high emotions that always accompany man as soon as his reason struggles with the marvelous. Besides, I was born in a country where miracles of all kinds are popular. I would mention at least a thousand, one more certain and more proven than the next. All of them have edified my little village of Estagel, lost in the Pyrenees, and, I assure you, I will keep from putting them into doubt in front of my excellent old mother, devout towards all the saints almost as much as towards God Himself and who, in her angelic soul possesses such a pious faith that she believes even more what she has not seen than what she sees every day. Let us be pure from prejudice when we have been sweetly rocked with the hymns of a hundred blessed men from Roussillon who are unknown to the historians!²

Back to our story. Here is the hillock, topped with a short and even lawn, here is the place where Sanvitores fell; it is dry and bare, and this bareness follows reasonably well the contours of the human body.

—“Well,” said Mariquita suddenly happy, “is it true?”

—“What?”

—“Isn’t the ground cursed?”

—“It is bare, that’s all.”

—“Why should it be when all around it is green?”

1 Ed. note: Misprint for Tumon, or Tumhoun.

2 Ed. note: This ancient province of France on the frontier region with Spain on the side of the Mediterranean, was once part of Spain. This explains why Arago could speak Spanish.

—“I still do not know; I’m going to look closely and I would like nothing better than to decide in your favor.”

—“It would be to decide in favor of Heaven.”

Near there was a small hut, built upon piles like the houses of Agaña, towards which I went for more information. A poor man of about 50 lived there; he got up when he saw me and devoutly made the sign of the cross.

—“Is this your house?”

—“Yes, Sir!”

—“Do you live here alone?”

—“All alone.”

—“Is it by devotion?”

—“It is by order of the Governor, who sends me food every day.”

—“What do you do all day?”

—“I cannot tell you.”

—“But the Governor told me.”

—“He can but I cannot.”

—“Have you done your duty this morning?”

—“I never fail to do it.”

—“Nevertheless, I noticed at about the head that you have forgotten a small tuft of grass.”

—“O! that’s impossible.”

—“Your eyesight is weakening, my good man, you will have to be given an assistant or be replaced.”

—“Please, don’t tell His Lordship the Governor.”

—“I promise.”

Mariquita came to meet me, while the others were eating a good lunch on the grass.

—“Are you well convinced?” I asked them when I rejoined them. “Could you now certify the miracle?”

—“It is impossible not to believe.”

—“I share your opinion but the water, did you see it red?”

—“Not yet.”

—“This may happen yet; that miracle is not as permanent as that of the lawn.”

—“Well, let us wait a while longer. We may be completely enlightened.”

The tide was starting to go down, we dozed off in the middle of our conversations, and upon waking we looked avidly at the bay. At the indicated place the water was red, visibly red, red like blood, but of a faded red.

—“How the devil!...” We all shouted almost at once. “The hermit is nevertheless powerless here. Let us study the phenomenon.”

We pushed a small canoe that the old man used for fishing into the water and we went over the very spot where the water was reflecting such an extraordinary color. We gauged the depth with the eye. There was then no more than five feet of water; the oar

digs in and takes up a little sand to the surface; it is red, very red, and the water coloration is thus explained without the help of a miracle.

—“Well then, my friends, what are we going to tell Mr. Medinilla?”

—“The truth.”

—“What truth?”

—“That you have seen the double miracle that he wanted us to see.”

—“Will you show him this red sand?”

—“It is the blood of Father Sanvitores that has made it red.”

—“But the miracle should float on the water.”

—“Isn't it so already?”

—“Look, there is the tide coming up, the color becomes faint and the phenomenon disappears.”

—“Never mind. Tomorrow at low tide the miracle will begin anew in the inlet, that of the hillock will go on thanks to the daily inspection by the old man of the hut, and Governor Medinilla will triumph over scepticism.”

The naïve Mariquita, a little ashamed of our research and its consequences, took my arm and accompanied me silently back to Agaña where we all arrived in time for the evening snack at the government palace.

—“Are you convinced, Mr. Arago?” asked Mr. Medinilla with a triumphant look about him.

—“Yes, Sir. Father Sanvitores was a holy apostle whom Heaven has rescued, and Matapang was a scoundrel who will forever burn in Satan's cauldron.”

—“I was always sure about your conversion. Let us sit down to eat.”

Chapter 17 on the Marianas.

Trip to Tinian.—The Carolinians.—A *tamon* saves my life.

Here is one of these thrilling excursions, amusing and instructive at the same time, that the years will not erase. Perhaps never has a traveller made such an odd and episodic excursion. If my heart pounded with fear at the time of departure, it beat more violently, I tell you, during the trip at the thought that this beautiful and rare event could fail me altogether.

Tinian is overthere, north of Guham. They say that giant ruins are to be seen on its deserted beaches. Let us go and study the Tinian ruins.

Bérard and Gaudichaud are making the trip with me; so much the better, as they are strong of heart, one a botanist, the other a skilled officer. I could not have chosen any better. The crossing is short but not without imminent dangers when made in canoes so fragile; again, so much the better, as merit consists in conquering hardship. My heart itself has become impatient.

The Governor, the Commander, the Agaña authorities and some friends escort us to the shore where they lovingly shake our hand and say: "God help you!" Then I take one last and difficult look at a praying young girl, and I climb aboard the flying proa reserved for me and Bérard. Gaudichaud jumps upon a still smaller craft. Everyone of us sits down, in expectation of the marvels that we have been promised.

I will tell you later how these peculiar canoes are constructed, and I will then introduce to you in their most intimate life the courageous pilots to whom we trust our destiny today.

Here they come, happy, hopping. They come and throw themselves into the water. Do they swim? No, they have just escaped from an element that tires them to an element that makes them happy and that better suits their nature. They are at home in the water. These organisms are amphibious, and the first cry that is provoked upon seeing these extraordinary creatures is a cry of admiration and respect. The proas are anchored offshore in 10 to 12 fathoms.

—"Must we leave now?"

—"Yes, let's get going."

There is no windlass to turn here, no common efforts nor chants among the crew; a man dives, rolls under the waves, follows around coral rocks the hundred or so meanders of the line that holds the proa captive, unties it with the same skill that was necessary when mooring, and comes back up as if there was nothing that you or I could not have done as well. O! do not think this unique; we have not yet sailed, and this is but a first look at these extraordinary men.

Our little fleet consisted of eight proas, the most elegant ones being piloted by Carolinian *tamons* who had arrived a few days before at Agaña. That was one of the most daring voyages to attempt upon the ocean. What pilots! What courage! What brains!

They leave the Carolines in their frail craft, without compass, without any guide but the stars whose positions they have studied, but that often refuse any help. They quietly bid goodbye to their friends and they respond with the same calmness. They are being

asked then the precise time of their return. They push off and there they are between ocean and sky, travelling over six or seven hundred leagues, studying the directions of the currents that a long experience has taught them to recognize, and pointing at a small faraway island where they arrive as surely as the most skillful captains in our royal navy.

The breeze blew strongly enough, and we sailed close to the wind; we split the winds and the proa's jolts were tiring me, the more so because I was not in the craft itself. On the sides are tightly moored, on one side, a float about which I will tell you more later; on the other side, a sort of wicker basket some five or six feet off the body of the proa and tied to a solid lattice. I cannot help but compare them to these baskets in which our merchants keep chickens, so that it would be correct to say that, with Carolinians, one travels as in a balloon.

I was in there, suffering from horrible cramps, without a friendly voice to give me strength, without my good Petit to force me to smile. However, from time to time, I would peek out and draw, in the middle of my anguish, the finely-wooded shoreline where could be seen some poor huts at the bottom of silent inlets that carve the land.

The mat sail was always full, the yard line in the hands of the first pilot while one of his comrades, on the poop, helped to maneuver by means of a small rudder that he moved with the foot under the waves from time to time. My ache was abated in my admiration in the presence of so much skill.

The sea was billowing high. I did not understand my travelling companions' mirth when the proas were in a manner of speaking at the mercy of the waves, and I ventured to ask them, between two long sighs, whether we were in any danger.

—"Have no fear," said the *tamon* softly in bad Spanish. "Have no fear, our canoes never capsize."

I was hardly re-assured when, upon looking back curiously behind me, because we were in the lead, I saw a proa capsize, keel in the air, under a fast squall. I motioned to the pilot and pointed out to him the submerged canoe, but, instead of feeling sorry for the event, he smiled out of pity with his uncaring comrades, and made me understand that the men knew how to swim and that none would be drowned. He added also that the proa would be right side up soon without any outside help. This indeed happened, but after a one-hour wait.

I have told you that on each side of the craft, a few feet away, was a float used to maintain equilibrium, counterpoised by the beams holding up the cage on the opposite side. Well, when the craft capsizes, the crew head for the float, push down upon it with their full weight, and the proa turns, leaps and uprights itself. What can I tell you! one must believe such proofs of skill, in spite of reason, because it is true, because it happens every day in these wonderful navigations, because the fact is certified by the tale of a hundred travellers, because I was witness to it, because I swear to you that ...

Why don't you throw away the mathematical truth that two and two are four. After that, never mind if you do not believe.

Nevertheless, the breeze becoming too violent, we headed for the land and a charming cove. The others followed. Some, afraid, threw themselves voluntarily upon the

beach; others moored in five or six fathoms, by means of a line that one of the pilots went down to tie to one of the coral heads, and we reached, on the fringe of the wood, two small huts where we were hospitably received.

—“Sailing is a little rough,” said Bérard to us in a happy tone of voice that never left him, arn’t your bones all broken?”

—“Yes, broken, pounded,” answered Gaudichaud in a suffering voice.

—“And you, Arago. What do you say? Don’t you agree with us?”

I did not agree with anybody. I was lying upon the grass, rolling, twisting myself in a pitiful manner, but who would pity someone who is seasick? I would have been dragged into the water and I would, I believe, have found enough strength to say: “Thank you. May God do the same for you next time.”

In our first day of sailing, we rounded many picturesque capes that I had shakily sketched and that all bore names of holy persons and beatified virgins. The Spanish, it is known, baptize their conquests as they do their children in their cities. However, the northernmost [sic] cape was called “Two Lovers’ Point.” and I had been told about it a not-too-edifying story that presents a sharp contrast with the pious local color that prevails in the surrounding countryside.

The little village where we stopped was called Rotiñan [rather Ritidian]. I was dragged there with difficulty, laid on a mat, and numbness more than drowsiness soon took hold of me. When I awoke, I found myself lying next to a Carolinian *tamon*, the chief of my proa, and who, with much ado about nothing, simply had used the corner of the mat that I had left unoccupied.

The sun was rising glorious. The tops of the breadfruit trees were made golden by it. The pilot shouted, and everyone was up in a jiffy. It does not take long for our companions to look after themselves as they are absolutely naked.

However, it was necessary to think about the crossing, about the hardships that could occur and the necessity that we had to spend a few days at sea. Therefore, our people, as agile as wildcats, scaled the high coconuts and made a prodigious quantity of fruits fall down.

O! it was for me another bout of admiration bordering on ecstasy, because I had never dreamed that man could have so much skill and agility, so much grace and strength. Listen!

The coconuts, in bunches of eight or ten, were on the beach. Each pilot, in charge of one of these bunches, was pushing it along and thus arrived at the proas, but one bunch, thrown by the main *tamon*, got untied and there were the fruits caught and spread out by the capricious waves. The swimming pilot stopped, appeared to think for a moment, scanned the dispersed fruits with a disturbed and irritated look, saw me standing on the shore, ready to make fun of him for his useless efforts, and appeared to accept the challenge that I was offering to him. I showed him a handkerchief and I got him to understand that it was his, if he succeeded in bringing to the proa all the floating coconuts. The proposal was taken seriously and there goes my fast dolphin, now stretched out, now curved upon himself, going left, then right, forward, backward, corralling the fugi-

tives as a shepherd with erring goats, pushing this one with his head, that one with his chest, coming back for a third that he clamps between his knees, grabs them all in a group, fights them all when they bounce off and spread out anew, going up and down with the waves, gaining ground steadily and arriving at least on board after a struggle of at least half an hour, more excited by my doubt and astonishment than proud of his triumph.

What men they are!

However, we got back to the proa where I willingly paid for my lost bet. The breeze was so violent that five of the proas escorting us and that belonged to some inhabitants of Rota refused to sail with us. Some of our brave pilots pulled off, after a short prayer that they pronounced softly. Bérard went to leep, and I began to suffer again.

Soon my friend, awakened with a start by a violent jerk, got up and asked me to come. I came out of my cage, and, ready to face seasickness, sat down next to the main *tamon*, whose piercing eyes were questioning the dark horizon but whose calm and smooth forehead re-assured me completely.

Many birds came to glide over our heads. Bérard shot them down and, in spite of the high waves and the presence of two escorting sharks, one of the Carolinians threw himself overboard, grabbed them and brought them on board.

They were gannets. Among them there was a raven that our good but superstitious argonauts threw away making us understand that they had nothing but disgust for it, given that it eats human flesh.

I tell you again that the smallest things that these men do show the goodness of their nature.

Now Guham was getting low on the horizon, and in the north, Rota was rising prettier and yet more adorned than her proud neighbor. The breeze was stiff and gusty. The clouds passed over our heads with great speed. The proas danced roughly shaken by the waves, and it was easy to guess by the activity of our pilots that there was danger for us all.

In those difficult moments, what excited our admiration above all was the skill, vigor and daring of the Carolinian tied to the rudder that he guided with his foot. The wave would sometimes break over him, and he would just turn his head. The waves would often cover him entirely, and as soon as they had passed over this man of iron, you would see him slightly shake his head, shoulders wet, and keep his heroic stance against which the fury of the elements came up. Is piety a sign of fear? Is prayer a lack of courage? The conduct of these good Carolinians resolve the question. Here they are, calm, serious, dauntless in the midst of the storm, and yet, when a squall is approaching, you see them squatting on their heels and turning towards the threatening cloud, look up serenely at it, clap one open hand against the other closed, gesture at the malevolent being so that he would not hit them with his anger, and address him with the following prayer volubly repeated:

—“*Lega shedegas, lega shildiligas, shedegas lega, shedegas legas shildi-lega shedegas, lega shedegas mottu. Ogueren kenni shere perepei, ogueren kenni shere perepei.*”¹

To make things worse, during this stormy crossing, never were clouds so stubborn against the fervor of pious requests, because not a squall came over without flooding us with quick showers and noisy gusts of wind.

Steadiness and skill triumphed over the capricious waves. At about eight o'clock we found ourselves abreast of the western point of Rota Island. However, as both winds and currents had turned against us, we arrived at the anchorage only at about 11:30, or midnight.

We threw the line upon a coral bottom at half a league from the land, and, a little recovered from my sufferings, that had been horrible, I breathed with comfort the fragrant breeze from the shore.

The sea had become beautiful, but ahead of us, a little more than a quarter league, it still broke violently upon the high reefs that formed the bar across the port and offered but a narrow pass to small boats. The moon was full and shone weakly upon us and, either to signal to us or on account of the cool night, bright fires were burning upon the neighboring hills that overlook the town, walled in partly by a huge curtain of coconut trees whose waving heads could be seen dark and elegant against the background of a blue sky.

Gaudichaud's proa did not take long to arrive at the anchorage. He anchored near us, and our comrade shouted in order to get news from us. I asked him to load his two-barrelled shotgun as well as his pistols, so that by a general fire from our arms, we could warn the local authorities that there were other persons besides Carolinians and Chamorros in the flying proas. At a preset signal, we fired, and our twelve shots, repeated by echoes, must have frightened the inhabitants of this part of the island.

I almost forgot to mention again that the good Carolinians, after our arrival, had again squatted in a circle, and by a fervent prayer they had thanked Heaven for our happy crossing. Among them, gratitude is a sacramental part of their religion of love.

What I had predicted took place. The mayor of the place, surprised at the noise that had awakened him in the middle of some fantastic dream, despatched to us, in a tub as small as a nut-shell, a spokesman who came alongside to ask us who we were and where we came from. I answered pompously that we had been sent by the king of France to discover new lands, that we had letters for the Mayor from the Governor of Guham and all the Marianas, that our pilots did not dare cross the pass before daylight and that we ordered them to send a large boat so that we could land right away.

To my insolent manners, the Chamorro lowered his nasal tone of voice, but not without telling me that they could not send a new boat because not one of the pilots dared expose himself in the middle of the breakers.

1 Ed. note: Transcribed into English sounds, from French. My guess is that this incantation was in ancient Carolinian, much like Latin for us, but some words are recognizable and basically means: “Evil spirit, move off, go away,.. Amen!” (and repeated in another way.)

—“But you have made it!”

—“O! it is my job to drown myself.”

—“Could you take me ashore?”

—“My tub is very small. We two could hardly fit in it.”

—“Come closer.”

—“I am going to obey, but you had better wait.”

—“Come over.”

Bérard tried to convince me to stay aboard the proa and to make me understand the recklessness of my decision, but I went down next to the Chamorro, I squatted, knees together facing the Rotinian. At any rate, I begged my friend to follow me with the eye as much as possible, and I left the proa.

I understood perfectly the danger of my decision, but the memory of my sufferings during the one-day crossing, still unabated, won over my prudence and the wise counsel of a seaman who, better than I, understood all the foolishness of the passage, in the middle of sharp rocks upon which the sea broke with a shattering noise.

We were but a half cable length from the narrow pass when my pilot told me in a trembling voice while he stopped paddling.

—“Do not move.”

—“But I am immobile.”

—“Here is danger.”

—“Great?”

—“Very great, a little movement can capsize us.”

—“Damn! Let’s go back.”

—“Impossible, Sir. We must follow the current that pushes us.”

—“Go ahead then.”

—“Do you know how to swim?”

—“No.”

—“A little at least?”

—“Not at all.”

I hardly had pronounced these last words that the canoe capsized, keel in the air. Goodbye to the world! I thought at first, but the feeling of survival gave me energy, and, I felt an obstacle that I grabbed hard. It was the leg of my roguish pilot.

—“O! I am holding on to you, scoundrel!” said I half swallowing and choking. I am holding on to you, I will not die alone.

I was receiving violent blows, and was clamping unto the sore limb of the Chamorro, and holding on as best I could to the craft that was being pushed forward toward the reef.

Once I was about to give up but quick thinking rekindled my courage almost ready to fail me.

I was thinking about Bérard who, watchful friend, must still have had me in sight.

As soon as the wave had sounded upon the coral rocks against which my limbs were soon to crash, I shouted as loud as I could, hoping to be heard by the good Carolinians.

Bérard was the only one still awake. He guesses rather than sees my distress. He taps the *tamon* on the shoulder, points out the pass and says: "Arago mati (dead)."¹ The generous Carolinian tries to see like an eagle, sees a black dot upon the foamy waters, grabs an oar, splits it into two, leaps, slips into the water, disappears, comes up and bellows out blaring shouts. I was about to perish, my last thought being for my poor old mother. I listen... I hear... I regain some energy, my feverish fingers tighten more strongly on the Chamorro, who keeps the most absolute silence. I look around me. I see a naked body, moving, getting near. I already guess the *tamon's* generosity. It is he, indeed. I hear his re-assuring words. He looks for me, finds me, hands me the piece of oar with his left hand. I hesitate, I tremble, I guess his intent, I surrender to him, I give way to his courage and energy, I grab the piece of wood. The *tamon* goes back the way he has come, cuts the waves, struggles, victorious against the quick current, takes me off the breakers, tows me, and, after unheard of efforts, gets back on board, where I am lifted with difficulty and where I lose consciousness.

I do not know how long I stayed in this painful prostration in which I disgorged the bitter water that tore my insides. However, as soon as I was able to move without convulsions, I looked around with my hand and eyes for the noble *tamon* to whom I owed my life so miraculously. He was kneeling next to me and roaring with laughter, with his comrades and Bérard, at my horrible contorsions. I shook his hand as one does to a brother, seen alive when he was believed dead. I got up, took from my shoulder bag one axe, two razors, one shirt, three handkerchiefs, six knives and one dozen fishhooks. I offered the whole thing to my liberator, begging him not to refuse. But he, trying to give to his figure a serious but afflicted look, asked me if I was offering these riches in exchange for the service just rendered. I told him so; he grabbed my gifts and threw them disdainfully at my feet and turned on his heel. I held him back hurriedly, stroked his shoulders, rubbed my nose against his, made him understand that it was out of friendship more than gratitude that I was offering him so many useful things, and my good pilot then returned my caresses with the joy of a child, accepted my presents, tied them preciously to the top of the wicker cage, looked my way with a friendly smile and fell asleep squatted upon one of the benches of the canoe.

O! tell me now if we are right, in Europe, to call the good natives of the Carolines savages, and if we would find frequently, at home, such a noble refinement, such a disinterested devotion.

Patience! I will not leave my good Carolinians without showing them to you in all their native simplicity, without showing you how to love them. The memory of these good people is, unquestionably, the one I cherish the most.

1 Ed. note: True, *má* refers to death in Carolinian, but Bérard was probably trying to refer to the Spanish verb "matar." Either way, he got his message across.

Chapter 18 on the Mariana Islands.

Rota.—Ruins.—Tinian.—The House of the Ancients.

It appears that the Rotinian rascal who had made me take a dive had soon landed and spread alarm throughout the colony, since we learned, the following morning, that the inhabitants, frightened by our general discharge, had quickly fled into the woods and the mountains of the interior. However, the Mayor, a man of more character than the people he ruled over as an oriental potentate, sent us without delay a larger canoe than the first one, and we were asked if we had orders to give.

—“Yes,” I answered, hardly recovered from my sufferings, “that the joker who cap-sized me be punished.”

—“He will be hanged, along with his whole family.”

—“No, but he should come before me to explain his conduct.”

—“I take upon myself to lead him to you with feet and arms tied.”

—“And now, can you take us ashore?”

—“My canoe is at Your Excellency’s service.”

—“Is there any danger?”

—“No, the tide is high and we will pass easily.”

—“Can one of my friends come along?”

—“Sure.”

—“Come alongside.”

I went down. Bérard, sleeping, refused to accompany me. Gaudichaud, whom I went to get, came over to my side, and we headed for the capital of the island.

The arrival of a few Frenchmen in front of Rota had spread the alarm in the colony, as I had said, and the town became empty when we saluted with our hunting firearms. However, the Mayor, strong-hearted and strong-headed, stood firm in the middle of the storm, and, counting upon an honorable surrender, waited bravely in his thatch palace for the arrival of the relentless conquerors.

Our triumphant entrance was accomplished without musketry, and I assure you that it came close to being ridiculous. Indeed, imagine a Tamerlane, head covered by a large straw hat, dressed as a sailor, with large shoes, armed with a beautiful notebook, a box for paints, a tripod with its umbrella, and still livid from the consequences of a crossing ended by the incident I have just narrated. By my sides stood a small man as pale as I was, wrapped pompously in a Nankin jacket, his back armored by an enormous tin box, used as the coffin for an army of butterflies and insects, holding in his fearless hand a net almost as richly as I was. Great men do not need luxurious clothes to shine and impose themselves, nor rich embroidery; simplicity befits the conqueror.

As soon as the large canoe was pointed out to the Mayor, he put on the only pair of white pants that he possessed and formed a group, little re-assured, with his wife, a young and pretty Chamorro, and a captain by the name of Martinez, exiles here by the Governor for I know not what petty offences.

When we entered the hall, we saw a light spiteful smile appear on the lips of the three local powers, and I was slighted enough to show a grudge by my brief speech:

—“We come to your island,” said I seriously, “for scientific researches. Mr. Medinilla has given us full power and, if he had refused, the cannon of our war corvette would have taken it. We ask you, Sir, before we settle in, whether we are with friends or enemies.”

The Mayor assured us in a humble voice that we had complete freedom of the island, and he invited us to a snack that we accepted willingly.

The following morning, Bérard came off the proas with the papers from the Governor of Guham, and there we were installed as lords of Rota Island, where we were forced to stay two days for repairs to a sail torn during the crossing.

We rose with a vengeance. We had put on our cutest clothes, and the Mayor’s wife was the first to praise our good European look. It can be said in vain, a crowd everywhere needs to see fancy trappings.

After a breakfast of delicious fresh fruits, Gaudichaud and Bérard began their excursions in the countryside, while I went to draw the church, exactly like that of Humata, and then to occupy myself, according to my habit in each port of call, with the study of local customs, better done in cities.

The Rota inhabitants, re-assured by reports arriving to them from all sides, came back in a crowd and liked nothing more than to fraternize with their friendly conquerors.

There are three centuries separating Guham and Rota. Here words such as wisdom, modesty, virtue, morals, are without value. One is born, grows, multiplies himself and dies, that is all. One is neither brother or sister; one is man or woman. All of this is sad-denning, I assure you.

However, look at the strong vegetation upon the land; what fortune could be gathered here? Walk around the countryside; it is entirely infested by an innumerable quantity of large rats, whose voracious appetite cannot begin to threaten the luxury of the vegetation that can resist any catastrophe. You cannot walk two steps without repulsing these rodents, among which it would be very dangerous to fall asleep. If the people of the colony do not think seriously about destroying them, they might some day fall victim to such a horrible plague. After a walk of a few hours, I went to the shore to see again before nightfall my good and faithful Carolinians, who all came to rub their noses against mine and who, one moment later, squatted in a circle to intone their daily hymn to the Supreme Being. It was a calm, soft, sweet chant, with extreme suppleness. The tunes had but three notes. The verses would last a minute or so, and the lull in between about half of that. During the interval, each Carolinian would put his forehead between his hands, appear to ponder, and, having finished their evening prayers, they repeated the one I have already transcribed, that beckoned the clouds to go away.

When they saw me laugh at their credulity, the *tamon* of my canoe asked me if in my country we did not do as much in moments of danger. I answered, No, and the good man appeared surprised and distressed, but, as I hastened to add that I would preach, upon my return among my brothers, this religion made of respect and gratitude whose utility he told me about. My noble pilot shook my hand with such joy that he almost

crushed it with his own. O hospitable people! May it be saved from the corruption of civilization for a long time yet! May you always live in the middle of the vast ocean where Heaven has placed you, forgotten by the fiery and fanatical apostles of a religion that is saintly but that has been stained by so many murders and sacrileges!

There are 92 houses in the town and 450 inhabitants in the whole island, much smaller than Guham. What beautiful settlements could be done on such a rich land, so fragrant, under such a pure and generous sky!

The streets are, in a manner of speaking, paved with crosses, all witnesses to old and new miracles. A small cross for a child just born, a large cross for a teenager returned from Guham, a third for this old man who disappeared, and yet another for a cured sprain, and a more beautiful one for a shared love. There are 20 or 25 wooden crosses in each street, and, as women and men bend the knees in front of this revered symbol of our religion, it would be strictly true to say that the Rota people limp rather than walk.

No people in the world are so stupidly pious as the Rota people; none are so saintly libertine. You will not find here a young girl who will not recite her prayers while she grants you her favors, and not one will grieve you with a refusal if you accompany your request by these very Christian words: For the love of God, please!

Spain has passed through here, but it was a muddy Spain, that Spain that is full of Capuchins and monks, under whose power many cities and provinces of Europe still moan. Moreover, the Rotinians are not at all responsible for the ignorance in which they are being held submerged.

—“For more than 20 years,” Mr. Martinez told me, “not one priest has come to this colony to speak words of reason. For the past 20 years, not one governor has asked Manila for a preacher for the Mariana archipelago, because,” he added bitterly, “if you have seen or heard Fray Ciriaco, you have already understood the influence that the morality of such a person may have.”

—“You have just made a good trip,” the deported captain told me. “You know, I am sure, the worth of the Carolinian people whom, thank Heaven, European explorers have not dared to reduce and corrupt. Well, as soon as their flying proas are pointed out to me in the distance, I shudder to think that they may take from here the disastrous germ of our ridicules, our vices and our degradation.

Prayer and work is the religion of the Carolinians. Let the Europeans have their way and soon you will see what will become of this peaceful and happy archipelago!

The houses of Rota are, like those of Guaham, built upon piles, but they are infinitely much more dilapidated. The men hardly have any clothes to wear, since they put on their short pants only on Sundays.

The women have fewer clothes even than the men, because they only wear a small handkerchief held up by a cord tied around their waist. They are more beautiful, more agile, more passionate than the girls of Guham; their way of walking is more self-assured; their long, wavy, hair is generally more supple and blacker; their feet and their hands are wonderfully delicate.

We have often met, on the mountains and in the woods, a few of these young, unhappy, creatures who, at our approach, would be terrified and take flight, because they looked upon us as superior beings and could not, out of respect or admiration, look at us directly. Poor children of nature! How we took time to re-assure them!

As there is no priest residing locally, these young girls do not get married; the reader can only guess the consequence of such a state of affairs.

There is not one spring, not one stream flowing near the town, so that the inhabitants are forced to drink water from a shallow well that has been dug up at about one hundred feet north of the anchorage. However, to preserve water the Rota people tie at the top of the trunk of the coconut tree one of its leaves in a vertical position, with the ridge at the top. Another leaf is tied to the first in the same manner, a third to the second, and so on, as far down as two or three feet from the ground, all having their leaflets tied to their stem. Rain water flows down this natural channel, as in a drain, and the last leaf has been placed in a jar, to receive the water. These types of apparatus can be seen on almost all coconut trees.

Wild people do not refine anything, but what wonderful instinct of invention God has given them!

[Latte sites]

As Captain Martinez had mentioned some very odd ruins in the interior of the island and that I hardly believed him, I followed the route indicated by him, and, after a tireless walk of more than two hours, under the most beautiful vegetation in the world, I found myself in the presence of a circular colonnade, whose remains, spread here and there, were witnesses to the fury of some volcanic eruption. But which people has so raised above the ground those huge masses, more than 30 [sic] feet high, well cut, regular, without sculpture, without any clue as to the probable era of their mysterious foundation? Whatever happened to their architects? To which god, to which spirit, to whose memory was this temple dedicated? Because it was a temple, this vast monument of more than a thousand steps in circumference. Today, besides these ruins, emerge, humble and unnoticed, shacks without elegance nor solidity, and in faraway times impressive masses would weigh upon the soil and cause us today to bow our head in pious reflection.

Back from this interesting visit, in which my album had grown fatter, and Bérard and Gaudichaud had accompanied me, we headed for a mountain stream shown by the topographical map exhibited upon the walls of the smoke-filled Mayor's palace, and rolling along between two cliffs its sweet and rough water. The plains on either side are full of broken shells, corals, and the vegetation, lush at the base, good upon the sides, loses its strength and splendor with altitude. How long ago was the sea covering these forgotten and quiet mountains?

The day was progressing, becoming burning hot as it grew, although a sea breeze came to cool it sometimes, but we still had the time, before nightfall, to visit the town, where odd details might have escaped our attention. We went to the church. In a cha-



Restes de Colonnes antiques.

Ancient columns in ruin.

pel dedicated to the Virgin five candles burn constantly and are watched over by a woman, replaced by another, as a sentinel who takes over from another. If one of them let the fire go out, she is severely punished and she is banned from the town for three months. This practice was put into effect when a terrible earthquake threatened to engulf Rota but did not disturb the church. The Mayor's wife, whose lack of knowledge is forgotten when one watches her talk, told us that during the terrible earthquake that is still being talked about in dread, a young girl whose virtue put to shame her companions gathered them all in a public place. She reproached them energetically about their vices, forbid them to embark for Guham where they hoped to find refuge against the heavenly ire, and imposed upon them as sole penance the use of the holy fire. This cult has not yet waned. Besides the image of the Virgin, the true portrait of the young girl appears in a fighting posture, haloed with stars. The fiery apostle receives for herself half the prayers and incense intended for the patron saint of Rota.

The tale of the young Mayor's wife was interrupted by signs of the cross very piously executed every time the name of the Virgin or that of the young girl would leave her lips, but I hasten to add even if I am accused of malicious gossip, that this external religion was for her a matter of custom. Mrs. Rialda Dolores had such a fervent fondness for blessed rosaries and scapularies that no sacrifice would be too great at the cost of even her modesty in order for her to get one of those ornaments that her honest husband loved to see her adorned with.

One must describe the customs as they are observed. Happily for the pious Dolores and for us, hardened sinners, our stock was far from depleted, and our generosity, well known, never failed.

After the church, completely dilapidated, the convent leaning against it was visited by us. We found there, in a vast hall, a mouldy violin, a cracked guitar and the remains of a harp, the favorite instrument of the last priest of the colony. You judge how old they were! The rats forced us out of the building.

Is this all? I do not think so, but it makes one sad to talk about lost wealth, about the wide plains with cotton plants that industry could profit from. Why talk again about the male [sic] beauty and the vigor of the young girls of Rota, to be pitied for their isolation all the more so as a tropical sun and a sea breeze double their vim and vitality. What powerful colonies one could make with the Mariana archipelago!

I must add, to give some contrast, that I found and sketched in a poor hut far from the town a poor man lying on a mat, entirely covered with ulcers, one of which went from the back down to the ground like a huge bag half full of liquid. That was horrible to see. This man's name was Doria. He hardly could move, lived alone from the fruits of a garden near his hut, and was a permanent subject of fright for the whole colony. Misfortune is more contagious than leprosy; everyone keeps away in horror and disgust.

Doria cried out of love and gratitude when I left him. He noticed (and thanked Heaven by glancing up) when I purposely forgot at the foot of his bed two handkerchiefs, one knife and one shirt.

The Carolinians came to get us on the third day of our arrival in Rota, and we went right away to the beach, escorted by Captain Martinez who gave me a request to the Governor that I promised to support, by the Mayor and his wife, cutely adorned with our relics. I will tell you, a departure that is forever is always a tearful one.

The breeze was brisk, but without gusts, so that our brave pilots did not back down in front of the risk of a stormy crossing, again subject to fast currents pushing us westwards. Aguigan [rather Aguijan] passed in front of us, Aguigan, the desert and inhabitable island, with cliffs crowned by greenery, but with waves groaning constantly at its feet.

Aguigan disappeared from sight, and in front of our eyes appeared Tinian, the island of antiquities, made famous by a page from Rousseau and the visit by Anson whose crew, affected by scurvy and dysentery, regained strength and happiness under its shady trees.

At first sight, it appears that every thing has lost its color, every thing does not look the same. I looked for the huge forests of breadfruit and palm trees, so sweet to the eye and to the heart. I saw nothing around me but shrubbery. I wished to walk in eternal and silent forests like those I saw in Timor and Simao, but I walked on half-crumbled debris, complaining under my feet. Everywhere a faltering vegetation, signs of decadence and misery. Tinian is a corpse.

Did Anson and other travellers lie? Well, no, Anson and other travellers told the truth. In my turn, I will surely have my detractors who will have, after me, visited such an interesting and poetic island. I will explain.

There, nearby, is Saipan and Anatahan, sharp cones, turbulent ovens where sulphur burns, where lava and asphalt boil. In one of their frequent bursts of anger, these terrible volcanoes would have shaken the ground, pushed back the ocean waves and cut down this admirable vegetation upon which, for the last few years, grows a new vegetation. Let it grow, and today's picture, in turn, will become traveller's fiction.

How else to explain, other than by one of those earthly commotions, so frequent in this archipelago, the presence in Tinian of pumice and ashes covering the beaches when within the interior of the island there are no traces of an active volcano? Tinian soon will rise again and Admiral Anson will soon be right again.¹

Today the breadfruit trees, attacked at their roots, have lost their splendor. The watermelons, the melons, the yams, so much praised in the past, no longer have the sweet taste of those of Guham and Rota. The coconut trees, lacking sap, wave their withered tops sadly in the air; they appear to moan and wish to die along with nature itself.

Our arrival at the landing caused such a stir and fright in the four or five houses in front of which we landed that we almost did not get anyone to receive us. The Mayor, however, finally decided to come to us while shaking. He asked us the reason for the

1 Ed. note: Arago did not need to read English to know about Anson's visit of 1742. Anson's Voyage had appeared in a French edition.

honor that we bestowed upon his settlement, and when we had enumerated our particulars, the poor man bent over to the ground and begged our forgiveness for having at first taken us for savages or insurgents coming from the capital of the whole archipelago. His three daughters, rather well clothed, came to offer us some fruits, which we accepted in exchange for a few European trifles; from then on, a complete harmony existed between us, until the moment of our departure. Indeed, never had a conquest cost us so little!

We visited the island. It appears to have been the cradle of a large population, since erased from the face of the earth by one of those moral revolutions that can topple empires and destroy generations. Ruins everywhere; at every step, we found the remains of pillars and capitals. Who might have lived in this huge building, now partly effaced by these tall grasses? Who were the men who toppled it? What happened to the vanquished? Whence came the victors? Nothing here can give us a clue to enable us to form a reasonable hypothesis; our eyes alone cannot pierce this mystery.

The ruins that are in the best state of preservation are those located near the anchorage, to the left of the mayor's house. The village consists of this house, and from three to four sheds where the wild pigs that are captured in the woods are kept. The present population of the whole island consists of fifteen individuals, including the Mayor's wife, who is not at all a Venus. Her three daughters are not the three Graces either, and their father is not an Apollo. Nevertheless, this is what, in the Marianas, is called a town, a governor, and a colony.

The above-mentioned ruins form an alley measuring sixty paces. The pillars are square, solid, without grooves, without a socle, 4-1/2 foot thick and 25 [sic] foot high, and surmounted with semi-spheres that rest on their curved bottoms. What is indeed remarkable, is that, in the case of the pillars that have fallen down, due to some earthquake, their semi-spheres have not become detached from them, although they must surely have been separate pieces at first. Four of these pillars were down among the bushes, but sixteen of them remained standing and had not suffered from the passage of time; they appeared to await the next volcanic upheaval, the better to challenge it to a fight.

These ruins have some similarities with certain Aztec ruins that have been recently discovered in America. The people here, and those at Rota, call them the "houses of the ancient."

Near the ruins that I have just described, but nearer the shore, is a rather beautiful well measuring 12 feet in diameter; the water in it is accessible by going down some well-placed masonry steps. This well is also called the "well of the ancient", but I mention it only because of the benefit that some navigators might get from this source of drinking water, though I found it to be slightly brackish.

When the visitor goes inland, everywhere he sees the remains of columns and pillars, their white tops poking through the vast carpet of green plants. Some of these were circular [sic] buildings; overthere are some straight alleys, crossed by other wavy alleys, sometimes very long, but sometimes cut short, according to the caprice of the architect.

The whole thing is but a huge chaos of buildings that time has conquered, a magnificent sight, but, unfortunately, the present chaos does not provide information on the men who inhabited this land. It is as if they had just come out of the ocean yesterday...

Time to go.

Surely the continuous presence of the Mayor's three young daughters, either when we went to dream or study in the woods, or when we were resting in our hammocks, had a certain charm and tickled our pride much, but a life with them in a desert did not suit our adventurous spirit.

...



Reine des Carolines.
(Vue à Tinian.)

Queen from the Carolines (seen at Tinian).

Chapter 19 on the Mariana Islands.

Return to Agaña.—Carolinian navigation.—Feast arranged by the Governor.

We wished our Carolinians would return from Saipan where they had gone to replenish their nearly-exhausted supply of coconuts. My notebooks contained quite a number of quaint sketches. Tinian had taken the place of an enchanted island in my imagination and I searched the horizon looking for Agaña.

The fifteen individuals who live on Tinian are law-breakers exiled there by Mr. Medinilla and their task consists in supplying the capital of the archipelago with a certain quantity of salted meat.

Wild pigs are hunted with lances and rifles; bulls and buffaloes roam the woods and hunting them is very dangerous. However, as an exiled gains his pardon after having sent a certain value to Guham, this kind of hunt after wild beasts occupies the greater part of the day for these fifteen individuals.

One can find among the pebbles on the beach some elliptical, pinkish and polished stone, called "stone of the ancients" which they say was used to arm the slingshots of the elite warriors. With what other people have they ever been at war? Everything is a mystery in the history of these wonderful islands.

Here come the flying proas engaged in the narrow strait, at most one league in width, which separates the two islands. We hastily prepare for our departure, cordially shake the hand of the Mayor and those of his family. We do not forget to include in our affectionate display a Carolinian chief who settled here a few years ago and his beautiful wife who caused Mariquita to become jealous for a while, and rightly so. After having given many saintly images to the island chief, including one of the Virgin rather artistically painted, we took our place inside our wicker basket and, under a whipping rain, sailed toward Guham where we were in a hurry to bring the result of our unusual observations. We arrived tired and bruised after a ten-day absence.

Tinian is no doubt the saddest and most isolated island in the Mariana Islands, but Tinian is a sacred place for study and meditation. Who knows if, by making new explorations in the neighboring islands of Aguigan, Agrihan, Saipan and Anatajan, one might not find the lesson and maybe even the source of the only historical document used by the learned people of this country to explain the rise and fall of the giant ruins of temples, enclosures and palaces.

Here is the oral tradition:

"Tumulu Taga was the paramount chief of this island. He ruled peacefully and no one dared to dispute his authority. Suddenly, one of his relatives named Tjocnanai rose up in revolt and his first act of disobedience was to build a house similar to that of his enemy. Two parties were created and fighting ensued. The rebel's house was destroyed and out of this the fight became general and war began. As a result, the first huge buildings were demolished."

You know of course how the Spanish writers of that period were philosophical in their histories.



Carolinian tamor (seen at Tinian).

Our return to Guham caused some real happiness among all our friends because they had thought us already lost as our absence was not to have lasted more than eight days. However, what affected us most deeply was the lively joy, child-like, that the Carolinians who had just piloted us with so much skill and daring showed towards those who, no so skillful, had stayed in Agaña. This display moved us so much because such frank caresses, such youthful gambols, such deafening shouts could not but come from the heart.

The sound of a cannon, soon followed by a second, then a third one suddenly put a stop to these joyous outbursts. The Carolinians, saddened, stopped as if struck by lightning. Their faces, so frank and so open, took on such a sad expression. The signs and prayers which they had addressed each day to the threatening clouds were now repeated using the word *pac* for the gun that sounded again and again.

I took my *tamor* under the arm and trying to encourage him by looking and smiling at him, I led him almost by force to the public square where the customary salute was taking place. All of his comrades accompanied us, full of suspicion, but they did not take long in gaining confidence in view of our daring and show of affection.

It was the anniversary of Ferdinand VII, king of both Spains. The church bells were announcing this happy anniversary with fanfare. A bugler, a drummer and one beating on a triangle were followed by four soldiers and two officers dressed you know how. They ran through the town and commanded the inhabitants to clear the front of their houses whereas the dazed crowd was passing to and fro in front of the Governor's palace whose balcony had been adorned with the glorious portrait of the powerful protector of this futureless colony, amid some green leaves and stylish coconut branches.

Well, the inhabitants were so serious when they knelt before the portrait of their prince and woe to whomever would not have shown great piety while demonstrating his esteem and worship.

In order to celebrate the anniversary of his august sovereign as best as possible, Don José Medinilla decided to have national and foreign dances in the evening. You have no doubt guessed who were to be the beneficiaries of this exquisite show. Indeed, we were seated in the places of honor and we were ready to enjoy ourselves. Isn't expectation a joy in itself?

First came the Chamorros who, men and women in a circle, pranced around to a very monstrous and unstylish tune. Then a knight armed with a stick for a lance came into the circle and challenged any potential adversary who did not think that the girl he had chosen as a bride was not the most beautiful on the island to step forward and say so. Nobody dared to say otherwise, and this episode was naturally over for lack of challengers. The young girl who had been chosen by the Chamorro as the object of his generous protection was made very proud by all this.

Next came the Carolinians and happiness came with them. They were like a bunch of school marms after they have committed some practical joke in a boarding school. Their kindness could be seen in the smile upon their lips, in the sparkle of their eyes, so much so that one cannot but mix in with their childish games.



Caroline Islands

Native dance—Caroline Islands.

They are standing around in their places, they knock elbows, then one by one they gently kick their neighbor's leg, then the hip, etc. The right hand is placed upon the shoulder of a neighbor; the left hand is left dangling. Thus begins a subdued song, regular in beat, cut by three quick syllables whose last one is sharp and loud.

Now the heads begin to swing as well as the body. The movements accentuate themselves, the words burst out. The ears, whose lobes are elongated like ribbons, flap from the nape to the cheeks. In rhythm, one runs towards a neighbor, and knocking one knee against his, they turn around, first deliberately slowly, then faster, then extremely fast. Each one places his right foot against the left thigh of the one whom he already holds by the shoulder and this merry-go-round continues accompanied by a rumble so gracious that one would think it came from some small pebbles.

After each dance, after each pause, a Carolinian would fall out, covered with sweat, and would ask us with a timid voice if we were satisfied. When I answered positively, he understood for sure and the kind and happy dancers would laugh and would show to us by their very intelligent gestures: "Just wait and see; you have seen nothing yet."

They were right. But how can I give an idea of the variety, strangeness and extraordinary skill involved in the games we witnessed? How can I interpret them even imperfectly? Let me try.

The Carolinians, sixteen in all, place themselves in two rows facing one another about three feet apart. They no longer laugh, no longer move but appear to think and prepare themselves for a difficult number. They deliberate whether they should begin or not. At last, they decide. Let us follow them.

The first in line and his partner shout "Wah! wah! wah!" followed by three blows with two sticks held high above his head with the same speed that was used when shouting the three syllables. After this, they relax. The second dancer and the one facing him then repeat the same sequence, then the third ones follow, and so on until the last two.

There follows a one-minute rest, during which each Carolinian appears to tell a secret to the ear of his neighbor. All of a sudden the first one in a line and the second in the other shout together three "wah, wah, wah," hit their sticks three times, at the same time as the second in the first line does the same thing with the first of the other in such a way that the four sticks cross one another without touching so as not to break the rhythm.

The rest of the column follow suit and the result is quite a noisy clapping interrupted by the regular "wah, wah, wah" that reminds one of the wonderful Maelzel machine.¹

But this was but a prelude. Now the first in each line attacks the third one with his stick, and as the weapons criss-cross one another, in order to avoid any disorder or lack of rhythm, each actor must bend down, get up, shift his place so as to be in the right spot for this choreographic game, so difficult and so strange to behold. The actors of the first are immediately imitated by the second one, then by the third, until the last one

1 Ed. note: Johann Maelzel [1772-1838] was an Austrian mechanic who perfected the metronome in 1816.

so that all those actions and reactions, those blows struck in methodical rhythm, those “wah, wah, wah” sung on only three notes, that wild gaiety that pervades this dance (they do indeed call this a dance) result in a chaos that seems a perfectly harmonized mess of heads, arms, shoulders all moving under a maze of sticks flying in the air; in other words, it is a wonderful scene that I am ashamed to have described to you in such an imperfect manner.

Those harmless combats, that sweet music, lasted half an hour. The dancers were out of breath but they happily took a rest bathing as they were in our admiration and astonishment.

However, I have not told you yet the strangest part of this friendly family game. Surely, this exceptional people would require their own historian because they stand out from among wild tribes and every civilized nation should draw lessons from them.

Among the dancers there were many kings, and among them the one who had saved me from a certain death at Rota. He occupied the first place in the dance and he deserved it by his suppleness and skill. However, another *tamor*, his equal, rendered lame by a fall from a coconut tree the previous year also wished to take an active part and became angry when he was not allowed to do so. Well, despite his shame, his anger and his princely furor, his subjects came forward as a group to laughingly pull him out of the race whose rhythm he would no doubt have spoiled. This *tamor* was thus forced to let go the opportunity to join in the dance of his subjects, and only a few moments were necessary to make him forget the revolt that had made him give up. Our European kings would not stand for such liberties but the Carolinians live so far from us ...

Before I tell you about the dances of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islanders that were added to the Chamorro and Carolinian dances, here is the story of these unfortunate people who find themselves here servants to all, beaten, pursued everywhere and suffering from deep wounds. Their sad lot did not protect them against the brutalities of Eustaquio, the valet towards whom, may it please God in His clemency, to inflict but a thousandth part of the tortures he has himself inflicted on this earth!

A ship, the **Maria**¹ of Boston, left Atuai, one of the Sandwich Islands, and was pushed by the wind against Agrigan where she was lost. The crew, made up of Americans and Sandwich Islanders, managed to land and, as in such catastrophes rank tends to disappear, the captain's authority was soon ignored and there was a mutiny. The Americans made one boat ready and bravely went to sea. It appears that the sea was not favorable to them because they were never heard from. The sea hides so many secrets!

As for the others, helped by the climate and the fertility of the soil, they lived for some time upon this island that was, however, constantly rocked by volcanic tremors. They might have started there a new colony with the help of some dozen or fifteen women who had followed them all along, but a Spanish brig on the way from Manila

1 Ed. note: This would be the same ship that brought Don Luis de Torres to the Carolines in 1804. See below. However, Arago has confused two stories, and distorted this one.

to Agaña passed close enough to Agrigan to see the poor shipwrecked people. They were taken on board and brought to Guham. Alas! It would have been better for these unfortunate people not to have been found at all.

There they came, because, though they may be unhappy, they must entertain us, they must enjoy themselves as much as we, given that they have been ordered to do so. If they refused, they would be whipped until blood flowed. Thus, they will dance.

The women are not standing but squatting on their heels. It is dancing but one must say that in the Sandwich Islands they dance with the arms, the head and the body only. The legs here are superfluous and one can do without them.

Either facing one another or forming a single line, they look at one another with two piercing eyes, nostrils flaring, lips trembling. A sinister cry escapes from their chest and the fight begins. A pack of hungry dogs would not proceed otherwise if offered a piece of meat. Frightening jumps remind us of human bodies connected to a Volta cell. Chests thrust forward then backward, bodies hit one another on the right then on the left. Hands slap reddened chests. The hair becomes loose and cover the shoulders, the face and the breasts. It is a frenetic furor, a rage pushed to delirium.

No spectator relaxes, none can breathe because he is made to believe that the fight is for real and can only lead to a general massacre. This is what they call a game, a dance, a celebration, entertainment. They are women, girls, mothers even ... Good Carolinians, you were right in having gone away. Such scenes must have broken your heart, and I am sorry I did not myself go away.

During the scenes performed by Sandwich Island men, about the same disorder prevailed, the same ebullience, the same savageness. They howled rather than sang, and beat their respective sides rudely rather than made gestures. When they tapped their feet upon the earth, they did it with a fervor impossible to describe.

The physical characteristics of these individuals were in tune with the feelings they expressed in such horrible dances. Their eyes are wild, piercing and only look sideways. Their eyebrows are thick and overlook their deep eye sockets. Their hair, thick and black, nearly hide the narrow foreheads. The mouths are wide, prominent, the noses flat, the shoulders wide, strong, the hands and feet much too big. Well, all these people, although made for violent passions, are in fact gentle creatures in everyday life; they flock to execute your least desire. Without any complaint, they accept the most tiresome chores, yet they thank you for the slightest tip with which you reward their zeal and devotion.

Theft, however, is one of their vices and no punishment can eradicate it. Whipping, privations, jail, torture, nothing can extirpate this predominant passion from their soul. When a Sandwich Islander does not steal, it is because there is nothing in front of him to tempt his strong desire to possess.

Here is a fact, simple in appearance but one that would seem to prove that with wise gifts it would be possible to change or at least modify the instinctive feelings of these people who have never understood the right of private property.

The governor, willing to oblige as always, had given me a Sandwich Islander as a servant. He was young, agile, and energetic. I had had reason to doubt his honesty. He was the one doing my laundry; I used to count every piece in his presence so that when one handkerchief, tie or something else disappeared, he used to blame one of his friends or his unlucky star. One day, however, I noticed that a beautiful silk scarf had disappeared, I pretended that I was satisfied with his honesty, I thanked him by offering him a similar silk scarf as a reward. Seeing this offer, my thief was stopped in his tracks; he looked at me with a stupid look and hesitated to accept my gift.

—“Well then, Ahoe, you refuse?”

—“No, master.”

—“Does this scarf please you?”

—“Yes, master, much, much too much.”

—“Take it, then.”

Ahoe, then stretched of trembling hand and went out with little steps, almost backwards. That evening, while he was preparing my hammock, he told me:

—“Master, have you counted your clothes well this morning?”

—“Yes.”

—“I think not.”

—“I am sure I did.”

—“Well, I am honest and nothing is missing this time.”

—“Good!”

—“Count them again?”

—“O.K.”

The cheeky actor went down on his knees, quickly exhibited one piece of clothing after another. When he got to the scarf that had been taken in the morning and which his conscience had told him to give back, he then stopped and gleefully mentioned that it was not missing.

In Spartacus, this thief would have been quartered; as for me, I only smiled with pity and I concluded from both our actions that, everywhere and in every country, it is true that generosity is the best policy of attraction.

The women are as tall as the men. Seen from behind at a distance of four paces, they cannot be distinguished from the men. Strong, tireless, they show disdain for house work and easy tasks, but they take pleasure in clearing land, even under the burning rays of the sun.

It is a thing to behold, specially when the sea is high and the surf beating upon the shore; they wait until the surf breaks and they happily dive in only to re-appear farther struggling against a new wave that is unable to conquer them. To prevent a Sandwich woman from bathing at least twice a day, would be equivalent to inflicting such a punishment upon her that she would make any sacrifice to be rid of it.

My purpose in undertaking this long and arduous voyage was indeed to be able to witness and admire such marvels of nature. The Sandwich Island women living in Guham have very shiny white teeth; the men also. However, all have voluntarily pulled

out two of their upper teeth on account of the death of their great king Tamehameha. Also, when they arrived here, the women had their hair very short because the death of their sovereign had caused the loss of their best ornament, but today their hair is again strong and shiny. The young and pretty girls of Timor would envy them.

Their scandalous behavior is such that they are ready to suffer any punishment in order to satisfy it. It is not in Guham to be sure that they will learn the moral principles that make love a religion of the heart more than a religion of the senses.

The Chamorro women are very angry at the Sandwich women. They impose upon them all sorts of hard and humble tasks. Can anyone blame the poor victims for wanting to take revenge by following their natural inclinations?

Soon after these unfortunate people arrived at Guham, a horrible drama frightened all the inhabitants. They still talk about it and point out to visitors with a shaking finger the scoundrel who was at the center of it.

Among the Sandwich Island women shipwrecked at Agrigan and brought to Guham there was a young girl famous for her kind manners, for her charm and beauty. While the governor was absent on a trip around the island, his damn servant, this Eustaquio whom I have already mentioned, took a fancy to this poor slave girl and took her without any of the superior officers in the colony daring to say anything, because the shadow of the master protected his valet.

When he returned, Mr. Medinilla heard about the charming girl, wished to see her and ordered Eustaquio to bring her in. He therefore took his new conquest to the palace where she was given a generous welcome and where she awaited Eustaquio's return because Mr. Medinilla had found a way to send him to Humata to pass on some orders. As it was, the absence lasted far into the night and the beautiful Sandwich girl stayed at the palace. The governor made her a gift of a dress to cover things that should be shielded from indiscreet eyes and bad weather.

The day following the reception that should have flattered the vanity of the slave if she had known what vanity was, Eustaquio took possession of his prey once again and retired to his house, whereupon the candid savage, thinking she would please him, told him everything that had taken place inside the palace. Eustaquio was conceited as well as jealous and wicked, maybe even jealous and in love (even tigers have such feelings). Well, his first thought after hearing such confidences was to grab a machete (knife) and to strike a blow but blood produces stains. The criminal is sometimes prudent and calculating.

The next morning he was seen in front of his door very busy with polishing and greasing a coconut coir rope, knotting it, removing the knots, pulling on it to test its elasticity, then coiling it carefully and taking it along on his daily errands. He was calm, and cool. He smiled while he spoke and walked as any honest man would. He dined very well on leftovers from the princely table, had a wonderful supper, but the next day, he arose and placed himself on his door sill, saying to every passer-by in an easy-going tone of voice: "Do you know what trick my little Sandwich girl has just played on me? While I was asleep, the idiot tied a rope that I did not know was around to a beam in

my apartment and she hanged herself without even saying good-bye, the ungrateful one!"

The governor soon learned about the sad event. He called Father Ciriaco, ordered that a funeral be held, paid for a coffin with his own money, and wished to have her buried in blessed ground, right in front of the Agaña church.

As for his valet Eustaquio, he was sent to Rota from where he was ordered to return after one month to take up his old duties.

The sight of this Eustaquio would irk me. When I could hear the governor address him with kind words, I was thinking that maybe Mr. Medinilla did not know what was being said in low voices about this infamous Spaniard because, I assure you, Mr. Medinilla had a noble character; he was a kind and loyal gentleman in spite of a few weaknesses and some ridiculous traits.

If I have spoken so much today about this demon that Satan had let escape from hell one day, it is because I had this horrible man before me during the dances that the governor had arranged for our benefit on the occasion of the anniversary. I continually heard his loud voice every time he gave orders to render more pleasant the games and ceremonies with which Mr. Medinilla thought he could make us forget Europe.

We will return soon to the Sandwich Islanders; we will have sufficient leisure time to study them at home, and their villages, their huts and surrounded by their families. For now, let us return to the celebrations that are far from over although half the night has been spent already on them. By the way, I had forgotten to tell you that all these pleasures were taking place in the penumbra of a large number of torches that created hundreds of fantastic shadows on every side.

I do not know where Mr. Medinilla acquired the various costumes worn by the actors of the last scenes. Maybe they are truly historical in nature. Maybe some jokers in Manila or Lima had intended to mimic the infantry lieutenant who rules over the Marianas. It is also possible that Mr. Medinilla wished to test our reluctant credulity.

Whatever it was, the actors in these latest games called Montezuma's dances were so funnily dressed, so foolishly decorated with ribbons and feathers that the main actor representing the great Montezuma himself reminded me of his close resemblance to the ridiculous Orosmane of Rio de Janeiro about whom I told you about before. Alas! Absurdity does not belong to only one country.

Whether or not such costumes came from Peru or not, whether they date back to the days of the conquest of that vast empire or they have been made after or elsewhere, the fact remains that they were wonderfully made. Their silk was excellent, the colors well preserved and tasteful enough. The gold fringes around the tunics and coats had been well made of excellent gold by a skilful craftsman.

We were told that such dances took place in Peru and in the eastern provinces of America after every religious ceremony or after a solar eclipse.

Let me describe them. However, let me omit some unimportant acts of this sort of drama which had ten or twenty such acts.

First, there were sixteen dancers placed along two parallel lines at some five or six paces one from the other. They began with a slow and monotonous song, then with increasing gravity they walked or rather slid toward each other while shaking a fan made of various bird feathers in front of their faces with the right hand whereas the left hand shook a coconut shell full of small pebbles. When they merged into a single line, the dancers stopped, sang a few words in a faster pace and, spinning around exchanged places. They were about to repeat the same performance at the accompaniment of a rather pleasant music made by a small flute, a drum and some slats that were hit together when the hero representing Montezuma walked in, passed his huge and beautiful fan, as well as his scepter with gold knob, over the heads of his subjects. Everyone then went his own way to prepare for other games.

The next act was even more curious. Our choreographers, though skilful, would not be able to invent, using rings, half as many figures created by the Mariana dancers who rather out of uncommon modesty, called themselves simple imitators.

The monarch, who was sitting upon a dilapidated armchair by way of a throne, rose again and passed through the middle of the picturesque circle, went back to his seat and thus the protagonists were separated.

The third act was a simulated battle: the warriors were armed from head to foot, a lance in one hand and shield in the other. They attacked one another and the blows would have been very dangerous if they had not been fended skilfully. After a struggle that lasted almost half an hour, either in individual combats or in a general melee, Montezuma shouted with a strong voice, raised his scepter; the warriors released their weapons and embrace one another with love. Such was the morale of the scene.

I almost forgot to tell you that during those very serious and formal games, two small boys dressed in rags and wearing an ugly mask ran around the main actors, jumped a thousand times, gambolled along, and shouted and whistled loudly. They were the clowns within the group. When the dances of Montezuma were over, when every actor had kissed the hand of the monarch who had just re-established peace and harmony among them, we were invited to the most beautiful, the cutest entertainment imaginable. It is called here "the dance of the clothed pole."

It is a smooth mast, some 25-foot high, from the top of which some wide ribbons of many colors hang down and drag upon the ground. The lead dancer starts and runs rapidly, the second follows, then the third and the fourth. The first one changes direction and waves through the others; the fifth and sixth join them now, and all together they wrap the pole with the ribbons that form the most original patterns. It is a sort of kaleidoscope that our theatre in Paris would be wise to show to the public, as well as the Carolinian stick dance which is so lively, so picturesque, and also the ring act of the Montezuma dances, which could only be understood properly by means of diagrams.

Chapter 20 on the Mariana Islands.

A Little Story.—Diseases.—Details.—Customs.

Except for laziness and theft which is its logical consequence, the Mariana people do not have too many faults in their own eyes because licentious living is not a fault for them, given that nobody has told them anything against it. Besides, the very people who should repress and punish this behavior are the first ones to take advantage of it for their own pleasures and immorality. In addition, as the visits by Europeans are extremely rare in this archipelago, the occasions for the girls to sin are therefore not frequent. It is true to say that the Chamorros cannot boast about being very attentive to women.

What the Mariana people like very much on the part of strangers is some good will, some gaiety and cordiality. You may go into a house while saying: "*Ave Maria*," offer your hand to the head of the family, pat the small children on the head, kiss the wife once (but not more than once), kiss the girls many times as well as their female cousins. You may say "tu" (familiar form) with everyone, and you are sure to be treated as a brother, a friend, a conqueror. Do not feel shy.

There lie some biscuits made of *sicas*; take a few. There also is a comfortable hammock; let your tired body lie in it and soon a woman's hand will rock you gently until sleep comes. If you want to spend the evening, smoke the excellent cigar that is offered to you with sincerity, listen to the Latin hymns or more frequently, the monotonous tune of some old love song rendered with a nasal voice but always entertaining because it is so unusual. This done, be ready to reciprocate as follows.

General rule: As soon as you have received a gift, you must respond with a gift of your own if you do not want to be treated as a savage and a lout. In case you don't, you will surely be reminded about your fault in not so subtle terms as I have said by the Chamorros, then some improvised ditty will be sung after you have been begged to pay attention. If you should persist in not following through, you will be told, because you seem to ignore it, that whoever receives from a poor man must give him something in return, that because you are a foreign visitor you must be rich, that since you are rich you must not keep your wealth only for yourself, finally that since you have smoked a cigar, you could simply leave behind a kerchief, given that every girl needs a kerchief on her head to go to church.

This warning I pass on to you, dear reader, specially if my narrative has already given you the idea to travel around the world. In exchange for one biscuit or one coconut, give one kerchief; for one bunch of bananas, one kerchief, and a rosary; for a watermelon, one shirt, that is ten or twenty times the value of their gift: that is the rule. Only the girls offer themselves for **free** and without shame.

The Mariana people do not resemble Europeans at all. Nevertheless, there exists one way to avoid this obligation imposed by all the households in Agaña. I must mention it to you so that you will be warned when you will be on the spot. You may come into a house, be familiar with both father and mother, kiss the girl, talk, narrate, ask the small children to dance, but do not accept anything. Not to accept anything is equivalent to saying that one wished to give nothing; you will be understood and you will part

as friends without any hard feelings on the part of the natives. However, if without waiting for any gift you go ahead and distribute your scapularies, your rings, your images of saints and your kerchiefs, you can be sure that the family will make every effort to prove to you that it is flattered by your generous proceedings. You will become the darling guest in their home, you will belong to the family, become a brother, even more than a brother if you wish.

O Mariquita! I will forever remember your sweet gratitude!

One day a curious event occurred to me, one that seemed to prove that the custom of receiving nothing without giving something in return may have been an important dictate of the ancient Chamorro religion. It appeared quite conclusive to me.

Tired after a long day of hunting, I got back one evening very late at Agaña and I stopped at a rather pretty house where the previous day I had noticed a very young girl of about thirteen or fourteen years of age, cute, lively, alluring with dainty feet and delicate hands, charming looks and above all a liveliness in her eyes that verged on the cheeky.

— “Ave Maria,” I said upon entering.

— “*Gratia plena*,” Sir.

— “All by yourself here?”

— “My father has gone fishing.”

— “May I sit down?”

— “You may lay down in my hammock and I will rock you.”

— “You have such delicate hands; I would not want to tire them.”

— “Would you rather have them uglier and bigger?”

— “No, but I would stay here next to you on this stool. Would you like to talk?”

— “I do not have much to tell you, I do not know anything, although I know that you know Mariquita who lives over there near the palace.”

— “Who told you that?”

— “I know it.”

— “Are you angry?”

— “But why?”

— “She is so pretty!”

— “And so kind!”

— “It is true, everybody likes her here in Agaña.”

— “She is so happy because she has nice kerchiefs, a pretty blouse, some superb skirts and a rosary blessed by Our Holy Father the Pope.”

— “Would you be as happy if you had as much?”

— “Certainly. I have only one skirt and it is getting old, and I have no blouse. My body is naked, not even a blessed rosary to keep it warm at night.”

— “You can acquire all those nice things.”

— “How?”

— “What would you do to get them?”

— “Oh! anything except bad things.”

—“What do you mean by bad things?”

—“Not to take holy water in church, not to say my prayers when I get up or go to bed, and not to love my father and mother.”

—“Is that all?”

—“Yes.”

—“If I asked you for a kiss.”

—“I would give you a hundred.”

—“Little one, I want to give you everything you wish without imposing any condition. See here,” I said while opening my bag, “here are four large kerchiefs that you can join together to make yourself a new skirt. Here is a shirt; you can make a blouse out of it. Also an image of the Virgin of Sorrows, a rosary and a blessed scapulary. I give you all of this with pleasure. Are you happy?”

—“You can see, I am crying out of joy and thankfulness. You stay here to sleep.”

—“Your father could scold you when he returns.”

—“He will only be back tomorrow. You can be sure he will not scold me.”

A few days after this exciting scene for a European, I saw the little Chamorro girl coming toward me at the palace beach. Her eyes were puffed up, her chest heaving; she was bringing back, wrapped in a handkerchief, the objects I had given her.

—“Here, Sir, I am bringing you back your gifts. Take them back. I have nothing to give you in exchange.

—“But, my child, I have been paid too much already by your kiss and the night I spent in your hammock. Keep your trifles. They belong to you. I do not want to take them back.

The next Sunday, the young and beautiful creature was showing herself off in the church and in the streets. Her friends congratulated her. Only Mariquita looked at her with sorrow; the heart may guess so many secrets!

The exchange of gifts in favor of the natives is a general custom affecting all classes of society here. With the exception of the Governor, and Don Luis de Torres, all the Mariana people, including the staff of Mr. Medinilla, showed themselves avid followers of this custom. As you can see, it is like a plague but not one of the worst one in the colony and one which it is possible to avoid.

We have seen no example of smallpox at Agaña, and vaccination there is unknown. Our physicians tried to immunize them against the cruel effects of this terrible disease but their vaccine was too old. However, Mr. Medinilla, who attended the various operations, decided to ask Manila for some vaccines and take advantage of our advice and the sad experience he had acquired in the Philippines. By the way, the sort of hospital where Mr. Quoy and Mr. Gaimard had set up their abode was full of visitors every day. They came not to be treated but to be cured, as if European medicine could accomplish such a task.

We have seen some down-to-earth Chamorros come to our hospital to beg our physicians to replace a missing leg by a new one in flesh and bones. Some begged to be cured of an unhappy love affair. A pregnant woman asked for an effective way to give birth

to a boy rather than a girl, whereas another woman, infertile, asked for a remedy to become fertile. The visits went on all day long without interruption, but most were for absurd requests, ridiculous demands and not a single person suffering from leprosy dared to show himself to gain some hope. In the latter case, misfortune was imbedded in their soul and prevented hope from surfacing.

One morning, a peasant decided to punish his stubborn mule (they are indeed of the same mettle as those of Europe) and he killed the costly animal with repeated blows upon the head with a mallet.

The sorry Chamorro came to beg Mr. Quoy to give him some medicine to cure his poor mount.

—“What’s wrong with it?”

—“I do not know.”

—“How is it suffering?”

—“It is not suffering.”

—“Well, what do you want me to do?”

—“That you cure it; it is dead.”

—“But if it is dead, there is no medicine possible.”

—“Please try.”

—“Get out of here and leave me alone.”

—“God will punish you, Sir.”

—“Let me deal with that.”

—“I will take revenge.”

—“Oh! that’s different. As I wish to live on peace with everybody, I will let you know that my profession is not for curing animals.”

—“Who the devil do you cure in France?” answers the Chamorro while going away disappointed.

This naïve stance, that we took up as a story among ourselves, provided much entertainment for a few hours.

As for the awful disease that the soldiers of Columbus, they say, brought to Europe from America¹ and that has caused so many victims in Europe where science has for so long fought it in vain, it is unknown in the Marianas. Even though it has for a few years already decimated the Philippines, Timor, the Sunda Islands and almost all the Moluccas, no symptoms whatever have yet appeared in Guham or Rota, where it is however called the French disease. I must add in passing that the happy Carolinians have also been spared this dreaded scourge which, once in full swing, takes its place next to the plague and leprosy.

A truly curious and noteworthy observation is that we could see among the people flocking to our hospital not so many suffering from physical ailments but many with moral problems. Thus, one asked for a cure against anger, another a love potion, yet another a recipe against a desire for seeking wealth. One wanted to know if there was

1 Ed. note: The author refers to syphilis.

a way to tell whom had stolen something from him; another one how he could prevent a girl from sleeping. A third one wanted a powder he could throw at his wife in order to make her more faithful. In other words, they treated our physicians as if they were witch doctors. Alas! they were thought to possess the same power as God himself. Poor Mariana people! What darkness still prevails in your rich islands! Besides, not only medicine is unknown in the Marianas but also the arts. Science would be a real luxury. It is time to say that the people are humorous and intelligent but this humor is not aimed properly and this intelligence does not look beyond the search for everyday comfort. If the people of Guham are ignorant, it is because they were not told that one benefits from knowledge. New houses built next to old ones are neither more nor less beautiful. The furniture is not different than that in existence at the time of the Spanish conquest; the farm implements have not changed. If the land beyond the coast is not cultivated, it is because the necessary items lie next to the house. There are no traders, no industrialists, no merchants in the Marianas except on rare occasions when a European ship comes to anchor off shore. When I said that the Mariana people have no passions, I made a mistake; there is one passion that possesses them all, that is their master, that regulates their lives and that forms a contrast with their drab existence that is the norm with them. I mean to say music.

The Mariana man is a musician naturally and not by instinct; when he gets up he sings, when he works he sings. He sings while in the water. By the time sleep overtakes him, he is still singing. His language is almost like a song; one can note the inflections. However, this melody no doubt comes from the wonderful concert that the waters, the woods, the mountains, the sky of this country bring forth. It is a slack melody, weak, monotonous, drowsy, under whose spell one must fall as if it were a song from an attentive nurse. Surely, one hears here and there a Spanish expression or a Castilian tune but then it boils with the blood in spite of the *dolce farniente*. Such airs are mostly to be heard coming from the mouth of the children who have not yet had the time to be crushed by the tropical sun.

If a few dances take place in Guham it is only on the occasion of large ceremonies ordered by the governor and then only mature men and women take part. However, the children take some revenge so to speak by the liveliness of their games and their gambols against the cold constraint imposed by their elders.

Every evening, after work, you see these toddlers, boys and girls, naked except for their waistbands, line up in front of their house, at first looking as serious as old-fashioned marquis, then marking time with their feet and full of impatience and waiting for the arrival of some distinguished person to begin the exercises in which they spend their whole strength.

A hat is placed upon the ground in the center of a circle of four or five paces in diameter. Another larger circle encloses the inner ring and marks off the interval that participants must cover, it being forbidden to leave it. The girl begins the attack by mickmicking, grimacing and showing signs that her heart beats faster than normal. The gallant follows her with his eyes and responds with similar faces to indicate reciprocity,

whereupon the former jumps up and down on the spot to indicate her joy. Her lover moves to the right and to the left before he launches himself in the pursuit of his conquest. There he goes with tender gestures, unrestrained hip and body movements. The coquettish one avoids the gallant's search in order to torment him; she pouts at him, she then smiles at him, lets him touch her hand slightly. Near submission, she suddenly bounds away, runs off, implores, threatens, scolds and forgives all at once. Vanquished at last, she falls upon her knees shaking, wriggles, gets up, bends over, stretches her hands, lets herself be kissed on the shoulders, then upon her pink cheeks, then upon her sparkling eyes ... and the game is over. What a resemblance to the *chika* of the Paris region but how different also! Over there, it is an orgy; here, a fun thing. Overthere, mud and yells; here, flowers, sighs, sweet music for the soul! Never mind, both *chikas* are undoubtedly from the same mold.

After such happy dances which we witnessed every day with such pleasure and whose actors we encouraged by giving them a few trifles to revive their energy, the favorite pastime of the colony is cock-fighting. It takes place mostly every Sunday, in front of the governor's palace, and Mr. Medinilla himself was an avid better.

For this exercise, the brave fowl is trained in a most unusual fashion. It is tied by the right leg to a post and some food it needs is shown to it from a distance. The efforts that it makes continuously to reach the food make this leg very strong. Thus, when a cock has come out a winner in too many fights, no-one accepts to fight against it unless only the left leg is armed with a sharp blade. The death of one of the fighting cocks, even the death of both is the true outcome of this fight. The fight is started by holding the two adversaries in the hands and letting them exchange three or four thrusts with the beak upon the other's head.

This fight is called here the "royal game"... Royal game! Why? Because blood flows? Noble kings, see how they slander you?

Guham is forty leagues in circumference. The north side, almost barren, is made up of coral rock formation whose cliffs by the sea are steep and high. In the middle of this massif, in a place called Santa Rosa, two years ago there arose a small volcanic cone that has already created some devastation in the vicinity. Coral reefs surround most of the island. The island's uselessness is its best defence, however, and not the citadels that cost the Spaniards so much to build.

The south side of the island offers an unusual sight. First, there are some high cones with open crevasses from which there are sometimes sulfurous odors and blue and red flames. Upon their flanks, there are basalts and various layers of lava that successive eruptions have vomitted. These layers are so regularly superimposed that it is easy to count in profile the number of times the subterranean upheavals took place.

However, as soon as one approaches the shoreline, the soil loses its roughness and becomes undulating, progressively less so until the undulations become unnoticeable at the water's edge. My good Mr. Petit, who looks at everything with sailor's eyes and

whose picturesque language instinctively finds the right word, when he wants to sound like a scientist, tells me:

—“Do you know, Mr. Arago, that a tidal wave has passed here?”

—“How can you tell?”

—“It’s easy. We can hear some splashing sound below the earth. There is water down there.”

—“What you call water is fire.”

—“Who cares if the effect is the same? I swear that something is boiling under our feet and when it comes to a head the cover will blow up and we’ll shake like puppets”

...

—“It’s possible.

—“Here, dig in with your sabre. I am sure that you’ll find the source of the fire.”

We tried to do just that but the crust was too hard. We wasted our energy in vain. Besides, these subterranean flames, these violent and frequent eruptions, these perpetual movements of the earth have not yet stifled the power of vegetation which adorns the island with its immense cluster of foliage. There are even some parts of the interior of the island that could compare not unfavorably with the impenetrable chaos of the Brazilian forests.

However, there are no reptiles here crawling and hissing in the underbush and under the dead leaves, no gigantic lizards that tire you with their cries, no jaguars roaring mournfully. Everything is calm upon the surface of Guham but everything is turbulent within its entrails. One would say that the inner furies have taken upon themselves the task of not disturbing the living beings who breathe air so pure and clean. Alas! maybe the day of destruction is not far off when the volcano would destroy the earth and leprosy would join them to destroy the people.

The woods and mountains of Guham offer to the naturalist objects worthy of his curiosity and reflections. A large number of birds, rich in a thousand colors, fly from branch to branch and rarely try to avoid hunters. The most beautiful is undoubtedly the purple-headed turtle dove whose colors are surprisingly soft and the form infinitely gracious. Next are the king-fishers; there are some splendid specimens. However, the birds in this part of the world with their beautiful feathers have nevertheless a monotonous song or a very unpleasant cry.

The sea is even richer than the land. There can be found in it all kinds of fishes of a thousand colors. The collection that our physicians gathered was extensive and they would have brought back so many species unknown in Europe if only we had not been shipwrecked at the Falkland Islands on the way back.

Here in Guham a small fish whose name I forgot is used to capture other inhabitants of the deep; this fish is kept in a tank where it is fed carefully. As soon as it is considered well trained, it is released and the fisherman, by banging upon his boat, makes it come back with all the other fishes that his student has brought back to his net.

There is a total of 35 rivers in the whole island; some of them carry iron and copper flakes. The main ones are the Tarafofo, Ilig and Pago Rivers. All three fall directly into

the sea. The first one is navigable for small boats over a rather great distance. Although the country is very mountainous, the rivers flow very slowly. That of Agaña, for instance, does not exceed one-third of a league per hour. They are not well stocked with fish.

The coconut tree is one I do not fear to call the kingly tree when I consider the wealth of its foliage but I call it the most precious tree when I think about its usefulness. It shoots from the earth with a trunk that is two feet in diameter and projects itself majestically as high as one hundred feet up in the air where it waves its green head. Its branches, made up of a big flexible core from which extend long and opposite sprigs, obey the slightest wind and rock with grace; the surprised onlooker is reminded of the pretty waves running across a field of wheat agitated by the breeze. The coconut trees touch one another gently, they intertwine slowly, open up majestically and fall back without slumping. The younger the tree, the longer and more vigorous are its branches. As it grows older, the branches become sparse and weak. One could say that they represent its vigor the way Samson's hair made his strength. Apart from this ornament, the grey trunk appears to slump under the enormous weight of the fruits at the top which grow in bunches. These fruits are only part of its value. As big as our melons, they contain within their double shell some water clearer than that of the Pyrenees. It is sweet and refreshing but it is harmful to drink too much of it, as well as to eat too much of the delicious cream that sticks to the interior of the first shell.

In order to reach the top of the tree, black people, wild men as well as the Mariana islanders use about the same means. They make a series of notches on the trunk or more often they use the branch cores which they link together at right angle with the ground so as to form a sort of ladder capable of supporting the heaviest of loads. Besides, it is only for children that such means are provided, because as soon as they have become youths the natives climb the steepest trees with a wonderful nimbleness. I have seen some who made it a game to show us how agile they were.

Without mentioning the agreeable and natural food that comes from these fruits, please look at the following list and judge for yourself whether this tree is an advantage for all the South Sea islanders or not, and specially for the inhabitants of these isolated islands.

From the fruit, or the liquid that oozes from the stems truncated for that purpose, they get:

- excellent jams,
- delicious brandy,
- vinegar,
- syrup,
- oil.

From the shell:

- vessels,
- small furniture items.

From the trunk and branches:

- some very strong ropes [sic],
- clothing,
- thread,
- roofing material.

You may add to the above summary list many charming small items such as baskets, mats, strong hedges, impenetrable partitions, and then you may judge what a price is given here to the ownership of the coconut tree. Thus it constitutes by itself the most important item in the country.¹

If I had seriously busied myself with botany, I would tell you about this “traveller’s tree” (*urania speciosa*) whose very name recalls its advantage, also about the *rima* or breadfruit tree (*artocarpus incisa*) almost as necessary as the coconut tree but much less common, about the Brazil palm that so much resembles an elegant vase out of which wonderfully green branches radiate like rays, about the areca palm (*areca oleraceae*), about the pandanus, and about the huge *ficus religiosa* that by itself spreads out like a miniature forest. However, my book is a travelogue; there is much ground to cover yet and I cannot stop at every step. Don’t you see that this is an excuse rather than a valid reason.

1 Ed. note: See “The Tree of Life” in HM8:499.

Chapter 21 on the Mariana Islands.

General History.—Summary.

There are no absurdity or silliness that Spanish [sic] historians have not written about the Marianas and their inhabitants whom they have made known in Europe. They have pretended that they walked only backward, that most of them kept themselves bent over almost like four-footed animals but without the arms touching the ground, and they have added that fire had remained unknown for centuries throughout the archipelago.

Nature and man's structure are such as to refute the first assertions. As for the last one, the storms that fall upon the equatorial climate during certain seasons, but above all the volcanos crowning most of the Marianas, are silent witnesses to the statement. However, what appears true and what has been truly demonstrated, although the historians at the time of the conquest have said it before us, is that the women were then in all cases dominating the men, that they presided over all public meetings, and that the laws governing all had been created by them alone.

The Spanish domination, by crushing this so brilliant and varied archipelago by their despotism, has not had the strength to reverse this rational custom (in my estimation) which is ingrained so to speak in the primitive customs.

The wife, even now, never takes the husband's name. She is served first at the table, not out of chivalry but by duty, by deference and respect. Upon getting up in the morning, she is offered the first cigar smoked in the house. It is she who eats the first biscuit coming out of the slate upon which it has become brown. Dear ladies of Paris, quick, quick, you may create a Mariana-like code of laws for your benefit, we are ready to ratify it, we are ready to accept its yoke.

In Guham and Rota, the discussions between men are settled by women; those between women are never settled by men.

When a man dies, the period of mourning is two months; when a woman dies, it is six months; the loss is three times greater. The ladies are also the gallant ones. We are here vanquished by the exterior signs of this gallantry but the heart has absolved us or rather released us.

Whenever a woman takes a husband whose wealth is less than hers, he is the one who has to work for the woman and to accept the hardest chores.

When the dowry of both spouses is about the same or when the woman owns nothing, the chores are shared but, once the parts have been defined, the wife selects her part first and the husband cannot complain.

If the brother or father of a girl saves some individual from imminent danger and he happens to be sick, the latter, if he is acceptable, must marry the sister or daughter of his savior. In truth, it must be said that, by referring to the Spanish laws, that have been imposed since the conquest, one may avoid such forced tribute, but the adherence of the natives to their ancient customs is such that there is no example in Guham where serious opposition by the beneficiary has taken place. In this case, the husband has no right to insist upon a dowry for his wife.

The relatives and friends of a deceased person meet at his death bed and, after a few quick prayers, try and forget the misfortune by drinking large portions of an alcoholic drink called *tuba* which soon assimilates them to the dead one. An orgy in order to forget a pain...

Details rush to my memory and if I do not transcribe them all, it is because other islands have the right to be exposed to the reader. Nevertheless, before saying goodbye to the Marianas, it might be useful to mention a little of the history of their discovery and the conquest of the Chamorros.

One of the most courageous period of history is no doubt that which followed the happy enterprise of Columbus. Many noble adventurers, insatiably thirsty for risk and glory, searching for marvelous things, were trained at the same school as he and they set out from Europe to explore the world suddenly enlarged. We hasten to say that Portugal was foremost in putting illustrious names in the most beautiful pages of the history of nations. Rejected so to speak by Lisbon, by his native country where his services had not been retained, Magellan, as Columbus did before him, went to offer his help to Spain. He was offered a good ship to try and make discoveries to the West, given that the Cape of Good Hope had been rounded and that every day exploring ships came back to Europe after having added to nautical knowledge some small island, some rock or great continent.

Magellan crossed the Atlantic, followed the eastern coast of Brazil, Paraguay [sic] and the land of the Patagonians. He might have rounded Cape Horn but a horrible storm threw him into the famous strait that bears his name. I have already mentioned his joy when he saw the vast Pacific Ocean opening before him its majestic deep and its frightening waves breaking upon the western shores of the new World. Brave like all the captains of this wonderful era, but more patient than most of them, the Portuguese set out boldly toward the west, discovered the Marianas which he named Ladrões (i.e. Thieves') Islands; he then touched at the Philippines where he died, a victim of his own courage.

It is noteworthy that wherever the Inquisition held sway, the spirit of adventure was stifled and therefore progress in the arts and sciences too. Also, everywhere the Spanish and the Portuguese have installed their authority, persecutions have made slaves and not allies. Every conquest by Portugal or Spain has first been attempted by the cross; the sword was but an auxiliary. As for persuasion, it is a weapon which either nation has never wanted to use. You will understand therefore why progress has been slow and painful because the high points of our religion, badly explained, met with incredulous people whose arms simply did what their intelligence said and they rebelled.

The Carolines and Marianas were discovered. These islands were then inhabited by rather industrious men whose character appeared kind and trusting. Manila was becoming a flourishing colony and it was the starting point for ships that went to the conquest of the archipelago. Joseph Quiroga was the first Spaniard who tried to conquer them. He was quick-tempered; he knew none of the generous feelings that, more than weapons, can win over the minds and conquer the hearts. Many times he had to put

down rebellions. Everywhere his quick wit and bold courage won him great successes. Resistance by the natives was an insult to his proud soul. The massacre that he waged cleared the way. The vanguished people, unable to accept the yoke meant for them, did not submit but rather fled to an isolated rocky island, Aguijan, where they believed themselves safe from persecution and tyranny. They were soon pursued as far as this last asylum. Those who escaped the massacre were taken back to Guham and treated as slaves.

Amid those savage and desolate scenes, it is well to cast our eyes upon a spectacle that reduces their horror. Religion by the word has often made some converts but once resistance was crushed, it was no longer necessary to impose a creed by angry violence and adopted on account of defenceless weakness. The name of Father San Vitores must be as cherished by the inhabitants of these islands as that of Las Casas was among the wild tribes of America. He alone dared to prevent Quiroga's cruelties and such was the mind of the 15th-century conquistadors that what they would have looked upon as unforgivable in a soldier, they feared to prevent a religious minister to do.

At the time when revolt was general throughout the island of Guham, Father San Vitores, as brave as all martyrs, went forth in the field with the standard of Christ as his sole protection; with words of peace and kindness he was winning hearts and thus lessening their hate for the Spanish name. From refuges not yet violated by the impetuous Quiroga, he was sending him severe orders that were respected. Alas! the zeal of this pious missionary did not last long against the ignorance of the natives and the barbarity of the conquerors.

One of these extraordinary men whom every country produces to guide others, dauntless by instinct, ferocious by calculation, and at the same time stranger to past misfortunes and insensitive to future ones, one of these men whose existence does not extend beyond the present, had in the Marianas made some resistance to Spanish arms. Confined in the interior of the island with a rather large number of supporters, he reproved those giving praise to San Vitores and just saw one more trickery in the conduct and pious preachings of the Catholic hero. This dangerous man was named Matapang. I have already mentioned him when I narrated a so-called miracle whose authenticity I have certified.

He had entrusted his two children to his wife. The latter, moved by San Vitores' virtue and moderation had turned them over to him to be made Christians. This was the last straw for Matapang who had already plotted the atrocious scheme. Among primitive men, personal interest is always superior to the general welfare. Matapang gathered his comrades together and spoke to them in fiery terms about his strong indignation, awoke in their soul the feeling of vengeance and skilfully made them understand that only the death of Father San Vitores could henceforth save the country and force the Spanish to flee. His speech re-animated the courage of the most timid; all of them resolved to lay a trap for the zealous missionary and to make him perish when he went out on one of his Christian errands that he used to carry out a little too carelessly.

The occasion soon presented itself. Matapang was able to attract him as far as his retreat. At first, he thanked him for caring for his children and begged him to continue looking after what he held most dear, but in order to try his charity, he begged him also to give baptism to a goat he loved very much. One may guess the answer made by God's minister. As he kept on refusing what he was asked to do, Matapang, with the help of two accomplices, jumped upon him and brought him down with a sort of wooden axe that was, besides the sling, the only weapon of the first inhabitants of the Marianas.

It is not known if Quiroga was angered by this crime but it is certain that vengeance became the pretext if not the motive of the horrors committed by the soldiers. The imagination rebels against so many scenes of massacre. Suffice to mention that when Spanish arms were first brought to bear upon the Mariana people, there were over 40,000 of them and two years later there were only 5,000 left.¹

The first Spanish settlement dates from that period. Severe laws were imposed upon the natives and they could not escape them. They gave up under the despotism of their oppressors but this hatred that is born out of a feeling of impotence against tyranny has remained alive despite the passage of the years and new laws, less harsh and less cruel.

Magellan, as I have said, gave the name of Ladrones Islands to the Marianas because he was victimized there for his good faith. No injustice would be caused today if one preserved this sad name because the inhabitants are still overly fond of the habit of appropriating for themselves what belongs to others.

As soon as the authority of the Spanish was established upon some basis, rather unsteady it is true, the first care of the conquerors was to maintain their ideas and to make their superiority felt. Quiroga was in Manila; Father San Vitores had been a victim of his apostolic courage, and the man who had succeeded the expeditionary leader tried to pursue selfish interests by sending only good reports back home and to increase his personal fortune. He had sent some requests to the Governor-General of the Philippines, because he feared that Quiroga had sailed for Spain. However, fate had it that his wish was granted faster than he had anticipated. The Carolines had become a subject of interest at the court in Madrid at the same time as the conquest of the Marianas was taking place. Nine [sic] small vessels left Luzon carrying many missionaries whose religious zeal took them away from a peaceful and comfortable life. The winds at first were contrary, then a terrible storm pushed them off their route. Eight of these vessels became wrecked on the coast of Guham, whereas the ninth one was lucky enough to make it into a cove where it was sheltered from the storm. The only monk who was saved stayed for a few years in the Marianas and preached with the same zeal and success as San Vitores but with happier results. One of these noteworthy results was that the most important persons from among the old inhabitants began to stubbornly defend the religion of their oppressors and even pretend to cut off the common people from the promised benefits.

1 Ed. note: The correct facts can be found in earlier volumes of this series.

The details of the old customs of the Mariana people have been published in Manila in 1790 in a book by Father Juan de la Concepción, a discolored Recollect. I have read it over and am convinced that this huge compilation has been written in complete ignorance and credulity. The narratives of the miracles that took place in the Marianas alone fill five or six chapters by themselves, and it would be ridiculous for anyone to believe little stories about witch doctors and saints having played a role in the conquest of the island.

I have translated one page:

“As soon as Quiroga had arrived in the Marianas and had announced to the inhabitants the new religion, the sea pulled back as if to signify to him that he should not go back to his country without first completing his enterprise. On the day following his arrival, the earth shook with a terrible noise and Quiroga saw this as an omen that the conquest of Guham would give him much pain and worry. On the third day, the sun broke through brilliant upon nature and the Spaniards believed that success was assured. On the fourth, a strong wind foretold the resistance of Matapang. On the fifth, as some trees were uprooted by the hurricane, there was no doubt that the outcome would be the death of San Vitores and the cruel massacre of the colony. Everything came off the way nature had predicted. San Vitores fell victim to Matapang’s fury. Quiroga, in his just vengeance, exterminated a large part of the natives and the standard of the cross did not shine but for a few just people...”

“No sooner had Father San Vitores fallen down, stricken with a mortal blow from Matapang, his soul, crossing the distances and born upon the wind, appeared in his native country and announced the disaster. Churches all over Spain were decorated in black and the bells started ringing by themselves; the Court went into mourning and it was a general calamity. Eight to ten months later, Guham was shaken by earthquakes and the cause was not unknown; the crime of Matapang had to be expiated...”

“In one of his errands to Tinian, Father San Vitores had just won over the most stubborn of the natives whom he had earlier failed to convert, when all of a sudden the latter, while on his way to his country home and thinking about his conversion saw coming toward him six well-dressed women who were eating fire. One of them only was dressed in black; the others wore many varied colors. He said hello in Spanish but these aerial beings answered in Indian and threatened him with great misfortunes if he refused to submit to the new laws they wish to impose upon him. The incredulous convert promised to obey and by publishing the vision he had witnessed, he gave a great boost to San Vitores’ zeal.”

It would take me too much time to report even the tenth part of the ridiculous stories upon which this supposed history is based. However, one thing did surprise me; within the 14 chapters, I found many pages dealing with the Carolines. They are interesting, more correctly written and above all more sensible. One would think that they were written by another hand or dictated by another mind. Not one miraculous story. Everything is simple and orderly.

Besides, it was necessary for the author to resort to miracles in order to sell his book.

I have studied the Marianas in the greatest of details. I have seen its degenerate civilization at odds with the primitive customs of these islands. Which will win? God only knows, because men cannot see into the future even though it is sometimes reflected into the present. Here, there is no hope at present. It would not be too rash to predict that this pleasant group of islands, so regularly laid out from north to south, will return to what they were before the conquest.

More than three centuries have passed upon these islands since Spain planted its flag upon them. There are fruits that fall and rot before they have become ripe.

[End of Volume 2]

[Volume 3]

Chapter 2 on the Caroline Islands.

I have noticed that, specially in the case of travels, luck always came to the assistance of whoever wishes to see and learn, and this luck is almost always good. If I had not run after leprosy, I would certainly not have met the young Dolorida, so sweet, who died amid the blessings of a whole nation. The same with my other researches. Does one know the world because he has travelled through it? Certainly not. The millionaire's cashier may be a poor man; only the owner is rich. One who travels with his eyes closed or always looking at his feet is like someone who stayed behind and never left his arm-chair.

As far as I am concerned, if I have so much to tell, it is because I told myself when I departed that I had to face the fact that my returning was a possibility. Therefore, I have visited many islands where the ship did not anchor. As soon as we got to a port, I inquired as to how long the astronomical observations would take place. I then took provisions, with a guide or by myself trusting my good fortune, and took to the interior. I journeyed in the company of wild men whom I won over by presents, by tricks and above all by my trust and gaiety. Thus I visited neighboring archipelagos amid countless dangers the like of which so many explorers did not survive. When my task was completed, I would go back to the anchorage where I poked about here and there in order to complete my unceasing research work.

Here, for instance, I was so keen about everything having to do with the good Carolinians that I never lost sight of them even for one day. I knew where they took their meals and I often went there to bring them some food and a few trifles. The house where they stayed after having pulled their craft upon the beach was the house where I attended their prayers, so piously recited in the evenings. I had judged them well enough when we passed through their archipelago not to try and convince myself that there was not indeed anything too honorable for them in the judgment that we had already made about their character. Their frank and loyal behavior was then so much in evidence that sometimes they would even throw upon the deck the objects that they intended to trade with us in exchange for our small knives and our nails. They would then throw skirts, shells, bone fish-hooks that were first shown from afar and which we appeared to desire and this without any fear of our leaving and depriving them of their trifles. The trade once accepted was never complained about by anyone. If we played a game and gave them something nicer or more worthwhile than the object they expected, they at once added something in their turn as if they feared that we had made a mistake or that we might accuse them of thievery.

Indeed, it is good for the soul to see these kind people, pure, honest and human, amid so much corruption, baseness and cruelty.

I have said that luck watched over me during my investigations. This time was not different than so many other times. Here are the strange and authentic details.

One of the most experienced pilots from the Carolines, one who was the most intimate friend of the generous *tamor* who saved my life off Rota, had settled in Agaña two years previously for the purpose of protecting those of his countrymen who, at every monsoon, came to Guham to trade. He spoke enough Spanish and gave me every detail I wished to know about his archipelago and the customs of his countrymen. As he was speaking, I was translating as I wrote.

—“Why do you come so often to the Marianas?”

—“To trade.”

—“What do you bring to trade for what you need?”

—“Skirts, ropes made of banana fibers, nice shells who sell here to people from another world (Europeans), and wooden vessels. We take knives, fish-hooks, nails and axes.”

—“Are you afraid that you might learn the vices of this country?”

—“What would we do with them?”

Let us meditate upon this praiseworthy answer.

—“Is your country poor?”

—“It is hard to live there but we never lack fish.”

—“Do you have chicken, pigs?”

—“Almost none.”

—“Why don't you try to raise some?”

—“I don't know. We have tried but it did not succeed.”

—“Have your people discovered the Marianas by chance?”

—“They say at home that there had been a bet between two pilots. A woman was to belong to the one who would go farthest with his flying proa. Both got as far as Rota and stopped there.”

—“When they returned, to whom did the woman belong?”

—“To both of them.”

—“To whom first?”

—“Our history does not mention.”

—“Does it mention at least if the two navigations found their country of origin easily?”

—“Yes, very easily, just as we do it today.”

—“Do you lose many of your craft during those frequent voyages?”

—“Yes, one or two every five or six years.”

—“But these are unheard-of successes!”

—“You know how we navigate, how we can swim and are able to turn our proas right side up again after they have capsized. Besides, we have our prayers to the clouds that save us.”

—“It's true, I had forgotten.”

Always, religion is ever present in their lives.

—“How do you navigate at sea?”

—“By the stars.”

—“You know them?”

—“Yes, the main ones, those that can help us.”

—“Do you have one in particular that you trust more than the others?”

—“Yes, it is *welewel* around which all the others turn.”

We were dumbfounded.

—“Who has told you all of this?”

—“Experience.”

Thereupon, using kernels of corn that we had someone bring, the experienced *tamor* placed the polar star (*welewel*), made the other stars of Ursa Major turn around it upon the table with a precision that would have made a certain French astronomer whose name is not unknown to me¹ jump for joy. He maneuvered this revolving army with praiseworthy accuracy and precision. We vied with one another in showing friendship and giving him the greatest signs of affection.

However, what proves that such brave pilots do not act routinely but rather calculate their course was the fact that he would point out a star with a bigger kernel and make us understand by repeating this sound “ft, ft ft” that the star in question was brighter.

He checked himself then and made us observe that he had forgotten Sirius, that he correctly called sister to another (Canapus), undoubtedly to tell us that they were of the same degree of brightness.

—“But, in order to satisfy another point of our curiosity, when the clouds hide this stars, how can you find your way?”

—“By means of the currents.”

—“But the currents change.”

—“Yes, in accordance with the prevailing winds. Then, we study their temperature and we know where they came from.”

—“We do not understand very well what you mean.”

—“If we were at sea, I would make you understand.”

—“Do you have a magnetized needle, a compass?”

—“We have one or two of them in the whole archipelago but we do not use them.”

—“It is nevertheless an infallible guide.”

—“We are as infallible as this instrument. The sea is our element. We live upon the sea and from the sea. Our best houses are our flying proas. We push them across the highest waves; we make them cross the narrowest and most dangerous passes and we are bothered only when we land.”

The night was advanced when our good and likeable Carolinian asked permission to go and join his wife. However, he did not leave without first having received from us signs of a well-deserved esteem.

The day following this nautical and astronomical session, we had this intelligent *tamor* invited to an evening at the Governor’s palace because our research was not yet

1 Ed. note: The author was referring to his brother François.

over. He came on time. As a good commoner, he sat in a familiar fashion among us and appeared flattered by our eagerness to meet him again.

It is a strange sight, I assure you, that of seeing a naked king, absolutely naked, walk into a hall where everybody else is dressed in European clothes. Here he is gay, full of energy, not at all embarrassed in his behaviour. He shakes our hand, pats us on the shoulder, cajoles us. He is not in your home, but rather you seem to be his guest. If he should perceive one single sign of pity or commiseration on your part, his pride as a free man would cause him to make you understand that he has the right to be wounded by your vanity.

After he had accepted two watermelon slices that he seemed to relish, we asked him to show us, by means of corn kernels, as he had done with the stars, how the various islands of his archipelago were laid out. He understood perfectly, shaped the Carolines, called each island by its name, and told us which ones were easy to approach and which ones were protected and defended by dangerous reefs. In other words, he was amazingly accurate and if, by chance, he had made a mistake, he would rectify it after some reflection and calculation. Furthermore, his nautical knowledge went further. The intelligent *tamor* spoke to us about the vast Pacific Ocean as a man who had access to original sources, but I hasten to add, lest some navigator be misguided, that the Carolinians consider their archipelago as extending to the Philippines whereas in Guham they call the Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands the Northern Carolines. In the middle of these rapid descriptions, of which we lost not a word nor a gesture, the *tamor* stopped all of a sudden, lowered his head while pointing out Manila. When we asked him the reason for this sudden interruption, he told us with a sadness mixed with fear that next to Manila was a small island called Yapa [Yap], inhabited by bad men, cannibals, that one craft had come from there a long time ago and with their *pac* (guns) had killed many people and that they had even taken away women and children, no doubt to eat them. As we could hardly believe his narrative, we asked him again if he did not make a mistake and if he was sure that such bad men had come from Yapa.”

—“Yes, yes, he answered while tightening his fists as if to express revenge.”

—“Have you ever been attacked by Papuans?”

—“Yes, yes, Papuans bad.”

—“And by Malays?”

—“Yes, yes, Malays bad, but they have never come to our place.”

—“When you are attacked, how do you defend yourselves?”

—“With stones and sticks, then we jump into our proas, we sail off and pray to the winds and the clouds to kill our enemies.”

—“Do you believe that the winds and the clouds grant your wish?”

—“Certainly, the same men have never been seen again in our islands.”

—“Why do they visit your islands if you are not rich?”

—“The winds bring them there.”

—“Don’t you see that the winds are not always helpful to you!”

—“Because we had not completely deserved it. When we have been punished for our faults, the bad ones go away and then God’s wrath fall upon them.”

—“You think then that the good are punished by the bad?”

—“That is true; the good ones do not wish to punish anyone.”

—“Not even the bad ones?”

The *tamor* thought for a while and did not answer.

—“Are there any public schools for boys and girls in your islands?”

—“At least one in each village.”

—“What is taught there?”

—“To pray, to make skirts, to make sennet, to make ropes, to build proas, houses and to learn about the stars and navigation.”

—“Who teaches all those things?”

—“Almost always the oldest person in the place, because he knows more than all the others.”

—“Don’t they also teach how to read and write?”

—“No, that is not useful according to us.”

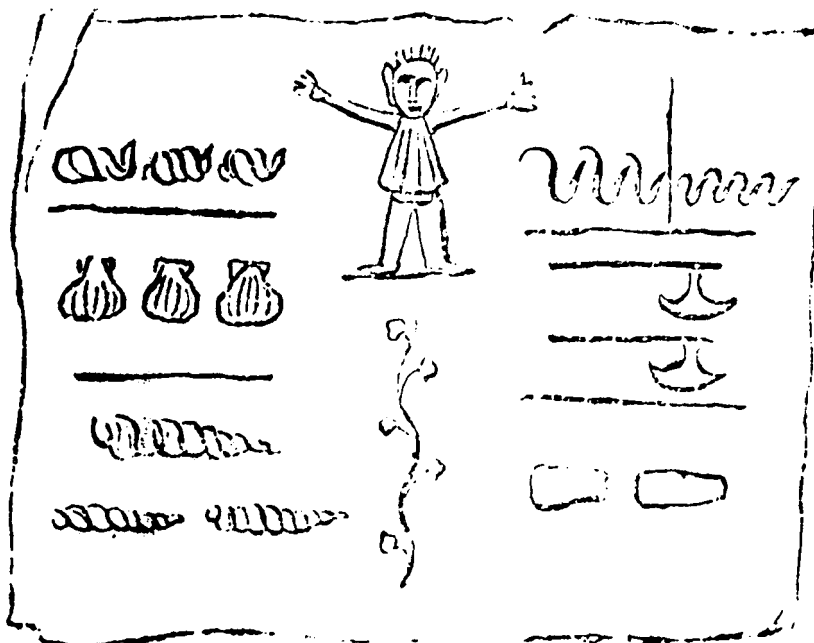
—“We think differently; without writing, we could not tell our friends accurately about everything you are now telling us.”

—“Maybe it would be a mistake for you to tell them because, if our country pleases them and they wish to come, there would not be enough food for them and for us.

—“Oh! you need not worry; nobody will come.”

—“Are they so happy over there? Well, good for them.”

It is understandable why we did not insist upon showing him the benefits of writing; it would have given him too much regret. However, here is a sample of their style and manner of transmitting their thoughts:



One can see that hieroglyphs are to be found in all countries, that even the Phoenicians were inspired by them and that writing, like speech, is necessary to all peoples.

The characters of this amazing letter are traced in red. The figure at the top of the page was there to send greetings. The signs placed in the left-hand column indicated the type of shells that the Carolinian was sending to Mr. Martinez. In the right-hand column appeared the objects that he wished in exchange: three large fish-hooks, four small ones, two pieces of iron in the shape of axes and two others a little larger. Mr. Martinez understood, kept his part of the bargain and received that same year, as a sign of thankfulness, a large number of pretty shells that he gave to me.

After we had finished questioning our logical navigator, he suddenly arose and went off toward the door to receive his wife and daughters, both of whom had recently arrived from Satawal. He introduced them to us with an air of jubilation that was comical. They were "dressed" like the *tamor* and their modesty did not suffer in the slightest. Perhaps it was they alas! who pitied us for being so ridiculously and so heavily wrapped in our pants, suits and frockcoats under a sun so hot...

The queen's face radiated an air of kindness and suffering that suited her perfectly. She was almost as yellow as a Chinese, tattooed on the arms and legs only. Her eyes, definitely slit, had a sad look, and her mouth, very small and ornamented with very white teeth, sometimes uttered harmonious words.

Little by little, however, she became alive and talked more. I think that she even asked her husband permission to dance but that he refused saying that we already had witnessed their dance during the national holiday.

Upon noticing the image of the Virgin upon the wall, the good woman asked us to tell her who this beautiful creature was. We answered that she was the mother of our God. She begged us to let her go and kiss the image but she went ahead without waiting for an answer. However, when she stepped down from the chair which she had used to go up, her mood was clearly turned against this woman who had so insensitively ignored her caresses.

As for the girl, when she saw the so-called "authentic" portrait of the king of Spain, rather well framed, she asked also why they had cut this man's head and placed in in a box.

Nevertheless, as the mother could not keep her eyes off the Lady of Sorrows, I made her understand that I could make such women whenever I wished and that if she wanted to, I could make two or three for her before my departure. Well then, the attentions of the queen became almost embarrassing; she would take my head between her hands, let her beautiful hair touch my face, rub her nose against mine, sit on my lap and would give me some small slaps upon the cheeks without her husband showing the least sign of being angry at seeing so many signs of affection and thankfulness. Dear European husbands, see how many lessons come to you from this new world!

The religion of these people alas! is like all the religions of the world, even like that of the wild men of Ombay who, after having eaten the living pretend to hold respect for the ashes of the dead. It presents peculiar anomalies against which common sense

and reason do not even bother to protest. However, these people is the only one to have created the following general principle in which they believe with a strong faith: "When man has been good upon this earth, that is when he has not beaten his wife, the weak creature whom he must protect, when he has not stolen any iron, the thing that is most useful to all, after his death, he is changed into a cloud and he has the power to come from time to time to visit his brothers, his friends, upon whom he may spray some dew or spit his anger, according to whether he is happy about their mode of living or not." Isn't this a good story?

When the Carolinian has been bad, that is when he has stolen some iron and beaten his wife, after his death he is changed into a fish they call *tiburiu* (shark),¹ which is always fighting with the others. Thus, in their country, war is the punishment of the bad ones.

I cannot look upon these people surrounding me without finding myself loving them more each day.

Did I understand right, or is it that the following belief was adopted from the Spanish with whom they are now often in contact? They have three gods: the father, the son and the grandson. These three gods sit in judgment, judge their actions and decide by majority. According to them, only one could be wrong. By the way, in their small quarrels, three umpires are also chosen. It would therefore not be impossible that this point of their religion is but a reflection of their own customs. Given that we cannot rise as far as God, we must therefore, in our boundless pride, make him come down to us.

I have told you already, I think, about my skill at sleight of hand which is such that Mr. Comte has often been jealous of me. With such innocent games, childish ones if you wish, I often won what my comrades could not get with rich presents, and almost always in my excursions, or at home, a large crowd surrounded me and begged me to entertain them.

One day, when my spectators looked at me as if they took me for a being superior to other men, I told them that it was thanks to this wonderful talent (I did in fact boast a little to gain some merit) that I had once saved myself from the teeth of the cannibals. Without this rare talent, they would have devoured me, as well as eight or ten of my companions.

At the same time, I added to the strength of my voice the energy of my hands and facial expressions so that I cannot describe the feeling of horror and interest that appeared to take hold of these good people. They vied with one another for getting up, shaking my hand, embracing me, sniffing my nose, and a little more and they would have worshipped me like one of their gods.

The impression left by the above tale was so intense in their mind that, one week later, a *tamor*, sent by his subjects and friends, came to get me in the Governor's hall to ask me, while shaking, if the country where I had situated the scene was far from their archipelago. I put his mind at ease as best I could by telling him that the people

1 Ed. note: The tamol used the Spanish word, "tiburón." In Carolinian, it is "paaw."

of Ombay did not possess a navy, that they never left their island and that the good Carolinians had nothing to fear from their ferocity.

Enchanted with this confidential information, the *tamor* begged me to accept a stick, beautifully carved, and hurried to report my reassuring words to his worried countrymen.

That evening, when I saw them again, they surrounded me again and repeated many times with fear the word *papu*, which made me understand that they had previously been frightened by the brutal behavior of those people; it may be that some canoe from that nation had been pushed by the winds and touched at the Carolines. What is certain is that cannibals can still be found on certain parts of the New Guinea coast.

The Carolinians have a special taste for ornaments. They adorn themselves with necklaces, with strips of coconut leaves woven beautifully. They make themselves also some pretty bracelets. The cloak worn by the *tamors* is also decorated with small strips whose constant ruffling noise is rather monotonous. A waist band made of papyrus or of the beaten bark of the palm or banana tree surrounds their middle. However, the women are absolutely naked. I made a gift of a pretty Madras kerchief to the beautiful queen I saw in Tinian; she used it to increase her modesty and thanked me for my generosity with trusting affection.

You must pity these people with regards to their disagreeable custom of piercing their ears by means of a fish bone, hanging an object whose weight increases every day, and making the cartilage reach as far as their shoulders. There are some foolish things in all countries.

One day I witnessed a strange scene that proves how great, in certain circumstances, is the respect of the Carolinians for the *tamors* whom they have chosen for themselves. After a meal of some fruits and fish upon the beach, two young men climbed up a coconut tree and came down with some fruits. Once upon the ground, there was a dispute about who should open them. Strong words were followed by threats, and threats would have been followed by blows, given that anger is a passion in all men. The more the Carolinians wished to appease the two adversaries, the more they brandished two pebbles with fury. Suddenly, the Satawal *tamor* who had taken me to Tinian appeared. He saw from afar that fight was about to break out. He shouted and threw his stick, similar to one he had given me a few days before, up in the air. Right away, the ebullience of the two Carolinians subsided and they stopped dead in their tracks letting the stones fall from their hands. Soon they looked at each other with forgiveness and embraced with brotherly tenderness. I noticed that during the meal that went on as if nothing had happened, the two champions would serve each other in turn and would drink in turn from the same cup even though there were many others handy.

Another day, a young Carolinian had become drunk after drinking the strong drink that the Mariana people make from the coconut tree. One of his companions took him by the arm, took him to a lonely spot under a banana grove, laid him down upon the grass, covered him with big leaves, sat down next to him and did not move until his friend had recovered his senses and reason. Both of them walked to the sea that was

very high, jumped in and, after half an hour of exercise, came back to the shore where they recited, in squatting positions and with the usual gestures, the prayers they normally address to the clouds. I bet they were asking Heaven to chase away the shameful passion that had just turned a man into a brute. After all such ceremonies, whose moral meaning cannot escape any attentive observer, there were always some shouts, feverish stamping with the feet, monotonous songs and warm rubbings of noses like they usually do in all sorts of circumstances. One would think that the life of these good islanders are but a perpetual love-in.

Two children of six years of age at most were with the Carolinians who had come to Guham. I assure you that it was a touchy experience to see how everyone showered these little helpless creatures with kindness in order to give them some precocious intelligence.

I saw a nimble young man climb a coconut tree with the speed of a squirrel while he carried one of these toddlers on his shoulder. When he reached the top, he put him down and tied him to a flexible branch in order to get him used to the danger by forcing him to look down. However, it is above all during swimming lessons that one must study the patience and skill of these strange and interesting islanders. They throw the child into the water and let him drink one or two mouthfuls, then they take him out, push him, put him upon their back and dive to show him how to float by himself, grab him again, make him leap. It is rare that after a few such practices the fearful student does not become a skilful and brave swimmer. The two toddlers I have just mentioned were never the last ones to face the roaring surf. In their watery evolutions, they were always the ones to wander farthest out although their more experienced parents or friends never let them out of their sight.

The Carolinian people are not the type to say goodbye to quickly. One's curiosity is never really satisfied, be it a scientific curiosity or one that comes from the heart; both find beautiful and noble teachings that live forever. I defy you to study a Carolinian for one day without loving him, without calling him your friend. Please note that I have not mentioned their women because they would not be understood at home. Suffice to say that tears flow upon parting, smiles when meeting them again, tears for you and her, smile for her and you. However, the expedition has a long route to go yet and I must hurry.

The individuals whom we have observed during our stopover at Guham did not physically form one type. In general, they are tall, well-built, agile and lively. They skip while walking, make gestures as they talk, smile a lot, even when they scold and above all when they pray. As they ask God only for what appears to them to be just, they hope and hope is joy.

In private life, they are all equal. The tattoos, symbols of authority, disappear and the *tamor* is *tamor* only when it is time to protect and defend against the passions and the elements.

There are so many skin colors among the Carolinians that one would think they were children of different climates. Some are only as brown as the Spaniards; others, almost

as yellow as the Chinese; still more as red as the Buticudos of Brazil, others earthy but the majority are either copper-yellow or copper-red. None has the features of the negro or Papuan. None has the least resemblance to the Sandwich Islander or the Malay. Their forehead is wide, open, and crowned with a wonderful head of hair. Their eyes, a little slit like those of the Chinese, are extraordinarily lively. The nose is aquiline on most of them, the mouth accentuated, the teeth very white, the arms and legs well proportioned and perfectly in harmony with the supple and light gait that characterizes them.

The two queens whom I met in the Marianas, one in Guham, the other in Tinian, looked so much alike that they could have passed for sisters but I myself could tell them apart; the features of that of Guham were much more regular and her face had a feeling of kindness and good-will that affected one's soul.

The music of the Carolinians is not, strictly speaking, music at all because it has only two or three notes. It is a sort of exchange of words of mostly one syllable, often sharp and quick but often slow and monotonous. It makes one think of questions and answers prepared in advance, of kicks given and dodged one on one. Some ten or twelve singers, gathered around, often break into a song, the first one answers the second, the second the third, then the fourth questions the first who in turn is answered by the fifth, etc., so that it would be perfectly correct to say that their singing is in style with their stick dance, or rather it is a spoken dance.

As for the meaning of the words, I have questioned the astronomer *tamor* about it but in vain; either he did not wish to tell me, or he was unable to do it in a satisfactory manner. He only told me that these songs were old, that their fathers had handed them over to them, that they had come from tradition and that their children would also not forget them. As for us, don't we also have in many of our provinces tunes and ditties that cannot be understood today? By the way, Don Luis de Torres has translated one of the Carolinian songs and he assured me that it glorified motherhood. I would have been surprised indeed if they had been war songs.

Major Luis de Torres who, after the Governor, was the first personality of the colony and our interpreter with the Carolinians, whenever we could not understand clearly enough, completed our knowledge about the present state of the Caroline archipelago in a very straight-forward tale, also about the customs of the inhabitants, and upon certain ceremonies that he had witnessed. There is here, I think, something of intense interest for the reader. I noted almost word for word what Don Luis said.

A ship named the **Maria** of Boston, Captain Samuel Williams¹, was sent from Manila by the Governor-General to go and survey the Carolines. It anchored at Guham where it took on board a few individuals capable of collecting the most useful information about the state of the archipelago whose development was envisaged. Don Luis de Torres took part in this expedition and visited many islands, rich in vegetation but poor in that the natives were oriented toward the sea. He found almost no goats, no pigs, no

1 Ed. note: This was the ship Mary, Captain William Bowles (See Doc. 1804A).



Two Carolinian men dancing (Caroline Islands).

chicken, no cows. The islanders live almost by the uncertain products of their fishing, by coconuts and a few roots of little food value. Their activity was marvellous. They got up at daybreak, and the surf had to be very high before they were prevented from launching their flying proas. The rest of the day was spent in the repair and construction of canoes.

Their women are generally better than those of the Marianas; they chew neither tobacco nor betel nut, never smoke and live only with fish, coconuts and bananas except on the eve of their husband's departure on a long voyage. The houses are built on piles, very low and contain four or five spacious rooms. As soon as they are weaned, the children never sleep in their father's bedroom, and the girls are always separate from the boys.

Don Luis believes that the brother may marry the sister, and I have deduced from the answers he gave to my questions that such marriages are preferred to others. He does not, however, guarantee the accuracy of his statement. During his stay in the Carolines, he never witnessed a fight or a quarrel; the only tears he saw were out of love or regret.

One night, he was informed that the next morning, at sunrise, the funeral ceremony of the son of Melisso, who had died two days earlier, would take place. He went to attend the ceremony. The funeral procession consisted of all the inhabitants of the island who, at first silently, made their way toward the gloomy house of their old chief. Men and women were mixed but in family groupings. Don Luis was permitted to go inside the room where the son of Melisso was kept, wrapped in mats tied with coconut coir ropes. Each knot was adorned with long tufts of hair representing a voluntary sacrifice of the parents and friends of the deceased. The old king was sitting on a stone where his son's head also was lying. His eyes were red, his body covered with ashes. He arose when he saw the stranger, came forward, took him by the hand and said with the mark of the deepest sorrow:

"These remains are those of my son, my son who was more skilful than all of us in maneuvering a flying proa in the middle of the most dangerous reefs. He, beloved son of Melisso, had never raised an impious hand upon his wife, never stolen any iron, he who as of tomorrow maybe shall come back in a beautiful cloud to pass over our heads in order to tell us how happy he is about the loving tears that we have shed upon him. The son of Melisso was the strongest and most skilful of the island. Wasn't he also the bravest? If he had been born when the bad people of Yapa came to kill our brothers and take away our women, they would not have gone away with their conquests because the son of Melisso, armed with a stick and a sling, would have forced them to sail off again."

"Now he is no more, my beloved son! Let us cry, cover ourselves with ashes, burn his precious remains for fear that the land animals would attack them. May he rise up above with the flame that purifies! May he never come back to visit us with anger and storms upon our beautiful islands!"

Then, getting closer to the corpse that was about to be burned:

“Goodbye! he said, goodbye, my child! Do not feel sad for having left me because I feel by my sorrow that I will join you soon and will be able to give you loving embraces up there, the sweet caresses that I was giving you here with so much love! Goodbye, son of Melisso! Goodbye, my joy! Goodbye, my life!”

As soon as the body, born by six chiefs, was out of the room, the people shouted in despair heavenward. Some pulled their hair, the others beat themselves upon the chest, all shed tears. The corpse was placed inside a canoe and was left there all day long. An old man came to offer the king an open coconut; the latter, in accepting it, condemned himself to live for the love of his subjects. After sunset, the mortal remains were burned, the ashes placed in the proa and carried to the roof of the house of the deceased. The next day, the people appeared not to remember the scene of the previous day. How to explain such contrasts?

After the death of a king, the power always passes on to the son, if the eldest of the old men who almost never leave him judges him worthy of the kingdom. The king's wife and sisters have never inherited.

All the Caroline islands are low, sandy, but very fertile. It is no doubt due to some superstitions that the inhabitants owe the misfortune of not raising any pigs nor fowls. During the voyage that I made in their company, I noticed that they would virtually devour the meat of such animals. The day may not be far when they will feel all the disadvantage of a custom that the poverty of their country should have made them despise, but to which they hang on perhaps out of the holiness of some solemn promise.

Experience, which is second nature to all mankind, has taught them to fear the audacious endeavors of a few neighbors who cause trouble, but the only weapons raised against them were slings. The skill shown in the making of these proves unfortunately that they have often been forced to use them. However, their battles are almost always without deaths and the vanquished suffer not much more than a few bruises or the loss of a tuft of hair.

Patience! civilization is on the march, the primitive peoples disappear, and iron and bronze will soon replace the stick and the sling among the Carolinians; weapons are a faithful mirror of man's passions.

I have narrated the story of the Marianas and the Carolines, hospitable sisters, relatives on so many points. New lands, new archipelagos now beckon me and I feel myself eager to undertake new researches.

REFERENCE TABLES

POPEs	KINGs OF SPAIN	VICEROYs OF NEW SPAIN	GOVERNORs-GEN. PHILIPPINES	GOVERNORs OF MARIANAS
1492 Alexander VI 1503 Pius III 1503 Julius II	1492 Ferdinand & Isabella 1504-55 Juana with: 1504 Philip I 1506 Ferdinand 1519 Charles I of Spain=Charles V of Germany	1519 Hernán Cortés (Governor, later Marquis del Valle)	1565 Miguel López de Legazpi	
1513 Leo X	1566 Philip II	1535 Antonio de Mendoza (Count of Niebla) 1549 Luis de Velasco		
1522 Adrian VI 1523 Clement VII 1534 Paul III		1564 Valderrama (int.) 1565/6 Gastón de Peralta (Marquis of Falces) 1567 A. Muñoz (int.) 1568 Martín Enriquez de Almanza	1572 Guido de Lavezaris (int.) 1575 Francisco de Sande 1580 Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñaloza 1583 Diego Ronquillo (int.) 1584 Santiago de Vera	
1566 (St.) Pius V		1580 Lorenzo Juarez de Mendoza (Count of Coruña)		
1572 Gregory XIII		1584 Archb. Pedro de Moya y Contreras 1585 Alvaro Manrique de Zúñ. (Marquis of Villamanrique)		
1585 Sixtus V		1589 Luis de Velasco (1°) (Marquis of Salinas, Count of Santiago)	1590 Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas 1593 Pedro Rojas (int.) 1595 Antonio de Morga 1596 Francisco Tello de G.	
1590 Urban VII 1590 Gregory XIV 1591 Innocent IX 1592 Clement VIII		1595 Gaspar de Zúñiga (Count of Monterrey)		

POPEs	KINGs OF SPAIN	VICEROYs OF NEW SPAIN	GOVERNORs-GEN. PHILIPPINES	GOVERNORs OF MARIANAS
1605 Leo XI 1605 Paul V	1598 Philip III	1603 Juan Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza y Luna (Marquis of Montesclaros) 1607 Luis de Velasco (2°) (Marquis of Salinas) 1611 Fray García Guerra (int.) 1612 Pedro de Otalora (int.) 1612 Diego Fernández de Córdoba (Marquis of Guadalcazar) 1621 Diego Carrillo Mendoza (Marquis of Galves) 1624 Rodrigo Pacheco y Osorio (Marquis of Cerralvo) 1635 Lope Díaz de Armendariz (Marquis of Cadereita)	1602 Pedro Bravo de Acuña 1606 Cristóbal Téllez de Almazan 1608 Rodrigo de Vivero 1609 Juan de Silva	
1621 Gregory XV 1623 Urban VIII	1621 Philip IV	1640 Diego López Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla (Duke of Escalona & Marquis of Villena) 1642 Bishop Juan Palafox y M. 1642 García Sarmiento de Sotomayor (Count of Salvatierra) 1648 Marcos de Torres y Rueda (int.) 1649 Matías de Peralta 1650 Enrique de Guzman (Marquis of Villaflor) 1653 Francisco Fernández de la Cueva (1°) (Duke Albuquerque) 1660 Juan de Leiva y de la Cerda (Count of Baños)	1616 Andrés de Alcaraz (int.) 1618 Alonso Fajardo de Tenza 1624 Gerónimo de Silva (int.) 1625 Fernando de Silva (int.) 1626 Juan Niño de Tavora 1632 Lorenzo de Olaso (int.) 1633 Juan Cerezo de Salamanca 1635 Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera	
1644 Innocent X			1644 Diego Fajardo	
1655 Alexander VII			1653 Sabiniano Manrique de Lara	

POPES	KINGS OF SPAIN	VICEROYS OF NEW SPAIN	GOVERNORS-GEN. PHILIPPINES	GOVERNORS OF MARIANAS
1667 Clement IX	1665 Mariana of Austria (Regent)	1664 Bishop Diego Osorio de Escobar y Llamas (int.) 1664 Antonio Sebastián de Toledo (Marquis of Mancera)	1663 Diego (de) Salcedo	1668 Capt. Juan de Santa Cruz
1670 Clement X		1673 Pedro Nuño Colón de Port. 1673 Fray Payo Enriquez de Rivera	1668 Juan Manuel de la Peña Bonifaz (int.) 1669 Col. Manuel de León y Saravia	1672 Capt. Juan de Santiago Bozo
1676 Innocent XI			1677 Francisco Coloma (int.) 1677 Francisco de Montemayor y Mansilla (int.) 1678 Juan de Vargas Hurtado	1674 Capt. Damián de Esplana (1°) 1676 Capt. Francisco (de) Irisarri y Vivar
	1680 Charles II (15 years old)	1680 Tomás Antonio de la Cerda (Count of Paredes, Marquis of Laguna)		1678 Capt. Juan Antonio Ruiz de Salas 1680 Capt. José Quiroga y Losada (1°) 1681 Col. Antonio Saravia 1683 Major Damián de Esplana (2°)
1689 Alexander VIII		1686 Melchor Portocarrero (Count of Moncloa) 1688 Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval Silva (Count of Galve)	1684 Gabriel de Curuzeláegui y Arriola	1688 Major José Quiroga y Losada (2°) 1690 Col. Damián de Esplana (3°)
1691 Innocent XII		1696 Bishop Juan de Ortega Montañés (int.) (1°) 1696 José Sarmiento Valladares (Count of Montezuma)	1689 Alonso de Abella Fuertes (int.) 1690 Fausto Cruzat y Góngora	1694 Major José Quiroga y Losada (3°) 1696 Gen. José Madrazo

POPEs	KINGS OF SPAIN	VICEROYS OF NEW SPAIN	GOVERNORS-GEN. PHILIPPINES	GOVERNORS OF MARIANAS
1700 Clement XI	1700 Philip V (1°)	1701 Bishop Juan de Ortega Montañés (int.)(2°) 1702 Francisco Fernández de la Cueva (2°)(Albuquerque)	1701 Domingo Zabálburu de Echevarri	1700 Major Francisco Medrano y Aciáin
1721 Innocent XIII	1724 Louis I 1724 Philip V (2°)	1711 Fernando de Alancastre (Duke of Linares) 1716 Baltasar de Zúñiga y Acevedo (Count of Monterey & Marquis of Valero)	1709 Martín de Ursúa y Arizmendi (Count of Lizárraga) 1715 José Torralba (int.) 1717 Fernando Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante y Rueda 1719 Fr. Francisco de la Cuesta (int.) 1721 Toribio José Cosío y Campo (Marquis of Torrecampo)	1704 Maj. Antonio Villamor y Vadillo (int.) 1707 Col.(?) Manuel Argüelles y Valdés (1°) 1709 Lt-Gen. Juan Antonio Pimentel
1724 Benedict XIII		1722 General Juan de Acuña (Marquis of Casafuerte)	1729 Brig. Fernando Valdés (y) Tamón	1720 Capt. Luís Antonio Sánchez de Tagle
1730 Clement XII		1734 Archbishop Juan Antonio Vicarrón y Eguiarreta 1740 Pedro Castro y Figueroa Salazar (Duke of Conquista) 1741 Pedro Malo de V. (int.) 1742 Pedro Cebrián y Agustín (Count of Fuenclara)	1739 Gaspar de la Torre	1725 Maj. J. de Sandoval (i.) 1725 Gen. Manuel Argüelles y Valdés (2°) 1730 Capt.(N) Diego Felix de Balboa
1740 Benedict XIV	1746 Ferdinand VI	1746 Juan Fco. Güémes de Horcasitas (Count of Revillagigedo)	1745 Bishop Juan Arechederra y Tovar (int.)	1734 Gen. Francisco de Cárdenas Pacheco 1740 Maj. Miguel Fernández de Cárdenas
			1750 José Francisco de Obando y Solís	1746 Capt. Diego Gomez de la Sierra 1749 Lt(N) Enrique Olavide y Michelena (1°)

POPEs	KINGS OF SPAIN	VICEROYS OF NEW SPAIN	GOVERNORS-GEN. PHILIPPINES	GOVERNORS OF MARIANAS
1758 Clement XIII	1759 Charles III	1755 Agustín de Ahumada y Villafior (M. Amarillas) 1760 Fco. Cagigal de la Vega (i.) 1760 Joaquín de Montserrat (Marquis of Cruillas)	1754 Pedro Manuel de Arandia Santisteban 1759 Bishop Miguel Lino de Espeleta (int.) 1761 Archbishop Manuel A. Rojo (int.) 1762 Simón de Anda y Salazar (1°)(int.) 1764 Francisco Xavier de la Torre (int.) 1765 José Raón	1756 Gen. Andrés del Barrio y Rábago 1759 Lt(N) José de Soroa
1769 Clement XIV		1766 Carlos Francisco de Croix (Marquis of Croix)	1770 Simón de Anda y Salazar (2°)	1768 Lt(N) Enrique Ola- vide y Michelena (2°)
1775 Pius VI		1771 Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa	1776 Pedro Sarrio (1°)(int.) 1778 José Basco y Vargas	1771 Maj. Mariano Tobias 1774 Maj. Antonio Apodaca 1776 Capt. Felipe Cerain
		1779 MGen. Martín de Mayorga		
		1783 LGen. Matías de Galvez		
		1784 Vicente Herrera (int.)		
		1785 Bernardo de Galvez		
		1786 Eusabio Sanchez (int.)		
		1787 Archbishop Nuñez de Haro	1787 Pedro Sarrio (2°)(int.)	1786 LCol. José Arleguí y Leóz
		1787 Manuel Antonio Flores	1788 Felix Berenguer de Marquina	
	1788 Charles IV	1789 Juan Vicente Güfmes P. (Count of Revillagigedo)	1793 Rafael María de Aguilar y Ponce de León	
		1794 Miguel de la Grua (Marquis of Branciforte)		1794 LCol. Manuel Muro
		1798 Miguel José de Azanza		
1800 Pius VII		1800 Felix Berenguer de Marqu.	1806 Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras (1°)(int..)	1802 Capt. Vicente Blanco
		1803 José de Iturrigaray		1806 Capt. Alexandro Parreño
		1808 Pedro Garibay		
		1809 Archbishop F.J. de Lizana		
	1808 Joseph Bonaparte (brother of Napoleon)	1810 Francisco Xavier Venégas	1810 Manuel Gonzalez de Aguilar	1812 Lt. José Medinilla y Pineda (1°)
		1813 Felix M. Calleja del Rey		

POPE	KINGS OF SPAIN	VICEROYS OF NEW SPAIN	GOVERNORS-GEN. PHILIPPINES	GOVERNORS OF MARIANAS
1823 Leo XII	1814 Ferdinand VII	1816 Juan de Apodaca (Count of Venadito)	1813 José Gardoqui (de) Jaraveitia	1822 Capt. José Montilla 1823 Capt. José Ganga Herrero
1829 Pius VIII 1831 Gregory XVI	1833 Isabella II	1821 Juan O'Donojú 1821 [Mexican independence]	1816 Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras (2°)(int.) 1822 Juan Antonio Martínez (int.) 1825 Mariano Ricafort Palacín y Abarca 1830 Pascual Enrile y Alcedo	1826 LCol. José Medinilla y Pineda 1831 LCol. Francisco Ramón de Villalobos
1846-78 Pius IX			1835 Gabriel de Torres 1835 Juan Cramer (int.) 1835 Pedro Antonio Salazar Castillo y Varona (int.) 1837 Gen. Andrés García Camba 1838 Luís Lardizabal 1841 Marcelino de Oraá Lecumberri 1843 Francisco de Paula Alcalá de la Torre 1844 Narciso Clavería y Zaldua (Count of Manila) 1849 Antonio María Blanco (int.) 1850 Antonio de Rubistondo y Eguía 1853 Ramón Montero y Blandino (1°)(int.) 1854 Manuel Pavía y Lay 1854 Ramón Montero y Blandino (2°)(int.)	1837 LCol. José Casillas Salazar 1843 Maj. Gregorio (de) Santa María 1848 Mr. Felix Calvo (int.) 1848 LCol. Pablo Pérez

KINGS OF SPAIN

1868 Amadeus I

1873 [Republic]
1874-86 Alfonso XII

GOVERNORS CAROLINES

1885 Lt (N) Enrique Capriles y Osuna

MARSHALLS

1875 Franz Hershheim
1880 ?

GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES

1854 Manuel **Crespo** y Cebrian (int.)
1856 Ramón **Montero** y Blandino (3°)(int.)
1857 Fernando **Norzagaray** y Escudero
1860 Ramón María **Solano** y Llanderal (int.)
1860 Juan **Herrera** Dávila (int.)
1861 José **Lemery** é Ibarrola Ney y González
1862 Salvador Valdés (int.)
1862 Rafael de **Echagüe** y Bermingham
1865 Joaquim del **Solar** é Ibañez (1)(int)
1865 Juan de **Lara** é Irigoyen (int.)
1866 José Laureano de **Sanz** y Posse (int.)
1866 Antonio Osorio (int.)
1866 Joaquim del Solar (2°)(int.)
1866 José de la **Gándara** y Navarro
1869 Manuel Maldonado
1869 Carlos María de la **Torre** y Nava Cerrada
1871 Rafael de **Izquierdo** y Gutierrez
1873 Manuel Mac-Crohon (int.)
1873 Juan **Alaminos** y de Vivar (int.)
1874 Manuel **Blanco** Valderrama (int.)
1874 José **Malcampo** y Monje

1877 Domingo **Moriones** y Murillo
1880 Rafael **Rodríguez** Arias (int.)
1880 Fernando **Primo** de Rivera
1883 Emilio Molíns (1°)(int.)
1883 Joaquín **Jovellar** y Soler

1885 Emilio Molíns (2°)(int.)
1885 Emilio **Terrero** y Perinat

GOVERNORS OF MARIANAS

1855 LCol Felipe María de la **Corte** (y Ruano Calderón)

1866 LCol Francisco **Moscoso** y Lara

1871 Col. Luis de **Ibañez** y García
1873 LCol Eduardo **Beaumont** y Calafat

1875 LCol Manuel **Bravo** y Barrera
1880 LCol Francisco **Brochero** y Parreño

1884 Col Angel de **Pazos** y Vela-H
1884 Capt. Antonio Borredá (int.)
1884 LCol Francisco **Olive** y García

GOV. WESTERN CAROLINES	GOV. EASTERN CAROLINES	GOVERNORS MARSHALLS	GOV.-GEN. PHILIPPINES	GOVERNORS MARIANAS
1886 Lt. Mariano Torres de Navarra (1°)				
1886 LCol Manuel Eliza y Vergara				
1886 Mr. Indalicio Gil (int.)		1886 Dr. Knappe		
1887 Lt. Mariano Torres de Navarra (2°)	1887 Cmdr(N) Isidro Posadillo			1887 L?Col Enrique Solano Llanderal
	1887 Lt. Juan Fernández Pintado (int.)			
	1887 Lt(N?) Juan de la Concha y Ramos (1°)(int.)			
1889? D.R. Falero ?	1887 Cmdr(N) Luis Cadarso y Rey	1887 Sonnenchein	1888 Antonio Moltó (int.)	
1889 Manuel Gonzalez (int.)				
1890 José M. Warleb	1890 Miguel Abriats (int.)	1889 Biermann	1888 Federico Lobatón (int.)	1890 LCol Joaquín Vara de Rey
1890 Cmdr?(N) José Montes de Oca (1°)	1891 Cmdr Julio Merás y Urias	1891 Schmidt	1888 Valeriano Weyler	1891 LCol Luís Santos
1892 Primitivo Herrero (int.)	1892? Lt. Juan de la Concha (2°)(int.)	1891 Dr. Erwin Steinbach	1891 Eulogio Despujol	1892 LCol Vicente Gómez Hernández
	1892 ? José Padrinan (?)			
	1892 Capt(A) Bienvenido Flandes (int.)		1893 Federico Ochando (int.)	1893 Lt. Juan Godoy (int)
1893 Manuel Anton	1893 LCmdr(N) Fernando Claudin	1893 Geotg Irmer	1893 Ramón Blanco y Erenas	1893 LCol Emilio Galisteo Bruñenque
1894 Capt(N) José Montes de Oca (2°)	1894 Lt. Juan de la Concha (3)		1896 Camilo Polavieja	1895 LCol Jacobo Marina
1895 Lt(N) Miguel Marquez y Solis	1894 Cmdr José Pidal Rebollo		1897 J. de Lachambre	1897 Lt. Angel Nieto (int)
1897 Salvador Cortés	1895? Francisco Jimenez (int?)		1897 F. Primo de Riv.	1897 LCol Juan Marina
	1897 Miguel Velasco		1898 Basilio Augustin	1898 José Sixto (1°)(int.)
	1897 José Fernández de Córdoba		1898 Fermín Jaudens	1898 Frank Portusach (int.)
	1898 Capt. Ricardo de Castro y Gandara		1898 Francisco Rizzo	
			1898 Diego de los Ríos	1899 José Sixto (2°)(int.)
				1899 Joaquín Pérez (int.)
				1899 William Coe (int.)

VICE-GOV. YAP

1899 Arno Senfft

1909 Georg Fritz

1911-14 Hermann Kersting

JAPANESE NAVAL

1914 Adm. MATSUMURA
Tatsuo

1915 Adm? TOGO Kichitaro

1916 Adm? YOSHIDA
Masujiro

1917 Capt. NAGATA Yasujiro

1919 Adm? NOSAKI Kojuro

VICE-GOV. PONAPE

1899 Dr. Albert Hahl

1901 Viktor Berg

1908 Georg Fritz

1909 Gustav Boeder

1910 Hermann Kersting

1911 Max Girschmer

1914 Köhler

GOVERNMENT 1914-21

**VICE-GOVERN.
JALUIT**

1898 Eugen Brandeis

1906 ?

1908 Wilhelm
Stuckhardt

1909-14 ?

VICE-GOV SAIPAN

1898 Eugenio Blanco
(int.)

1899 Georg Fritz

1907 Karl Kirn

1910 Otto Paulisch

1911 Georg von
Heynitz

1914 Walter Boehme

GOVERNORS GUAM

1899 Capt(USN) R.P. Leary

1900 Cmdr. S. Schroeder (1°)

1901 Cmdr. W. Swift

1901 Cmdr. S. Schroeder (2°)

1903 Cmdr. W.E. Sewell

1904 Lt. F.H. Schofield (i)

1904 Lt. R. Stone (int.)

1904 Cmdr. G.L. Dyer

1905 Lt. L. McNamee (1°)(i)

1906 Cmdr. T.M. Potts

1907 LCdr L. McNamee
(2°) (int.)

1907 Capt. E.J. Dorn

1910 Lt. F.B. Freyer (int.)

1911 Capt G.R. Salisbury

1911 Capt. R.E. Coontz

1913 Cmdr. A.W. Hinds (i.)

1914 Capt. W.J. Maxwell

1916 LCdr W.P? Cronan (i.)

1916 Capt. E. Simpson (i.)

1916 Capt. R.C. Smith

1918 Capt. W.W. Gilmer (1°)

1919 LCdr WA Hodgman (i.)

1919 Capt. W.W. Gilmer (2°)

1920 Capt. I.C. Wettengel

1921 LCdr J.S. Spore (int)

1922 Capt. A. Althouse (1°)

1922 Cdr. J.P. Miller (int.)

1922 Capt. A. Althouse (2°)

1923 Capt. H.B. Price (1°)

1924 Cdr. A.W. Brown (int.)

1924 Capt. H.B. Price (2°)

1926 Capt. L.S. Shapley

(cont'd footnote 2 below)

GOVERNORS- GEN. KOROR	GOVERNORS TRUK	GOVERNORS PONAPE	GOVERNORS JALUIT	GOVERNORS SAIPAN
1922 TEZUKA Toshiro 1923 YOKOTA Kosuke	1921 NAGATANI (int.?) 1924 TADANO Yasufusa 1929 ?	1921 MITSUKAWA 1923 TAKAGI Yumatsu 1929? TADANO Yasufusa	1929 TATEYAMA Shigeru	19?? WACHI Ryoaku
1931 HORIGUCHI Matsusada 1931 TAHARA (or TAWARA) Kazuo 1932 MATSUDA Masayuki 1933 HAYASHI Hisao	1932 YAMAGUCHI Yusaburo	1933 TATEYAMA Shigeru	1932 TANI Shinkichi 1934 ?	1931 TANAKA Shigeru 1932 FUSHIDA Yosaburo 1933 MUKAI Shoji
1936 KITAJIMA Kanjiro 1937 ?		?	?	1935 YORIMITSU Shigekita 1937 FUJIMOTO Shigeichi 1938 KANAI Shiokichi 1939 YAMAGUCHI Yusaburo 1941 ?
1940 KONDO Shunsuke	1942 Adm YAMAMOTO Isoroku 1943 Adm KOGA Mine'ichi 1944-45 LGen MUGIKURA Saburo	1944-45? Gen. WATANABE Masao(?)		1942-45 Adm NAGUMO Chuichi ²
1943-44 VAdm HOSOKAYA Yoshiro ¹				

1 In 1944, the Koror District itself was under the command of LGen INOUE Sadae.

2 Governors of Guam (cont'd): 1929 Cmdr W.W. Bradley; 1931 Capt. E.S. Root; 1933 Capt. G.A. Alexander; 1936 Cmdr. B.V. McCandlish; 1938 Cmdr J.T. Alexander; 1940 Capt. G.J. McMillin; 1946 RAdm C.A. Pownall; 1949 RAdm L.S. Fiske (int.); 1949 Mr. C.S. Skinner; 1953 Mr. R.S. Herman (int.); 1953 F.Q. Elvidge; 1956 W.T. Corbett (int.); 1956 R.B. Lowe; 1959 M.G. Boss (int.); 1960 Joseph Flores; 1961 W.P. Daniel; 1963 Manuel F.L. Guerrero; 1969/70 C.G. Camacho; 1975 R.J. Bordallo; 1979 P.M. Calvo; 1983 R.J. Bordallo; 1987 J.F. Ada; 1995 C. Gutierrez; etc.

**ADMINISTRATORS
OF NAURU**

1900 Kaiser

1921 BGen. T. Griffiths
1927 W.A. Newman
1933 Cmdr. R.C. Garsia
1938 LCol. F.R. Chalmers

1945 LCol. J.L.A. Kelly (int.)
1945 M. Ridgway

1949 H.H. Reeve (int?)
1949 R.S. Richards

1953 J.K. Lawrence (int.)
1954 Reginald S. Leydin
1958 John Preston White

1966 Brig. L.D. King

PRESIDENTS OF NAURU

1968 Hammer De Roburt (1°)

1976 Bernard Dowiyogo

1978 Hammer De Roburt (2°)
etc.

**RESIDENT COMMISSIONERS
G & E COLONY**

1892 G.R. Swayne
1896 W. Telfer Campbell
1910 J. Quayle Dickson
1913 E. Carlyon Eliot
1921 H.R. McClure
1926 Arthur F. Grimble
1933 J.C. Barley

1941 V. Fox-Strangways

1946 Harry E. Maude
1948 W.J. Peel

1952 Michael L. Bernacchi

1962 Valdemar J. Andersen

1970 John Field
1974 John H. Smith

PRESIDENTS OF KIRIBATI

1978 Jeremia Tabai
etc.

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./ Death	Comments
1. Fr.	Diego Luís	SANVITORES	Burgos	1627	1668	+1672	Killed in Guam on 2 April 1672.
2. Fr.	Tomás (de)	CARDEÑOSO	Paredes de Nava Castilla la Vieja	1635	1668 & 89?	1688 & 1715?	Born in diocese of Palencia. Died elsewhere after 1715.
3. Fr.	Luís (de)	MEDINA	Málaga	1636	1668	+1670	Killed in Saipan on 29 January 1670. See Note 1.
4. Fr.	Pedro (de)	CASANOVA	Almeria	1641	1668	1671	Died elsewhere in 1694. See Note 2.
5. Fr.	Luís (de)	MORALES	Tordesillas	1641	1668	1671	To Manila in 1671, to Spain in 1683. See Note 3.
6. Br.	Lorenzo	BUSTILLO	Saro (Burgos)	1642	1668 & 1676	1671 +1716	Left to continue his studies. Came back ordained. Note 4.
7. Br. later Fr.	Felipe	SONSON	Macabebe, Pampanga, Phil.	1611	1668	+1686	Died 11 Jan 1686. See Note 5.
8. Fr.	Francisco	SOLANO	Xarandilla	1635	1671	+1672	Died in Guam on 13 June 1672. See Note 6.
9. Fr.	Francisco	EZQUERRA	Manila	1644	1671	+1674	Killed in Guam on 2 February 1674. See Note 7.
10. Fr.	Alonso	LOPEZ (RICO)	Cuenca	1645?	1671 16??	1675 1684	Left 1675 & Feb 1684. See Note 8.
11. Fr.	Diego (de)	NORIEGA	?	?	1671	+1672	Died in Guam on 13 January 1672.
12. Fr.	Gerardo	BOUWENS	Antwerp, Belgium	1634	1672 & 1675	1673 +1712	Died in Saipan on 24 January 1712. See Note 9.
13. Fr.	Pedro	COOMANS	Antwerp, Belgium	1638	1672 & 1677	1674 +1685	Killed in Saipan in July 1685. See Note 10.
14. Fr.	Antonio (María) de	SAN BASILIO	Catania, Sicily, Italy	1638	1672	+1676	Killed in Guam on 17 January 1676.
15. Fr.	Francisco	GAYOSO	Soria	1647	1674	1676	Drifted to Philippines in 1676. To China Mission in 1678.
16. Fr.	Sebastián (de)	MONROY	Arahal, Andalusia	1649	1674	+1676	Killed in Guam on 7 September 1676.
17. Fr.	Jacinto (de)	MONTENEGRO	Tuy	1649	1674	1676?	Absent 1676?-78. Left when?

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./Death	Comments
18. Br/Fr	Juan (de)	AHUMADA	Cáceres	1634	1674 1683	1677 +1687	Absent 1677-83. See Note 11.
19. Br.	Pedro	DÍAZ	Talavera	?	1674	+1675	Killed in Guam on 9 Dec. 1675.
20. Br.	Agustín	GARCÍA	Murcia	1654	1674	1677?	Ref. report by Fr. Vidal, dated Mexico 1675.
21. Br.	Pedro	PAVÓN	Passaron, Plasencia, Spain	1655	1674	+1686	Idem. Died 24 March 1686.
22. Br.	José (de)	SALAZAR	?	?	1674	1675?	Ref. Fr. Vidal also.
23. Fr.	Antonio (Mateo)	XARAMILLO (or Jaramillo)	Fuentelencina or Zafra	1648	1676 & 1683	1680 & 1684	Second stay from Aug. 1683 to Feb. 1684. See Note 12.
24. Fr.	Manuel (de)	SOLORZANO	Fregenal, Andalusia	1649	1676	+1684	Killed in Guam on 23 July 1684. See Note 13.
25. Fr.	Bartolomé	BESCO	Sabandia, Italy	1614	1677	+1680	Died on 26 July 1680. See Note 14.
26. Fr.	Tomás	VALLEJO	Tudela, Navarra	1652	1679	1682	See Note 15.
27. Fr.	Basilio	LE ROULX	St-Omer, France	1643	1679	+1703	Died in April 1703.
28. Br.	Balthasar	DUBOIS	Tournai, Belgium	1654	1679	+1684	Killed in Guam on 23 July 1684.
29. Fr.	Karl (or Carlos)	BORANGA (alias Perez)	Vienna, Austria	1640	1681	+1684	Killed in Rota in Sept. or Oct. 1684.
30. Fr.	Teófilo de	ANGELIS (alias Loyola/Piccolomini)	Sienna, Italy	1651	1681	+1684	Killed in Guam on 24 July 1684.
31. Fr.	Agustín	STROBACH (or Estrobac)	Iglau=Jihlava, Moravia, Czech.	1641	1681	+1684	Killed in Tinian on 24 Aug. 1684. Alias Carlos Xavier.
32. Fr.	Juan	TILPE	Neiss, Austria	1644	1681	1710	Alias Luis Turcotti. Note 16.
33. Fr.	Diego (de)	ZARZOSA	Antequera, Sp.	1648	1681 & 1688	1685 ?	Died ca. 1739. See Note 17.
34. Br.	Antonio de los	REYES	Mexico	?	1681?	1688	See Note 18.

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./ Death	Comments
35. Fr.	Matías	KUKLEIN (or Cuculino)	Müglitz, Czech.	1645	1682 & 88	1688 + 1696	Died 14 Dec 1696. Absent from Jan. to Aug. 1688.
36. Fr.	Antonio	KERSCHBAUMER (alias Cerezo)	Salurn, Bavaria	1643	1682	1689	See Note 19.
37. Fr.	Juan Adán	GERSTL (or Gestel)	Austria	1646	1683	1684	Came in with Visitor Xaramillo. Died Mexico ca. 1702.
38. Fr.	Miguel de	APARICIO	Colomera	1656	1688	after 1693	Died elsewhere in 1716.
39. Fr.	Francisco (Antonio)	PALAVICINO (or Pallavicino)	Italy	1663	1688	after 1693	Departed before 1707. Died Naples 1743.
40. Br.	Juan	ALLER (or Haller)	Bohemis, Czech.	1664	1688	+1690	Pharmacist (Doc. 1691D). Died on 8 June 1690.
41. Br.	Melchor de	SANTA CRUZ	Philippines	?	1688	1703?	Oblate, or Donado, Doc. 1688O & 1691D.
42. Fr.	Juan	SCHIRMEISEN	Silesia, Czech.	1657?	1689	1719	Absent Dec. 89 to Sept. 90. Died Rota 20 Feb. 1719.
43. Fr.	Felipe (María)	MUSCATI	Malta	1655	1689	+1739	Died Guam 14 June 1739.
44. Fr.	Joaquín	ASSÍN (or Asin)	Zaragoza	1653	1689	1690	Died Manila 1698. Doc. 1691B.
45. Fr.	José	HERNANDEZ	Gandía	1660	1689	1690	Died Manila 1729.
46. Fr.	García	SALGADO	La Coruña	1655	1689	1690	Doc. 1687A, 1690G & 1691D.
47. Br.	Alonso	MARÍN	?	?	1689	1690	" " " "
48. Br.	Miguel	ESCOLANO	?	?	1689	1693?	
49. Br.	Miguel	SUAZO	?	?	1689	1692?	
50. Fr.	Antonio	CUNDARI (or Condari)	Sicily, Italy	?	1690	1705?	Replaced Hernandez. Was at Merizo, Guam, in 1704.
51. Br.	Jaime (or Jacobo)	CHAVARRI	Naples, Italy	?	1694	1741	Pharmacist. Left Spain 1692.

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./ Death	Comments
52. Br.	José	SANCHRZ	Spain	?	before 1696	before 1698	Was in Rota in 1696, but no longer there in 1698.
53. Br.	José de	ESPINOSA	?	?	before 1698	1698	Oblate. Resigned. Doc. 1698A & 1699A.
54. Br.	Simón de	CASTRO	?	?	1697	?	Doc. 1697M.
55. Fr.	Antonio de	ARIAS	Guatemala?	?	1703	before 1708	Ref. Cundari 1704.
56. Fr.	Pedro	CRUYDOLF	Neoport, Ypres, Belgium	1668	1709	1740s	Died 12 March 1760. See Note 20. Doc. 1708F.
57. Fr.	Igancio	IBARGUEN	Bilbao	1689	1709	+1730	Died in 1730, or 1731.
58. Fr.	José	BLOART (or Blauwaert)	Lilles, then in Belgium	1665	1709	1717?	See Note 21.
59. Fr.	José	GRIMALTOS (or Grimaldo)	?	?	1709	before 1714	Doc. 1711M4.
60. Br.	Nicolás	MONTERO	Mexico?	?	1709	1721?	See Note 22.
61. Br.	Luis	GARCÍA	Teruel	1679	1709	after 1720	Still there in 1720 (Doc. 1721D).
62. Fr.	Francisco	HALGUERO	Burgos	1682?	1718	1723	Doc. 1719A, 1717B2 & 1724B.
63. Fr.	Felipe (María)	FORNERI (or Furnari)	Sicily, Italy	?	1718	1738?	
64. Fr.	José	BONANI (or Bonanni)	Ronsberg, Tyrol, Austria	1685	1718	1752?	Spent 23 years in Rota. Left after 1754? Died Manila 1768.
65. Fr.	Juan Antonio	CANTOVA	Sresa, Lago Maggiore, Italy	1685	1718 & 1730	1722 +1731	Spent 8 years in Phil. 1722-30. Killed at Ulithi in July 1731.
66. Fr.	Jacobo (or Santiago)	HEIPEL	Gross-Holbach, Kohln, Germany	1687	1718	+1757?	Died in 1757 or 1768.
67. Fr.	Victor	WALTER	Near Brixen, Tyrol, Germany	1689?	1724 & 1736	1731 +1745	Died on 12 December 1745.
68. Fr.	Francisco Xavier	URFAHRER	Regensburg, Ger.	1691	1724	+1760	Died on 12 March 1760.

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./Death	Comments
69. Br.	Levino	SCHREBEL	Ghent, Belgium	?	1732	1734?	Doc. 1731C.
70. Fr.	Wolfgang	BERTHOLD (or Berchtold)	Ischl, Passai, Austria	1702	1734?	1755?	Doubtful service in Marianas. Afterward was in Zamboanga
71. Fr.	Wolfgang	STEINBECK (or Stainbeck)	Near Saltzburg, Austria	1699	1734	+1767	
72. Fr.	Domenico	CARLONI (or Carlone)	Vienna (or Graz), Austria	1703	1736	+1738	Arrived on 6 July 1736. Died on 19 May 1738.
73. Fr.	Francisco Xavier	REITTENBERGER (or Reitemberg)	Prague, Czech.	1708	1736	before 1768	Died about 1768.
74. Br.	José	MARTINELI	Laiatico, Italy	1710	1736	before 1769	Ref. Walter 1736. Doc. 1733C & 1736A.

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11

- 1 Fr. Medina was killed along with one of his Filipino catechists, Hipolito de la Cruz.
- 2 Fr. Casanova left in 1671 to continue his studies. He died in a shipwreck on 3 July 1694.
- 3 Fr. Morales left Spain once again in 1689, went back to Manila in 1697, and died there in 1716.
- 4 Fr. Bustillo (not Bustillos) served twice in the Marianas. He was Superior of the Mission from 1688 until 1694. He died on 2 March 1716.
- 5 This Filipino man was a "donado" or oblate, a lay person who came with Fr. Sanvitores and dedicated his life to the Mission. Wrongly reported dead in 1684, and 1685. Died when 75 years old. Therefore, born circa 1611.
- 6 Fr. Solano was transferred from Manila. Was second Superior, from April to June 1672.
- 7 Fr. Ezquerria was born in Manila and was transferred from Manila. Was third Superior, from 1672 to 1674.
- 8 Fr. Lopez, author of the first modern map of the Mariana Islands, went to Europe (from Manila) in 1688. Died in Mexico in 1697.
- 9 Fr. Bouwens was absent in Manila and Mexico from 1673 to 1675. He was Superior from 1675 to 1677, and again from 1684 to 1688.
- 10 Fr. Coomans was absent in Manila and Mexico from 1674 to 1677. Was Superior when carried off by 1674 galleon.
- 11 Fr. Ahumada was absent in Manila from 1677 to 1683. Died in October 1687.

Fr./Br.	First name(s)	Last name	Hometown	Born	Arr. at Is.	Dep./ Death	Comments
75. Fr.	Juan Antonio	BLESA	Tarancón, Cuenca	?	1750	1757	
76. Br.	Lorenzo	LORAQUE	?	?	1750	after 1783	Became a civilian. Stayed in Guam after Jesuit expulsion.
77. Fr.	Luis	KNAPPE	Rhenofelden, Basel, Switzerland	1720	1752	1757	Doc. 1750C & 1769B.
78. Fr.	Miguel	ROLDÁN	Arévalo, Ávila	1728	1752	?	Doc. 1750C & 1769B.
79. Fr.	Francisco Xavier	STENGEL	Bresznitz, Czech.	1733	1752	1769	Doc. 1750C. Departed 1769.
80. Br.	Plácido	LAMPURLANES	Alicante	1732	1755?	1769	Departed in 1769.
81. Fr.	Rafael	CANICIA	Alicante	1717	1760?	1769	Doc. 1759B. Departed 1769.

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11

- 1 Note 12: Fr. Xaramillo went from the Philippines to Spain in 1687, where he died at Ocaña in 1707.
- 2 Note 13: Fr. Solorzano arrived in 1676, he says (Doc. 1678A), although not reported by Fr. Besco in 1680. Was Superior from 1680 to 1684.
- 3 Note 14: Fr. Besco arrived with returning Fr. Coomans in 1677. Was Superior from 1677 to 1680. (ref. Doc. 1677C & 1686D).
- 4 Note 15: See S&D, pp. 45, 189; RAH Fil. 9/2668 (Espinar, 1678). Burrus says he died at Manila in 1727. Left 1682 (Doc. 1683C2).
- 5 Note 16: Fr. Tilpe was in Rota most of the time after 1685 (Doc. 1699E).
- 6 Note 17: Fr. Zarzosa was absent as of 1685. Returned only in 1688. He died in about 1739 being over 90 (Doc. 1744A).
- 7 Note 18: Br. Reyes may have arrived only in 1682 (S&D, p. 52). Strobach says he arrived in 1676 (Doc. 1683G2).
- 8 Note 19: Last name also written Kerschpämer. Alias Cerezo. Reported present in 1682 (St&D., p. 52). Left in Feb. 1689 (ref. Doc. 1689C). Died in Cebu in 1711. Salurn in Bavaria was part of the Austrian Province.
- 9 Note 20: Fr. Cruydolf was born circa 1668 (ref. Doc. 1708G). He left the Marianas after 1742 and before 1747. He died elsewhere in 1760.
- 10 Note 21: Fr. Bloart is mentioned by Fr. van Hamme, quoting Cruydolf (Doc. 1712D).
- 11 Note 22: Brothers Montero and García are mentioned in Doc. 1708G, 1709F, 1715A & 1721D4.

First, Family & Religious names	Year Guam	of Rota	arrival Saipan	Dep./ Death	Comments
1. Andrés Blasquez de San José	1769			1791	Agaña (1769-90). See HM16:100, 116.
2. Antonio Sanchez de la Concepción	1769			1791	Agat (1769-91), incl. Merizo as of 1774. HM16:100.
3. Pedro Torres de la Virgen del Pilar	1769	1794		1785	Umatac (1770-74), Rota (1774-85). HM16:100.
4. Cristobal Ibañez de San Onofre	1769			+1814	Inarajan (1769-88), Agat (1791-1800), Umatac (1800-05), Agaña (1805-14). HM16:100.
5. Tomás Caxaraville de Santa Rita	1779	1770		1806	Rota (1770-79), Umatac (79-85), Rota (85-91), Inarajan and Agat (1791-1806).
6. Vicente ? de San Cipriano	1784?			1794?	
7. Domingo Medina de S. Tomás de Aquino	1790	1800		1804	Agaña (1790-1800), Rota (1800-04).
8. José Ballespin de la Santa Trinidad	1800?	1794		1802	Rota (1794-1800), Agaña (1800-02).
9. José María de la Virgen del Carmen	1806			1824	Agat (1806-10), Inarajan (1820-24).
10. Ciriaco ? del Espiritu Santo	1814			+ 1849	Agat mostly. Dark Fil. priest. Had local children.
11. Mariano Garmendia de San Miguel	1822			+ 1830	Agaña (rector of the college).
12. Ignacio Sanchez del Rosario	1829			+ 1832	
13. Bernardo Esteves del Rosario	1829			+ 1843	Inarajan (1829), Merizo (1830), Agaña (31?-43).
14. Manuel Serantes de la Encarnación	1837	1841		+ 1853	Umatac & Agat (1837-41), Rota (41-43), Agaña (43-47), Umatac (47-51), Agat (51-53).
15. José Ferrer de la Concepción	1837			1848	Inarajan & Merizo (1836-48).
16. Pedro León del Carmen	1849?	1843		+ 1856	Rota (1843-49?), Inarajan, Agaña, then Merizo & Umatac (1856).
17. Vicente Acosta de la Santísima Trinidad	1846			+ 1860	Agaña (1846-54), Agat (1854-60).

First, Family & Religious names	Year Guam	of Rota	arrival Saipan	Dep./ Death	Comments
18. Manuel Puente de la Santa Cruz		1849		1851	Rota only.
19. Juan Fernandez de San Antonio de Padua	1851			1860	Umatac & Merizo (1851-57), Inarajan (1856-60).
20. Modesto Lesma de San Francisco Xavier	18..	1852	1858	1860	Served in Inarajan, Rota, and Saipan.
21. Aniceto Ibañez del Carmen	1852			1877 + 1892	Agaña & Pago (1852-77), absent Manila (1877-85), Carolines (1885-86), Agaña (1887-92).
22. Isidro Liberal de los Sagrados Corazones de Jesús y María	1856	1858		1886	Agat (1857-58), Rota 1858-81), Agat (1881-.1), and Agaña (1885-86).
23. Faustino Fernandez del Corral del Sagrado Corazon de Jesús	1860			1869	Umatac (1860-63), Merizo (1864-69).
24. José Rivate de la Virgen de la Peña	1860		1860	+ 1864	Saipan (1860-61), Inarajan (1861-64).
25. José Bernardo Palomo y Torres	1860	1894	1865	+ 1919	Chamorro priest, born Guam 1836. Served on Tinian (1887-91). Became diocesan priest in 1897.
26. Ramón Orrit del Pilar	1874	1862		1871 & 1889	Rota (1862-71), absent 1871-74, Inarajan (1876-89).
27. Toribio Bonel de Santa Filomena	1868	1870	1865	1870	Saipan (1865-67), Inarajan (1868-69), Rota (1870).
28. Mariano Martinez del Carmen	1869			1886	Agaña (1869-70), Merizo (1870-86).
29. Gregorio Martinez del Rosario			1870	+ 1874	Saipan only.
30. Casiano Vasquez del Angel Custodio	1870		1874	1876	Inarajan (1870-74), Saipan (1874-76).
31. Antonio Milla	1870			1871	Diocesan priest in exile. Acted as coadjutor.
32. Valentín Casamayor de la Purísima Concepción		1871		1876	Rota only.
33. José Lamban del Pilar	18..	1876	1877	1885 & 1898	Rota (1876-77), Saipan (1877-78), Inarajan (78-80, 91-98), absent 85-89, Merizo (1889-91).
34. Francisco Resano del Sagrado C. de J.	1878	1876	1899	1907	Rota (1876-77), Guam (78-99), Saipan (1899-1907).

First, Family & Religious names	Year of Guam	of Rota	arrival Saipan	Dep./ Death	Comments
Agustín Mendoza; Pedro Dandan;	1872			1875	Filipino diocesan priests in exile. Six of them were from the parish of Santa Cruz, Manila.
Anacleto Desiderio; Justo Guason;	1872			1875	
Feliciano Gomez; Mariano Sevilla;	1872			1876	
Miguel Lasa; José Guevara;	1872			1885?	
Toribio del Pilar; Vicente del Rosario	1872			1885?	
35. Miguel Ortubia de la Concepción		1878		1886	Rota only.
36. Francisco Castillo de la Virgen del Villar	1886			1887	Replaced Fr. Liberal in Agaña; was replaced by Fr. Ibañez.
37. Juan Herrero de la Virgen del Amor Hermoso	1886			1890	Merizo (1886-90).
38. Hilario Medrano de ?	1887			?	
39. Crisogono Ortiz y Zueco del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús	1893	1886		1899	Rota (1886-93), Merizo (1893-99).
40. Ildefonso Cabanillas de los Sagrados Corazones de Jesús y María	1893		1888	1899	Saipan (1888-90), Inarajan (1890-91), Umatac & Merizo (1891-93), Agat (1893-99).
41. Clemente Danso de la Virgen del Yugo			1891	1892	Saipan only.
42. Calixto Moral del Pilar			1892	1895	Saipan only.
43. Tomás Cueva de la Virgen de Araceli			1892	1899	Saipan only.
44. Juan Latorre de San José	1897?			1898	Agaña only.
45. Mariano Alegre de la Virgen del Perpetuo Socorro		1894		1908	Rota only.
46. Cornelio García del Carmen			1895	1908	Tinian (1894-95), Saipan (1895-1908). Last Recollect to leave the Marianas.

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See notes below.

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- 4 Sábada, Fr. Francisco del Carmen. Catálogo de los Religiosos Agustinos Recoletos de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Filipinas. Madrid, 1906.
- 5 Resano, Fr. Francisco. “Carta al P. Cueva,” 14 January 1900; “Carta al P. Sábada,” 10 Aug. 1900; “Carta al P. Cueva,” 15 November 1900.
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- 9 Anon. Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Agustinos descalzos de la congregación de España e Indias. Manila, 1879.

Religious name = First name + hometown	Born	Year Palau	of Yap	arrival Ponape	Dep./ Death	Comments
1. Fr. Daniel María de Arbácegui	1855		1886		1906	
2. Fr. Antonio de Valencia		1891	1886		1892	Absent 1889-91. Wrote the first grammar for the Yapese language.
3. Fr. José María de Valencia	1851		1886		+ 1900	Died in Yap.
4. Fr. Saturnino María de Artajona	1835			1887	1896	
5. Fr. Agustín María de Ariñez	1858			1887	+ 1899	Died in Pohnpei.
6. Fr. Luís de Valencia	1850			1887	1903	
7. Fr. Luís María de León			1891		1899	To Guam in 1901.
8. Fr. Luís María de Granada		1891	1891		+ 1903	Died in Palau.
9. Fr. Toribio María de Filieil		1891?	1896		1898	
10. Fr. Estanislao de Guernica			1893	1891	after 1895	Was in Pohnpei in 1895.
11. Fr. Bernardo de Sarriá				1891	1898	
12. Fr. Gregorio de Peralta			1893		1899	
13. Fr. José María de Tirapu				1893	1903	
14. Fr. Segismundo del Real de Gandía				1893	1898	
15. Fr. Silvestre de Santibañez		1897	1896		1906	To Guam in January 1907.
16. Fr. Cristobal de Canals		1903	1896		1906	To Guam in January 1907.
17. Fr. Vicente de Larrasoana			1896		1901	To Guam in 1901.

Religious name = First name + hometown	Born	Year Palau	of Yap	arrival Ponape	Dep./ Death	Comments
18. Fr. Juan de Barcelona				1896	1903	
19. Fr. Buenaventura de Alboraya				1896	1903	
20. Fr. Policarpio María de Bañeros				1896	1904	
21. Fr. Félix María de Villava				1896	1897	

22. Br. Crispín María de Ruzafa	1835		1886		1904	
23. Br. Eulogio María de Quintanilla	1856	1895	1886		1906	
24. Br. Antolín María de Orihuela	1861		1886		1906	
25. Br. José de Irañeta			ca. 1900	1886	1905	Absent Manila 1893.
26. Br. Justo María de Eraul			ca. 1900	1886	1905	In Manila 1893.
27. Br. Gabriel de Abertezga	1836			1887	1892?	
28. Br. Miguel de Gorriti	1856			1887	1899?	
29. Br. Benito de Aspa	1854			1887	1905?	
30. Br. Otón María de Ochovi		1891			+ 1898	Died in Palau.
31. Br. Joaquín María de Masamagrell		1891	189-		1895	
32. Br. Melchor de Gerona			1891		bef. 1903	
33. Br. Rogelio de Azadón			1891		1892	
34. Br. Sebastián de Sangüesa			1893?	1897?	1907	Arrived 1893. Iin Pohnpei in 1897.

Religious name = First name + hometown	Born	Year Palau	of Yap	arrival Ponape	Dep./ Death	Comments
35. Br. Miguel de Picaña				1893	1905	
36. Br. Prudencio de San Miguel de Gata				1893	1906	
37. Br. Carlos de Benisa				1893	1901	
38. Br. Julián de Vidaurreta				1893	1905	
39. Br. Serafín del Real de Gandía				1893	1902	
40. Br. Peregrín de Moncada		1896 /??			1899	
41. Br. Eustaquio de Vidaurre		1896/99?			1906	
42. Br. Samuel de la Aparecida			1896		1901	To Guam in 1901.
43. Br. Carmelo del Real de Gandía			1896		1906	
44. Br. Jesús de Beniarrés			1896		+ 1899	Died in Yap.
45. Br. Ricardo de Benigánim				1896	1904	
46. Br. Santiago de Zandío ¹				1896	1905	

1 Sources: Annals of the Capuchin Order, and Fr. Marino de la Hoz (1940 ms.). Fr. Fidel de Espinosa died at sea on the way to the Carolines in 1886. Fr. Ambrosio de Valencina and Fr. Joaquín de Llevaneras visited the missions in 1887. Fr. Bernardo de Cieza was the first procurator in Manila. German Capuchins started replacing Spanish ones in 1903.

Title and names	Origin	Arr. Guam	Dep./ Death	Comments
1. Fr. José Bernardo Palomo y Torres	Guam	Native	+ 1919	Former Recollect.
2. Fr. Luùs María de León, OFMCap.	Spain	1901	1913 & ca. 1920 1923	Agat (1901-08), Agaña (1908-13, 1915+).
3. Br. Vicente de Larrasoana, OFMCap.	Spain	1901	?	
4. Br. Samuel de la Aparecida, OFMCap.	Spain	1901	?	
5. Fr. Silvestre de Santibañez, OFMCap.	Spain	1907	+ 1915	Inarajan (1907-15). Died in Guam in 1915.
6. Fr. Cristobal de Canals, OFMCap.	Spain	1907	1923	Merizo (1907-23). To South America.
7. Msgr. Francis X. Villa y Mateu, OFMCap.	Spain	1912	+ 1913	First Vicar Apostolic of Guam. Died Agaña 1913.
8. Fr. Ezequiel de Mataró, OFMCap.	Spain	1912	1914	
9. Fr. Tomás de Barcelona, OFMCap.	Spain	1912	1914	
10. Fr. ... Gualtero, OFMCap.	Spain	1912	1914	Served in Talafofo.
11. Msgr. Agustín Bernaus y Serra, OFMCap.	Spain	1913	1914	Replaced Bishop Villa.
12. Br. Crispin de Inbuluzqueta, OFMCap.	Spain	bef. 1915	?	
13. Fr. Hugolino de Gainza, OFMCap.	Spain	1915	?	
14. Fr. Román de Vera, OFMCap.	Spain	1915	1941	Died in Spain in 1959.
15. Msgr. Felipe Joaquín M. Olaiz y Zabalza, OFMCap.	Spain	1915	1935	Died in 1945.
16. Br. Martín de Anza, OFMCap.	Spain	1915	?	
17. Fr. Xzvier de Sangüesa, OFMCap.	Spain	1919	?	

Title and names	Origin	Arr. Guam	Dep./ Death	Comments
18. Fr. León de Alzo, OFM ^{Cap} .	Spain	1919	?	
19. Fr. Bernabé de Caseda, OFM ^{Cap} .	Spain	1919	1940?	Served at Inarajan.
20. Msgr. Miguel Angel de Olano y Urteaga	Spain	1935	1941	Expulsed by Japanese Went to Manila.
21. Fr. Alban Hammel, OFM ^{Cap} .	U.S.A.	1936	1939	
22. Fr. Sylvester P. Staudt, OFM ^{Cap} .	U.S.A.	1936	1939	
23. Fr. Ferdinand Stippich, OFM ^{Cap} .	U.S.A.	1939	1941 & later	To Japan and concentration camp.
24. Fr. Marcian Pellett, OFM ^{Cap} .	U.S.A.	1935	1941 & later	To Japan and concentration camp.
25. Msgr. Apollinarius W. Baumgartner, Cap.	U.S.A.	1945	1970	Vicar Apostolic of Marianas (1945-70).
26. Rev. Jesús Baza Dueñas	Guam	Native	+1944	Killed by Japanese.
27. Rev./Msgr. Oscar L. Calvo	Guam	Native	+ca. 1990	
28. Rev./Msgr. Felixberto C. Flores	Guam	Native	+ca. 1990	First Archbishop of Guam in 1984.
—Others at random: See note below ¹				

1 Information is wanting about the following priests, specially the American Capuchins: Fr. Anselmo, Fr. Alvin, Fr. Cyril, Fr. Theophane, Fr. Fulgence, Fr. Julius, Msgr. Fukahori (WWII Jap.), Rev. Peter Komatsu (WWII Jap.), Fr. Paul, Fr. Kieran Hickey, Fr. George Maddock, Fr. James Gavin, Fr. Arnold, Fr. Alexander, Fr. Mel, Fr. Adelbert, Fr. Timothy, Fr. Antonine, Fr. Raymond, Br. Patrick, Fr. Cornelius Murphy, among others.

Title and name	Arr. Saipan	Arr. Palau	Arr. Yap	Arr. Truk	Arr. Ponape	Dep./ Death	Comments	
Capuchin Fathers								
1. Fr. Victorin Louis					1903	1910?		
2. Fr. Salesius Haas			1903			1906		
3. Fr. Callistus Lopinot	1907		1904			1909	Philippines (1910-14), New Guinea (1914-21), Madagascar (1932+), then Rome.	
4. Fr. Fidelis Dieterle					1904	1919		
5. Fr. Venantius Dufner			1904		1906	1919		
6. Fr. Creszens Huster		1906?			1906	+ 1915		
7. Fr. Raymund Laile		1906				1910?		
8. Fr. Paulinus Borocco			1906			1919		
9. Msgr. Salvator Walleser		1907			1912	1919		Vicar Apostolic 1911; China (1922-46).
10. Fr. Gebhard Rüdell				1911	1906	1915		At Lukunor 1911. Expulsed 1915.
11. Fr. Eusebius Lehmann			1905			1910?		
12. Fr. Fridolin Höfler		1907				1908		
13. Fr. Paulus Fischer	1908					1912		Superior in Marianas.
14. Fr. Corbinian Madre	1916					c. 1918		Rota (1908-16). Died in Germany.
15. Fr. Ignatius Ruppert				1912	1908	1915	Expulsed by Japanese.	
16. Fr. Irenäus Fischer			1908			1918	Actual arrival in 1909?	

Title and name	Arr. Saipan	Arr. Palau	Arr. Yap	Arr. Truk	Arr. Ponape	Dep./ Death	Comments
17. Fr. Gallus Lehmann	1909					1916	From Switzerland. Expulsed by Japanese.
18. Fr. Basilius Graf		1908				1915	Melekiok (1908-14), Koror (1914-15).
19. Fr. Sixtus Walleser			1910			1916	
20. Fr. Severin Oppermann				1911	1910	1919	Mortlocks (1911-15?), Truk (15?-19).
21. Fr. Placidus Müller		1911				1915	Aimelik (1911-15).
22. Fr. Laurentius Bollig				1912	1912	1919	Expulsed.
23. Fr. Siegbert Gasser				1912		1919	Expulsed.
24. Br. Othmar Gesang					1904	+ 1914	Died in Pohnpei in 1914.
25. Br. Melchior Majewsky				1915	1904	+ 1915	From Poland. Died on Moen in 1915.
26. Br. Kolonat Metzen					1904	+ 1919	Died Pohnpei in 1919.
27. Br. Koloman Wiegand					1904	1919	
28. Br. Konrad Zerbe			1907		bef. 1909	1919?	Unable to go to New Guinea in 1914.
29. Br. Nilus Kampling		1912	1907			1919	Short time in Palau; back to Yap in 1912.
30. Br. Joachim Petry	1910?		1907			1916	Expulsed.
31. Br. Eustachius Kessler				1911	1906	1919	Lukunor (1911-19).
32. Br. Ivo Applemann		1907			1913	1919	
33. Br. Sebald Trenkle		1907	1910	1912		1919	

Title and name	Arr. Saipan	Arr. Palau	Arr. Yap	Arr. Truk	Arr. Ponape	Dep./ Death	Comments
34. Br. Gereon Gerster					1908	191-	Still there in 1914.
35. Br. Kleophas Kiefer		1909	1912			1915	Melekiok (1909-12), Yap (1912-14), Koror (1914-15).
36. Br. Mennas Bohner	1908					1919	Was in Rota in 1914.
37. Br. Georg Schmidt			1909			+ 1909	Died Yap in 1909.
38. Br. Donulus Tepelden		1910			1912	1919	
39. Br. Lucius Keller					1913?	1919	Rota (1910-12?). Was in Pohnpei in 1914.
40. Br. Vitalis Mortesacker		1913	1912			1915?	
Franciscan Sisters							
1. Sr. Katharina Möhring					1907	1912	
2. Sr. Bernardina Schmidt		1913			1907	1915	Was in Melekeok in 1915.
3. Sr. Bonaventura Kastner					1907	1918?	
4. Sr. Theresia Gotz			1907		1911	1913?	
5. Sr. Fridolina Geiger			1907		1911	1918?	
6. Sr. Adelina Knorr		1913	1907			1915	Was in Melekeok in 1914.
7. Sr. Natalia Paulus		1911			1909	1915	
8. Sr. Godoleva Müller		1909	1910			1912?	Aimelik (1909-10).
9. Sr. Lotharia Müller		1909				1913	

Title and name	Arr. Saipan	Arr. Palau	Arr. Yap	Arr. Truk	Arr. Ponape	Dep./ Death	Comments
10. Sr. Josepha Lehmann		1909	1911			1912	
11. Sr. Loretta Kienzle			1911			1918?	Still there in 1914.
12. Sr. Emiliana Anhalt			1911			1913?	
13. Sr. Ernesta Rottner					1911	1913?	
14. Sr. Dona Hafner		1911				1913	
15. Sr. Hermanna Simon		1911				1915	
16. Sr. Aloysia Fettig		1913				1915	Short time at Melekeok in 1915.
17. Sr. Columba Stoll		1913				1915	Short time in Melekeok in 1915.
18. Sr. Paula Krauth		1913				1915	Melekeok (1913-15).
19. Sr. Ignatia Benz					1913	1918?	
20. Sr. Johanna Sandt					1913	1918?	

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1 Sources: Various issues of the **Analecta O.M. Cap.** and of the Yearbooks for the Missions of the Rhine Province of the Capuchin Order.

First name	Family name	Hometown	Born	Marsh.	Nauru	Dep.	Comments
1. Fr. Jakob	Schmidt	Mülheim, Rhld.	1869	1900		1919	
2. Fr. August	Erdland	Oelde (Münster), Westfalia	1874	1901		1911	See Note 1.
3. Fr. Friedrich	Grüdl (or Grindle)	Bamberg, Oberfranken	1874		1901	?	
4. Fr. Joachim Leo	Kiefer	Lupstein (Zabern), Alsace	1876	1902		+ 1903	9 March '03
5. Fr. Johann	Wendler	Mittewalde (Schlesien)	1878	1904		+ 1912	13 May 1912
6. Fr. Aloys	Kayser	Lupstein (Zabern), Alsace	1877		1904	1919	See Note 2.
7. Fr. Joseph	Filbry	Lüdinghausen, Westfalia	1875	1905		1919?	
8. Fr. Johann Leo	Giesberts	Straden (Geldern)	1881	?	1906	1919?	
9. Fr. Bruno	Schinke	Stendal	1876	1912		+ 1916	24 Jan. 1916
10. Fr. Robert	Weber	Dreisbach, Westfalia	1885	1912		?	
11. Br. Callixtus	Bader	Obermeiselstein	1860	1898	1902	+ 1918	
12. Br. Heinrich	Egbers	Teglingen (Meppen), Harz.	1861	1901		?	
13. Br. August	Müller	Johannesberg, Rheingau	1862	1901		1919	
14. Br. Albert	Neumann	Zippnow, Ostpreussen	1879	1904		?	
15. Br. Karl	Zimmer	Schönstein, Rhld.	1866	1904		1919	
16. Br. Heinrich	Engelhardt	Göttingen	1877	1905	1925+	1907?	See Note 3.
17. Br. Johann B.	Müller	Börger (Hümmeling), Hannover	1883	1906		?	

First name	Civil names	Hometown	Born	Marsh.	Nauru	Dept.	Comments
18. Br. Franz M.P.	Rüther	Altenbeten (Paderborn)	1886	1906		?	
19. Br. Servatus	?					1919	
20. Br. ?	Ritter					?	
21. Br. ?	Schreiner					1915?	
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1. Sr. Johanna	Theresia Hölker	Altenberg (Münster)	1876	1902		1912	
2. Sr. Stanisla	Maria Hankmann	Ascheberg (Münster)	1876	1902		+ 1906	8 June 1906
3. Sr. Magdalena	Elisabeth Hartmeyer	Handorf (Münster)	1880	1902		1911	
4. Sr. Aloysia	Maria Mader	Hirschau (Oberfalz)	1871	1902		1911	
5. Sr. Hubertine	Anna Isenberg	Meklinde (Castrop)	1876		1902	1916	
6. Sr. Margaretha	Elisabeth Theele	Worbis	1874		1904	1916	
7. Sr. Georgia	Helena Lösing	Vreden (Münster)	1880	1904		1919	
8. Sr. Emilie	Catharina Hövelmann	Alverskirchen (Windberg)	1879	1904		1919	
9. Sr. Odilia	Anna Froitzhein	Munchen-Gladbach	1879	1904		1905	
10. Sr. Benedikta	Anna Maria Niermann	Kinderhause (Münster)	?	1905		+ 1907	17 March '07
11. Sr. Catherina	Maria Cath. Hellenkamp	Lette (Coesfeld), Westfalia	1878	1905		1919	
12. Sr. Bonifazia	Sophie Antonia Vieth	Nordkerchen	1882	1905		1919	
13. Sr. Dominika	Barbara M.C. Buchsteiner	Forstau (Radstadt)	1879	1905		1919	See Note 4.

First name	Civil names	Hometown	Born	Marsh.	Nauru	Dep.	Comments
14. Sr. Gertrudis	Josepha Schrief	Borghorst (Burgsteinfurt)	1880	1907		1919	
15. Sr. Severine	Josephine Bucker	Hamm	1884	1907		1919	
16. Sr. Ursula	Anna Billotet	Koblenz	1884	1907		1919	
17. Sr. Leotine	Gertrude Averbeck	Ottmarsbocholt (Lüd.), Westf.	1884	1907		1919	
18. Sr. Blanka	Maria Wieschemeyer	Dreyerwalde (Titlen.), Westfalia	1886	1907		1919	
19. Sr Chrysostoma	Elisabeth Hartmann	Clarholz (Wiedenb.), Westfalia	1886	1912		1919	
20. Sr. Constantia	Paula Hanenberg	Essen/Ruhr	1888	1912		1919	1234

- 1 Fr. Erdland wrote a book entitled: "South Sea Sketches."
- 2 Fr. Kayser returned later, being in Nauru in 1938. He died in Truk in 1944.
- 3 Br. Engelhardt returned and was serving in Nauru in 1925.
- 4 Sr. Dominika wrote a book entitled: "Li Anda."

Name	Born	Service record	Dep./ or Death
1. Msgr. Santiago López de Rego	1869	Served on Tolas, Chuuk, from 1921 to 1938.	1938
2. Fr. Dionisio de la Fuente	1878	Saipan (1921-30), Pohnpei (1930-32). Died in 1932.	+ 1932
3. Fr. Indelacio Llera	1886	Koror (1921-23), Saipan (1923-26, 30-31, 33), Rota (1926-30, 31-33).	1933
4. Fr. Marino de la Hoz	1886	First served at Melekeok as of 1921, visited Tobi, Died 1944.	+ 1944
5. Fr. José Gumucio	1875	Yap (1921-23), Rota (1923-26, 30-31, 33-35), Saipan (1926-30, 31-33, 35-36).	1936
6. Fr. José Pájaro	1885	Jaluit (1922-24, 28-34), Chuuk (1921-22, 25-27), Pohnpei (1924-25, 27-28).	+ 1934
7. Fr. Martín Espinal	1884	Mortlocks (1921-43), Chuuk (1943-51). Died 1951.	+ 1951
8. Fr. Pedro Castro	1871	Pohnpei (1921-23, 24-36), Chuuk (1923-24).	1936
9. Fr. Luís Herrera	1879	Pohnpei (1921-24). Wrote a book entitled: "En China y Carolinas."	1924
10. Fr. Eduardo Rodes	1883	Rota (1921-24), Palau (1921-26).	1926
11. Fr. Juan Pons	1876	Chuuk (1922-23), Yap (1923-35), Saipan (1935-37), Rota (1937-43). Died 1944.	+ 1944
12. Fr. José Ramón Suárez	1885	Arno (1922-24), Pohnpei (1924-25), Chuuk (1925-29). Died 1929.	+ 1929
13. Fr. Ramón Lasquibar	1870	Pohnpei (1922-50).	1950
14. Fr. Luís Carlos Faber	1889	Chuuk (1923-25). To Japan in 1925. Died 1933.	1925
15. Fr. Antonio Guasch	1879	Chuuk (1925-26), Jaluit (1926-28).	1928
16. Fr. Bernardo de la Espriella	1890	Yap (1926-44). Died 1944.	+ 1944
17. Fr. Higinio Berganza	1892	Pohnpei (1926-73). Died 1973.	+ 1973
18. Fr. Julián de Madariaga	1883	Yap (1926). Died soon after arrival.	+ 1926

Name	Born	Service record	Dep./ or Death
19. Fr. Elias Fernández	1880	Palau (1926-44). Died 1944.	+ 1944
20. Fr. Santiago [=Jaime] Battle	1892	Chuuk (1926-45). Died elsewhere in 1965.	1945
21. Fr. Faustino Hernández	1891	Chuuk (1926-55).	1955
22. Fr. José (María) Tardio	1893	Chuuk (1929-30), Saipan (1930-35, 37-47), Rota (1935-37). Died 1947.	+ 1947
23. Fr. Gregorio Fernández	1900	Chuuk (1931-36), Pohnpei (1936-57).	1957
24. Fr. Luis Blanco	1896	Yap (1933-44). Died 1944.	+ 1944
25. Fr. Quirino Fernández	1900	Mortlocks (1935-36), Pohnpei (1936-60). Died 1960.	+ 1960
26. Fr. Juan Bizkarra	1908	Arrived Koror 1946. Still there in 1983 when I visited him.	?
----- 27. Br. Gregorio Oroquieta	1893	Saipan (1921-46, with spells in Rota), Yap (1948-70), Pohnpei (1971-77).	+ 1977
28. Br. Salvador Casasayas	1899	Rota (1921-23), ? (1923-26), Chuuk (1926-43, 45-50), Pohnpei (1943-45).	1950
29. Br. Emilio (del) Villar	1893	Palau (1921-44). Died 1944.	+ 1944
30. Br. José (Mauricio) Gojénola	1877	Melekeok (1921-24), Pohnpei (1924-58?). Died 1958.	+ 1958
31. Br. Aniceto Ramón Unamuno	1867	Yap (1921-24), Saipan (1924-29). Died in Spain in 1930.	1929
32. Br. Miguel Timoner	1892	Chuuk (1922-23), Rota (1923-35, 37-44), Saipan (1935-36). Died 1944.	+ 1944
33. Br. Florencio Mancera	1891	Chuuk (1921-29). Died 1929.	+ 1929
34. Br. Aniceto Arizaleta	1869	Mortlocks (1921-43), Pohnpei (1943-46). Died 1946.	+ 1946
35. Br. Paulino Cobo	1895	Pohnpei (1921-71). Died 1971.	+ 1971
36. Br. Antonio García H.	1888	Pohnpei (1921-22).	1922

Name	Born	Service record	Dep./ or Death
37. Br. Victoriano Tudanca	1889	Pohnpei (1921-22, 24-28), Jaluit (1922-24), Chuuk (1928-32). Died 1932.	+ 1932
38. Br. Francisco Burzaco	1865	Pohnpei (1922-32). Died 1932.	+1932
39. Br. Juan de la Cruz Ariceta	1898	Pohnpei (1922-30, 65-84+), Tokyo (1930-46), Koror (1946-65). At P. in 1984.	198-?
40. Br. Francisco Hernández	1887	Arno (1922-24), Chuuk (1924-25), Yap (1925-44). Died 1944.	+ 1944
41. Br. Fernando Hernández	1902	Chuuk (1924-28), Jaluit (1928-34), Mortlocks (1934-36), Pohnpei (1936-44).	+ 1945
42. Br. Santiago [=Jaime] Cerda	1883	Pohnpei (1925-26; at New Guinea plantation (1926-34); Chuuk (1934-38).	1938
43. Br. Gregorio Ruiz	1888	Palau (1926-28). Died 1929.	1928
44. Br. Cipriano Martín (Contreras)	1883	Chuuk (1926-34), Saipan (1934-38), ? (1938-52).	1952
45. Br. Juan Belinchón	1891	Chuuk (1926-27, 36-38), Pohnpei (1927-36, 38-64).	1964
46. Br. Agustín Aguinaco	1893	Pohnpei (1926-49).	1949
47. Br. Pedro Espuny	1892	Jaluit (1926-28), Chuuk (1928-50). Died 1950.	1950
48. Br. Hilario Arrondo	1891	Chuuk (1927-29), Pohnpei (1929-31). Resigned.	1931
49. Br. Juan Santana	1896	Chuuk (1929-47).	1947
50. Br. Celestino Obispo	?	Palau (1932-36), Chuuk (1936). Resigned.	1936
51. Br. Alonso Sayago	1891	Rota (1933-34). Died 1934.	+ 1934
52. Br. Rafael Arregui	1909	Chuuk (1935-36). To Japan in 1936. Died 1941.	1936

Note: The collaboration of Fr. F.X. Hezel, S.J.,
Director of the Mironesian Seminar is hereby ac-
knowledged.

Name	Service record	Dep.
ABCFM Missionaries		
1. Rev. Luther H. Gulick	M.D. born Honolulu. Arr. Pohnpei 1852. To Ebon 1859. Died USA 1892.	1862
2. Mrs. Louisa Lewis Gulick	On leave 1857-59. Died USA 1894.	1862
3. Rev. Albert A. Sturges	Born 1819. Arr. Pohnpei 1852. Ebon 1860. Back Pohnpei 1861 & 1871. Died 1887	1884/5?
4. Mrs. Susan Thompson Sturges	Born 1820. Arrived Pohnpei in 1852 & 1862. Absent 1871-74. Died 1893.	1881
5. Rev. Benjamin G. Snow	Born 1817. Arrived Kosrae 1852. To Ebon 1862. Died 1880.	1878
6. Mrs. Lydia Buck Snow	Born 1820. On leave 1878-80? Died 1887.	1882
7. Rev. Edward T. Doane	Born 1820. Arr. Pohnpei 1855. Ebon 1857. Back Pohnpei 1865. Absent 1874-?	1890
8. Mrs. Sarah Wilbur Doane	Rev. deported to Manila. Died Honolulu 1890. Mrs. #1 died Hon. Feb. 1862.	1861
9. Mrs. Clara Strong Doane	Mrs. #2 arrived Pohnpei 1865	1872
10. Rev. George Pierson	M.D. born 1826. Arrived Kosrae 1855, To Ebon 1857. Died USA 1895.	1859
11. Mrs. Nancy Shaw Pierson	Born 1828. Same postings as above. Died USA 1892.	1859
12. Rev. Hiran Bingham, Jr.	Born Hawaii 1831. Arr. Abaiang 1857. Absent 1864-67. Visits made 1866-72.	1864/72
13. Mrs. Minerva Brewster Bingham	Born 1834. Died 1903.	1903
14. Rev. Ephraim P. Roberts	Born 1825. Arr. Pohnpei 1858. Recalled 1861 for misbehavior. Died USA 1893.	1861
15. Mrs. Myra Farrington Roberts	Born 1835. Arr. Pohnpei 1858.	1861
16. Rev. Joel F. Whitney	Arrived Ebon 1871. To Kosrae 1879.	1881
17. Mrs. Louisa Bailey Whitney	Idem.	1881
18. Rev. Frank E. Rand	Arrived Pohnpei 1874. On leave 1888-90. To Kosrae 1890.	1894
19. Mrs. Carrie Foss Rand	Arrived Pohnpei 1874. Went to Japan in 1887. To Kosrae 1890?	1894
20. Rev. Robert W. Logan	Arrived Pohnpei 1874. To Mortlocks 1879. To Chuuk 1884/5. Died Moen 1887.	1887
21. Mrs. Mary Fenn Logan	Followed husband. On leave 1888-89. To Gilberts 1899, where she died.	+ 1899
22. Rev. Horace J. Taylor	Arrived Abaiang 1874. On leave 1875-77?	1883
23. Mrs. Julia Rudd Taylor	Died Abaiang 1874.	+ 1874
24. Mrs. Jennie Rudd Taylor	Arrived Abaiang 1877. Died 1881.	+ 1881

Name	Service record	Dep.
25. Rev. Edmund M. Pease	M.D. Arrived Ebon 1877. To Kosrae 1879. Leave 84-85, 94-95. Ebon 1894. Visitor.	1897
26. Mrs. Harriet Sturtevant Pease	Ebon (1877-84, 86-94). Kosrae (1979-84). On leave 1984-85.	1894
27. Rev. Alfred C. Walkup	Abaiang (1880-82), Ebon (1882-84), Kosrae (1884-88). Visitor 1889-1909.	+ 1909
28. Mrs. Lavinia Barr Walkup	Idem. Died Kosrae 1888.	+ 1888
29. Miss Lillian S. Cathcart	Arrived Kosrae 1881. Departed 1885, or maybe 1886 or 1887.	1885?
30. Rev. Albert S. Houston	Arrived Pohnpei 1882. Died 1899.	1884
31. Mrs. Elizabeth Danskin Houston	Idem.	1884
32. Miss Jennie E. Fletcher	Arrived Pohnpei 1882. To Kosrae 1890. Died 1906.	1897
33. Miss Annette A. Palmer	Pohnpei (84-90, 1900-06), Kosrae (90-93). Leave (97-00). Marsh. (93-97). Later Mrs. Cole.	+ 1906
34. Miss E. Theodora Crosby	Arrved Pohnpei 1886. Leave 1889-94. Later Mrs. Bliss. Wrote book on the Mission.	1898
35. Miss Lydia E. Hemingway	Kosrae (1886-87).	1887
36. Miss Sarah L. Smith	Arrived Kosrae 1886. Married Capt. Garland.	1901
37. Miss Lucy M. Ingersoll	M.D. Pohnpei (1887-89).	1889
38. Mr. Daniel J. Treiber	Chuuk (1987-89).	1889
39. Mrs. Rose Standish Treiber	Idem.	1889
40. Miss Alice C. Little	Kosrae (1888-92), Marshalls (1892-95).	1895
41. Rev. Alfred Snelling	Arrived Chuuk 1888. Became independent of ABCFM 1896. Died at sea 1905.	+ 1905
42. Mrs. Elizabeth Weymer Snelling	Arrived Chuuk 18888. Left 1905?	1905?
43. Rev. John J. Forbes	Arrived Pohnpei 1889. Soon died there.	+ 1889
44. Mrs. Rachel Crawford Forbes	Arr. Pohnpei 1889. To Kosrae 1889. Born Montreal, Canada. Left 93 or 94.	1893?
45. Miss Lucy M. Cole	Arrived Pohnpei before 1890.	?

Name	Service record	Dep.
?? Mr. & Mrs. Worth (?)	In Chuuk before 1890?	?
46. Miss Rose M. Kinney	Arrived Chuuk 1890.	1897
47. Miss Ida C. Foss	Arrived Kosrae 1890. Mokil (1896-97). Leave, 1897-1900. To Pohnpei 1900, or earlier.	1906
48. Miss Jessie R. Hoppin	Kosrae (1890-1905). Leave (1905-08). Banaba (1908-13)., Jaluit (1914-38)..	1938
49. Rev. Irving M. Channon	Kosrae (1890-1905). Leave 1905-08). Banaba (1908-13).	1913
50. Mrs. Mary Goldsbury Channon	Idem.	
51. Rev. Carl Heine	From Australia. Jaluit (1890-1909?). Ebon (ca. 1909+). Died in Marshall Is.	+ 1944
52. Miss Annie E. Abell	Kosrae (1892-98). Leave (1898-99?).	1901
53. Miss Louisa E. Wilson	Kosrae (1893-1910).	1910
54. Rev. Francis M. Price	Chuuk (1894-99). Leave (1899-1900). Guanı (1900-04).	1904
55. Mrs. Sarah Freeborn Price	Idem.	1904Id
56. Rev. Clinton F. Rife	M.D. Kosrae (1894-1906). Majuro (1906-12).	1912
57. Mrs. Isadora Roté Rife	Idem.	1912
58. Rev. Louis M. Mitchell	Arrived Butaritari from Hawaii 1895. Converted to Roman Catholic and recalled 1896.	1896
59. Mrs. Ruth Mahoe Mitchell	Idem.	1896
60. Capt. George I. Foster	Chuuk (1895-1900). Capt. of R.W. Logan II . Married Rev. Logan's daughter.	1900
61. Miss Beulah Logan	Arrived Chuuk 1897. Married Captain Foster. Later became Mrs. Tuthill.	1900
62. Miss Jenny Olin	Born in Sweden. Kosrae (1905-11?).	1911?
63. Miss Jane D. Baldwin	Chuuk (1898-1908 or 1911). Then to Kosrae. Retired 1930 but stayed Kosrae until 1940.	1940
64. Miss Elizabeth Baldwin	Chuuk (1898-1908). Kosrae (1908-1930). Sister of above. Died 1939.	+ 1939

Name	Service record	Dep.
65. Rev. Martin L. Stimson	Chuuk (1898-1906). Guam (1906-1907).	1907
66. Mrs. Emily Hall Stimson	Idem.	1907
67. Rev. Philip A. Delaporte	Nauru (1899-1915).	1915
68. Mrs. Salome S. Delaporte	Idem.	1915
69. Miss Mary A. Channel	Guam (1900-02).	1902
70. Rev. Edward E. Hyde	Chuuk (1900-01).	1901
71. Mrs. Mabel Selleck Hyde	Idem.	1901
72. Rev. Thomas Gray	Pohnpei (1900-196?). Liebenzellers replaced ABCFM on Pohnpei ca. 1907.	1906?
73. Mrs. Leta Danby Gray	Idem.	1906?
74. Rev. Arthur C. Logan	Guam (1902-03). Guam again, as of 1912 to perhaps 1922.	1903
75. Mrs. Alice Price Logan	Idem.	1903
76. Rev. Albert A. Jagnow	Chuuk (1903-07).	1907
77. Mrs. Maria Gliewe Jagnow	Idem.	1907
78. Rev. Herbert E. B. Case	Guam (1905-10).	1910
79. Mrs. Ada Rogers Case	Idem.	1910
80. Rev. ? Graham (or Grant)	Guam, as of 1905? Departure date unknown. Ref. a book by Mary Stevens.	?
81. Mrs. ? Graham (or Grant)	Idem.	?
82. Miss ? Linke	Nauru, before 1909. Nothing known for sure.	?
83. Rev. Frank J. Woodward	Banaba (1911-12). Abaiang (1912-15).	1915
84. Mrs. Marion Wells Woodward	Kosrae, ca. 1909. Abaiang (1912-15).	1915
85. Rev. Charles H. Maas	Born in Germany. Majuro (1912-18).	1918
86. Mrs. Matilda Maas	Born in Denmark. Majuro (1912-18).	1918
87. Rev. Richard E. G. Grenfell	Banaba (1912-15). Abaiang (1915-16).	1916

Name	Service record	Dep.
88. Mrs. Grenfell	Banaba (1912-15). Abaiang (1915-16).	191
89. Rev. A. L. Luttrull	A Baptist. Guam (1925-28).	1928
90. Rev. D. Tenison	A Baptist. Guam (1928+).	
91. Rev. George C Lockwood	Jaluit (1928-32).	19 2
92. Mrs. Eleanor Lockwood	Idem.	19 2
93. Miss Eleanor Wilson	Kosrae (1936-40). Leave (1940-46, 1951-53, 55-56). Marshalls (1946+).	19 2
94. Rev. Clarence F. McCall	Kosrae (1936-40).	19 0
95. Mrs. Cora Campbell McCall	Idem.	19 0
96. Rev. Anna Dederer	Arrived Chuuk and Mortlocks in 1935. To Majuro 1954. Was Liebenzeller before WWII.	19 1
97. Mr. Chester Terpstra	Arrived Pohnpei before 1953 No other information available.	
98. Mrs. Terpstra	Idem.	
99. Rev. Fred Skillings	Born in Kosrae, half-breed. Had married King John's sister. Served locally, ca. 1936.	
100. Mr. Harold F. Hanlin	Marshalls as of 1947. Went on leave in 1950. Still in Marshalls in 1966.	
101. Mrs. Mary Ruth Martin Hanlin	Idem.	
102. Miss Lela Morgan	Pohnpei as of 1952.	
103. Mr. Robert C. Loomis	Marshalls (1952-59).	
104. Mrs. Ruby Loomis	Idem.	
105. Miss Louise Meebold	Marshalls (1952-53).	
106. Miss Lucy B. Lanktree	Marshalls (1954-57).	
107. Miss Ida May Woodbury	Marshalls (1958-60).	

Name	Service record	Dep.
108. Rev. Charles J. Bailey	Marshalls (1960-61).	1961
109. Mr. Elden M. Buck	Marshalls, as of 1963. Still there in 1966.	?
110. Mrs. Mary A. Hanlin Buck	Idem.	?
111. Mr. Donald S. Daughy	Marshalls, as of 1963. Still there in 1966.	?
112. Mrs. Kathleen McCormick Daugh.	Born in Nigeria. Marshalls, as of 1965. Still there in 1966.	?
113. Mr. William Hilton II Petry	Marshalls, as of 1964. Still there in 1966.	?
114. Miss Julia M. Rahib	Marshalls, as of 1966. Was to marry Mr. Petry.	?
115. Mr. Tuck Wah Lee	Born Hawaii. Marshalls, as of 1965.	?
116. Mrs. Alice Panole Lee	Idem.	?
117. Mr. Robert C. Smith	Marshalls, as of 1965.	?
118. Mrs. Barbara Schuerch Smith	Idem.	?
119. Mr. Stephen C. Evans	Marshalls, as of 1966.	?
120. Mrs. Charlotte Freeman Evans	Idem.	?
121. Mr. Thomas J. Chilton	Marshalls, as of 1966.	?
Hawaiian Missionaries (HMB)		
1. Rev. Berita Kaaikaula	Pohnpei (1852-59). Died at Pohnpei on 13 January 1859.	+ 1859
2. Mrs. Debora Kaaikaula	Pohnpei (1852-59).	1859
3. Rev. Daniel(a) Opunui	Pohnpei (1852-53). Died Kosrae 1853.	1853
4. Mrs. Doreka(?) Opunui	Pohnpei (1852-53).	1853
5. Rev. Kamahahiki	Pohnpei (1855-57).	1857
6. Mrs. Doreka Kamahahiki	Idem.	1857
7. Rev. J. W. Kanoa	Kosrae (55-57). Abaiang (57-65, 73-74). Butaritari (65-66, 67, 74-96). Kosrae (1866-67).	+ 1896
8. Mrs. Kaholo Kanoa	Idem. Rev. Kanoa left ABCFM in 1886. Died Butaritari 1896.	1896?

Name	Service record	Dep.
9. Rev. ? Kankaule	Ebon, as of 1857?	?
10. Mrs. Kanakahole	Idem.	?
11. Rev. J. H. Mahoe	Abaiang (1857-58, 67-68). Tarawa (1858-67). Butaritari (1869-70). Died Kauai 1891.	1870
12. Mrs. Olivia Mahoe	Idem.	1870
13. Rev. D. P. Aumai	Abaiang (1858-68).	1868
14. Mrs. Maui Aumai	Idem.	1868
15. Rev. Rev. H. Aea	To Ebon 1860. To Majuro 1869. Left 1871. Died 1872.	1871
16. Mrs. Debora Aea	Idem. Died 1871.	+ 1871
17. Rev. Rev. M. George Haina	Tarawa (1860-67, 74-76, 77+). Abaiang (1867-74, 76-77). Died 1886	+ 1886
18. Mrs. Kaluahine Haina	Idem.	?
19. Mr. & Mrs. Tutekea	Left Abaiang in 1872. Nothing else recorded.	1872?
20. Mr. & Mrs. Tekanene	Left Abaiang in 1872. Nothing else recorded.	1872?
21. Rev. David Kapali	Ebon (1862-64, 67-73). Namorik (1865). Jaluit (1865-67, 73-80).	1880
22. Mrs. Tamara Kapali	Idem.	
23. Rev. W. P. Kapu	Abaiang (1863-68). Tarawa and Tabiteuea (1868-93). Died Honolulu 1896.	1893
24. Mrs. Maria Kapu	Idem.	1893
25. Rev Kaelemakule	Namorik (1865-70). Died 1870.	+ 1870
26. Rev. Robert Maka	Butaritari (1867-79, 1883). Leave (1879-83). Died Oahu 1907.	1883
27. Mrs. Mary M. Kelau Maka	Idem.	1883
28. Rev. G. Leleo	Tabiteuea (1868-71). Nonouti (1871-76). Abaiang (1876-84). Died Honolulu 1891.	1884
29. Mrs. Leleo	Idem.	1884
30. Rev. D. Kanoho	Tarawa 1869-71). Marakei & Butaritari (1871-80, 83-94). Leave (1880-83). Died 1896	1894
31. Mrs. Rachel Kailihao Kanoho	Idem.	1894

Name	Service record	Dep.
32. Rev. J. D. Ahia	Tarawa (1869-70). Abaiang (1870-72).	1872
33. Mrs. Ahia	Idem.	1872
34. Mr. Moses Naukanaelo	Was in Maiana in 1871. No other information.	?
35. Rev. S. Kabelemauna	At Mili from 1870 until his death in 1876.	+ 1876.
36. Rev. H. B. Nalimu	Tabiteuea (1871-82).	1882
37. Mrs. Keahiloa Nalimu	Idem.	1882
38. Rev. T. Kaehuaea	Nonouti from 1871 until unknown date.	?
39. Mrs. Kaehuaea	Idem.	?
40. Rev. William Nehemia Lono	Maiana (1871-82, 85-94). On leave (1882-85). Died Hawaii 1911.	1894
41. Mrs. Julia Lono	Idem.	1894
42. Rev. Solomon P. Kaaia	Namorik (1871-73). Arno (1873-82). Was at Tabiteuea in 1889.	?
43. Mrs. Kanoko Kaaia	Idem.	?
44. Rev. S. W. Kekuewa	Majuro (1873-83). Ref. Bryan's "Life in the Marshall Is."	?
45. Mrs. Miriama Kekuewa	Idem.	?
46. Rev. Solomon Kahea Maunaloa	Abaiang 1880-81). Died 1885.	1881
47. Rev. Z. S. K. Paaluhi	Tabiteuea (1887-90). Died 1904.	1890
48. Mrs. Emma Paaluhi	Idem.	1890
49. Rev. Martina Lutera	Abaiang (1887-90). Died Kauai 1908.	1890
50. Mrs. Harriet S. H. Lutera	Idem.	1890
51. Rev. John Nua	Butaritari (1892-95). Died Honolulu 1916.	1895
52. Mrs. Julia Haweleku Nua	Idem.	1895
53. Rev. David Kaai	Abaiang (1892-95). Died Molokai 1919.	1895
54. Mrs. Paalua Makekau Kaai	Idem.	1895

Name	Service record	Dep.
55. Rev. Daniel Punua Mahihila	Maiana (1892-1904). Still living in 1937. Last Hawaiian missionary in Micronesia. In	1904
56. Mrs. Sara Mahihila	1917, the London Missionary Society officially took over the whole of the Gilberts.	1904
Liebenzeller Missionaries		
1. Rev. Ernst Wiese	Pohnpei (1906-19?).	1919?
2. Mrs. Elfriede Kohrig Wiese	Pohnpei (1907-08). Died Pohnpei 1908.	+ 1908
3. Rev. Wilhelm Siebold	Pohnpei (1906-19?). See Weichel below.	1919?
4. Rev. Ernst Dönges	Chuuk (1907-19?). Served on Toloas.	1919?
5. Mrs. Gertrude Klingler Dönges	Arrived Chuuk in 1909.	?
6. Rev. Rudolf Mäder	Chuuk (1907-14, 26+). Served on Toloas. On leave (1914-26).	?
7. Mrs. Rosa Loosli Mäder	Arrived Chuuk in 1908.	1914
8. Miss Mina Karer	Pohnpei (1907+)	?
9. Miss Lina Lueling	Pohnpei (1907+). Became Mrs. Wiese #2.	1919?
10. Miss Kathe Weichel	Pohnpei (1908+). Became Mrs. Seibold.	1919?
11. Miss Elise Zuber	Chuuk (1909-19, 26-44). On leave (1919-26).	+ 1944
12. Miss Emma Manteufel	Chuuk (1909+)	?
13. Rev. Adam Syring	Pohnpei (1910-19).	1919
14. Mrs. Johanna Polster Syring	Pohnpei (1912-19).	1919
15. Rev. ? Hugenschmidt	Pohnpei (1910-13).	1913
16. Mrs. ? Hugenschmidt	Idem.	1913
17. Rev. Karl Becker	Chuuk (1910-19?) Was on Fefan in 1913.	1919?
18. Rev. Ernst Uhlig	Visited all missionas in 1912. Left 1919, returned 1926.	?

Name	Service record	Dep.
19. Rev. Karl Häusser	Arrived Chuuk, ca. 1913.	1919
20. Miss Paula Krämer	Idem.	1919
21. Miss Anna Schneider	Idem.	1919
22. Rev. Otto Joswig	Arrived Chuuk ca. 1927. Sometimes in Japan, also in Mortlocks. Left after 1937.	aft. 1937
23. Rev. Wilhelm Länger	Japan (1927-29). Palau (1929-34, 37-41). On leave 1934-37.	1941
24. Mrs. Länger #1	Died Japan 1934.	1934
25. Mrs. Länger #2	Arrived 1937. Died Palau 1941.	+ 1941
26. Miss Lydia Müller	Chuuk (1930+).	?
27. Rev. Hans Rattel	Chuuk (1932+).	?
28. Rev. ? Siemer	Palau (1930-38).	1938
29. Mrs. ? Siemer	Idem.	1938
30. Rev. Wilhelm Fey	Palau (1933+). Still there in 1941.	?
31. Mrs. Fey	Idem.	?
32. Miss Hildegard Thiem	Palau (1935-40, 52+). On leave (1940-52). Still in Palau in 1959.	?
33. Miss Hermine Rittmann	Palau (1935-41).	1941
34. Miss Anna Dederer	Chuuk and Mortlocks (1935-53. Majuro (1954-61) Became ABCFM during WWII.	1961
35. Rev. Richard Neumaier	Chuuk (1935-48). Was in Hall Islands from 1937 to about 1942.	1948
36. Rev. Wilhelm Kärcher	Mortlocks (1937-43). Chuuk (1943-52). On leave 1952-54). Still in Chuuk in 1959	?
37. Mrs. Kärcher	Arrived 1937? Left 1959	1959
38. Rev. Erwin Pegel	Mortlocks (1955+). Still there in 1959.	?
39. Mrs. Pegel	Idem.	?

Name	Service record	Dep.
40. Miss Ingelore Lengning	Palau (1955+). Still there in 1959.	?
41. Rev. Hermann Becker	Palau (1935+). Still there in 1959.	?
42. Rev. Edmund Kalau	Palau (195659). Yap (1959+). Still Yap in 1959.	?
43. Mrs. Kalau	Idem.	?
44. Miss Annaliese Stüber	Chuuk (1957+). Still there in 1959.	?
45. Rev. Wilhelm Baer	Palau (1958-60).	1960
46. Rev. Peter Ermel	Chuuk (1959+)	?
47. Mrs. Ermel	Idem.	?
48. Rev. Ernst Seng	Chuuk (1959+). Still there in 1977.	?
49. Mrs. Anna Dore Seng	Idem.	?
50. Rev. Siegfried Neumaier	Was in Chuuk in 1977.	?
51. Rev. Curt Gustafson	Arrived at Palau before 1973.	?
52. Mrs. Colleen Gustafson	Idem.	?
53. Rev. Lee Brown	Arrived at Yap before 1973.	?
54. Mrs. Madeline Brown	Idem.	?
55. Rev. Harald Gorges	Arrived at Yap before 1978.	?
56. Mrs. Hannalore Gorges	Idem.	?
57. Rev. Klaus Müller	Arrived at Chuuk before 1979?	?
58. Mrs Ulrike Müller	Idem.	?
59. Miss Dorothy Baamer	Arrived at Yap before 1979.	?
60. Miss Carolinda Laaken	Arrived at Yap in 1978.	?

Name	Service record	Dep.
61. Miss Doris Eberhardt	Arrived at Yap in 1979. Still there when I visited in 1983.	?
62. Rev. Roland Rauchholz	Arrived at Chuuk before 1980?	?
63. Miss Elisabeth Reumann	Arrived Palau before 1980. Still there in 1983.	?
64. Rev. ? Seitz	Arrived Palau before 1980.	?
65. Mrs. Hermine Seitz	Idem.	?
66. Rev. Paul Murdoch	Arrived Chuuk before 1981.	?
67. Mrs. Maria-Louisa Murdoch	Idem.	?
68. Rev. Norman Dietsch	Arrived Chuuk before 1982?	?
69. Rev. Heinz Hengstler	Arrived Yap 1982.	?
70. Mrs. Hengstler	Idem.	?
71. Rev. Gert Rosenau	Arrived Palau before 1983?	?
72. Mrs. Elke Rosenau	Idem.	?
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1 Ed. note: During the 1930s, there was a Japanese Protestant missionary named Rev. HIRATA Hajime in charge of the Jabwor Training School in Jaluit. During World War II, there were at least two Japanese Protestant missionaries who came to the islands, for instance, Father YAMAGUCHI Shokichi in Chuuk, and Father TANAKA Kanezo in Pohnpei. The latter was accompanied by his wife (ref. Akinori).

Name	Service record	Dep.
1. Fr. Édouard Bontemps [alias Te Tama Etuare]	Born 1841. Arr. Nonouti 1888. Visited Nukunau 1889, other islands 1891-92 Died Nonouti 24 November 1897.	+ 1897
2. Fr./Msgr. Joseph Leray [alias Te Tama Josepa]	Born 1854. Arrived Nonouti 1888. Lived Tarawa. Visited other islands 1888, 93, 1901. Died Nonouti 1929.	+ 1929
3. Fr. Jean-Marie-Charles Gressin [alias Te Tama Maria]	Born 1863. Arrived Butaritari 1895. To Beru 1898. Leave (99-01). Died France 1932.	?
4. Fr. Richard Van de Wouver	Arrived Nonouti 1895. Still in Tarawa in 1923.	?
5. Fr. Joseph Lebeau	Arrived Tarawa 1895. To Abaiang 1897, Maiana 1900, Banaba later. Still Abaiang 1938.	?
6. Fr. Benjamin Gaillard	Born 1832. Served in Nonouti. Died there in July 1897.	+ 1897
7. Fr. Auguste Boudin	Born 1871. Arrived Nonouti 1898. On leave at Sydney, 1921-23. To France. Died 1932.	bef. 1925
8. Fr. Edmond Raynaud	Born 1860. Arrived Nonouti 1899. To Butaritari 1901. Died there on 1 December 1905.	+ 1905
9. Fr. Anatole Quoirier	Nikunau (1899-1903). France (1905-08). Banaba (1909-14?). Spent WWI in France. Marakei, before 1915. To Abaiang in 1921.	?
10. Fr. Athanase Toub blanc	Born 1855. Beru 1899. Then Onotoa 1899 and Maiana 1908. Died France 1917.	1910
11. Fr. Alexandre Cochet	Born 1865. Tarawa (1900-03). Abaiang (1903+). Died Tarawa on 22 May 1918.	+ 1918
12. Fr. Martin Van Hoogstraten	Dutch. Arrived Tarawa 1899. Marakei (1900-05).	?
13. Fr. Jean Philippe	From Québec, Canada. Arrived Tarawa 1900. To Abamama 1905.	?
14. Fr. Fernand Narbonne	Born 1856. Arrived Onotoa 1901. To Tarawa 1908. Died Tarawa 1931.	+ 1931
15. Fr. Constant Gasperment	Born 1875. Arrived Tarawa 1902. Died there on 29 December 1903.	+ 1903
16. Fr. Antoine Petit	Born 1879. Arrived Tarawa 1903. Died Tarawa 1904.	+ 1904
17. Fr. Joseph Dupuy	Born 1876. Arrived Maiana 1903. Died France 1913.	1908
18. Fr. Alphonse Van de Wouver	Born 1876. Arrived Tabiteuea 1903. Died there on 9 June 1921.	+ 1921

Name	Service record	Dep.
19. Fr. Aloys Kayser	German. Born 1877. Served in Nauru, 1904-38, except during WWI.	1938
20. Fr. Eugène Choblet	Arrived Beru 1904. Caught leprosy 1927. Still in Gilberts in 1938.	?
21. Fr. ? Astier	Mentioned as present in 1905. No other information.	?
22. Fr. G. Meunier	Arrived 1903. To Tabiteuea before 1905. To Nikunau 1906. Last reported there 1912.	?
23. Fr. Auguste Auclair	Arrived Nonouti 1905. Served in Tabiteuea and Onotoa. Spent WWI in France. Was at Nikunau in 1920.	?
24. Fr. Julien Droneau	Arrived Tabiteuea 1905, To Maiana before 1923.	?
25. Fr. Alexis Pouvreau	Arrived Butaritari 1905. To Abaiang 1920 and Tarawa before 1931. Spent WWI in France.	?
26. Fr. Adolfe Vocat	Arrived Marakei 1906. Spent next 30 years there.	1936?
27. Fr. Henri Francheteau	Born 1882. Arrived Abemama 1907. To Nikunau 1912. Died there 1914.	+ 1914
28. Fr. ? Berclaz	Arrived Tarawa 1908. To Banaba 1911.	1920?
29. Fr. Alexandre Maillard	Born 1881. Arrived Maiana 1909. Died France 1929.	1917.
30. Fr. Jean-Marie Hüe	Born 1883. Arrived Nikunau ca. 1910. Died there on 4 June 1912.	+ 1912
31. Fr. Ernest Sabatier	Arrived Abemama 1912. Still there in 1939. Wrote a book about the Mission.	?
32. Fr. ? Trautwein	Swiss. Arrived Abemama 1914.	1920?
33. Fr. ? Springinsfeld	Arrived Tarawa before 1918.	?
34. Fr. Louis Wigishoff	Arrived Tarawa before 1920.	?
35. Fr. ? Pujebet	Arrived Banaba before 1920. Still there in 1938.	?
36. Fr. ? Guichard	Arrived Tarawa before 1918. To Butaritari before 1923.	?

Name	Service record	Dep.
37. Fr. ? Jonchère	Arrived Abemama before 1923.	?
38. Fr. Jean-Paul ?	Arrived Nonouti before 1923. To Tarawa before 1929.	??
39. Fr. ? Ahrlers	Arrived 1925, but no other details available.	?
40. Fr./Msgr. Joseph Bach	Born 1872. Arrived Butaritari 1925(?). Served on Tarawa.	1934
41. Fr. Bernard Bender	Born 1889. Arrived Nonouti before 1927. Died there in 1933.	+ 1933.
42. Fr. Étienne Simon	Born 1901. Arrived Tarawa 1928. Died there 1930.	+ 1930
43. Fr. Albert Meyer	Arrived Tarawa before 1929.	?
44. Fr./Msgr. Octave Terrienne	Arrived Tabiteuea 1930. To Tarawa 1937	?
45. Fr. Eugène Cousin	Born 1903. Arrived Tarawa 1931 and died there same year.	+ 1931
46. Fr. ? Romonet	Arrived Abaiang before 1931	?
47. Fr. ? Claret		?
48. Fr. ? Vialon		?
49. Fr. ? Doherty		?
50. Fr. ? O'Brien	In Nauru in 1938.	?
51. Fr. ? Maye		?

Brothers (mostly Belgians or Dutch):		
1. Br. Conrad Weber	Born 1867. Nonouti & Nikunau 1888, Tabiteuea & Marakei 1891. Jaluit 91-92. Nikunau again 1899. Butaritari 1909. Tarawa before 1923.	?
2. Br. Étienne Van de Zande	Born 1867. Nonouti 1894, Tarawa 95, Abaiang (1903-12). Died Abaiang 1 Nov. 1912.	+ 1912

Name	Service record	Dep.
3. Br. Ferdinand Van der Linden	Born 1871. Beru (1895-96). Died Beru January 1896.	+ 1896
4. Br. Bernard Lemmens	Born 1865. Beru and Tabiteuea 1895. Lost at sea 1897.	+ 1897
5. Br. Justinus Berckers	Born 1864. Arrived Nonouti 1895. Died there on 26 October of that same year.	+ 1895
6. Br. Emilius Oulmann	Born 1873. Arrived Nonouti 1895. Died there on 17 December of that same year.	+ 1895
7. Br. Mathias Van den Eijnden	Born 1865. Beru 1895? To Tabiteuea 1896. To Tarawa later. Died there 1926.	+ 1926
8. Br. Boniface Van Reuzel	Born 1871. Arrived Nonouti before 1897. To Beru 1897. Died Fribourg 1936.	1913.
9. Br. Charles Antoine	Nonouti 1897, Butaritari 1898, Onotoa 1901, Abemama 1905, Tarawa bef. 1918. Makin 1923, etc.	?
10. Br. Martin Van de Zande	Arrived 1898. No other details known.	?
11. Br. Jean-Louis Laster(s)	Born 1869. Spent 15 years on Onotoa. Visited Abemama & Abaiang. Died Abaiang 1919.	+ 1919
12. Br. Basile Maas	Born 1860. Arrived Tabiteuea before 1901. Died in Holland 1938.	1920
13. Br. Léo Hamann	Nothing known about him.	?
14. Br. ? Füsshöller	Arrived Funafuti 1899. Served at Abaiang.	?
15. Br. Paul Cunin	Arrived Maiana 1901. To Abaiang 1913, then back at Maiana, and then Abaiang 1923.	?
16. Br. Pierre De Moor	Arrived 1905. No other information available.	?
17. Br. Jean-Baptiste ?	Arrived Marakei before 1910.	?
18. Br. Jean ?	Arrived Abemama before 1911.	?
19. Br. ? Caron	Was at Tarawa 1923.	?
20. Br. Heinrich Engelhart	German, born 1877, previously in Marshalls. Arrived Butaritari 1925.	?

Name	Service record	Dep.
21. Br. Joseph Willecome	Arrived Abemama before 1923.	?
22. Br. Eloi Van Adrichem	Nothing known.	?
23. Br. ? Brümmel	Was at Nonouti.	?

Sisters: Religious names:		
1. Sr. Isabelle (Superior)	Belgian. Arrived Nonouti ca. 1895. To Butaritari 1900. Died there in May 1926.	+ 1926
2. Sr. Rogatienne	Arrived Nonouti ca. 1895. Died there in 1898.	+ 1898
3. Sr. Julie	Dutch. Arrived Nonouti ca. 1895. To Butaritari before 1909. Died there on 10 Sept. 1912.	+ 1912
4. Sr. Françoise (or Francis)	Irish. Arr. Nonouti ca. 1895. Tabiteuea 1897. Later to Butaritari, where she died in 1932.	+ 1932
5. Sr. Victor	Arr. Nonouti ca. 1895. To Tabiteuea 1897. To Marakei 1923. Died Tarawa 1933.	+ 1933
6. Sr. Yves	Arr. Nonouti ca. 1895. To Tarawa 1897. To Beru 1899. Still in Gilberts 1931.	?
7. Sr. (Jean-)Baptiste	From Alsace. Arr. Nonouti ca. 1895. To Butaritari 1897, Nkunau 1899, Tarawa before 1915. Recovered from leprosy after 3 years in Fiji.	?
8. Sr. Irénée	Arr. Nonouti ca. 1895. To Butaritari 1897, Beru 1899, Tarawa 1903. Still Gilberts 1931.	?
9. Sr. Berchmans	Australian. Arr. Nonouti, ca. 1895. To Tarawa 1897.	?
10. Sr. Geneviève	Arrived Nonouti 1899. Sent to Tarawa, but died Nonouti 1902	+ 1902
11. Sr. Apoline (#1)	Dutch. Arrived Beru 1899. Died there in 1904.	+ 1904
12. Sr. Julienne	Arrived Nonouti 1899. To Beru 1908. Still there in 1926.	?
13. Sr. Clémentine	Arrived 1899. Served on Tarawa as a cook.	?
14. Sr. St-Pierre	Arrived Nonouti 1899. To Butaritari before 1909. Was a gardener and cook.	?

Name	Service record	Dep.
15. Sr. Valentine	Arrived Nonouti 1899. To Butaritari before 1914. Still there in 1927. Was a cook.	?
16. Sr. Placide	English. Arrived Butaritari 1902. Died there after only 3 months.	+ 1902
17. Sr. Albertine	Arrived Tabiteuea 1902. Died there in 1909.	+ 1909
18. Sr. Émilienne	Born 1875. Arrived 1902. To Tarawa before 1906, where she died on 7 Feb. 1920.	+ 1920
19. Sr. Claude	Arrived Butaritari 1902. Died there after only 5 months.	+ 1902
20. Sr. Hermelande	Arrived Tarawa before 1903. Still there in 1923.	?
21. Sr. Félix	Arrived Butaritari before 1909. Still there in 1923.	?
22. Sr. (Maria) Pius	Australian. May have been at Abaiang in 1912. To Tarawa before 1918. Still there 1923.	?
23. Sr. Yvonne	Arrived Tabiteuea before 1921.	?
24. Sr. Gregory	Australian. Arrived Tarawa before 1923.	?
25. Sr. Appolline (#2)	Australian. Arrived Tarawa before 1923.	?
26. Sr. Bernard	Arrived Tarawa 1923.	?

ERRATA

Volumes 1 - 18 inclusive

Note: "Errare humanum est." Use the Cumulative Index in all cases, not the partial indexes in the specific volumes. The same comment applies to List of ships, and Flow diagrams.

Vol. 1, p. 9: Doc. 1542C should bear the date of 22 January 1547.

p. 50: Add to caption: "(26) fore-mast for a 'round' [i.e. square] sail."

p. 163: Footnote. Ref. document should read Doc. 1525A, p. 393.

p. 188: Not 1522, but ca. 1590.

p. 194: Said to have come from de Bry, 1592.

p. 221: Sources: At least one Spanish historian, Juan Pérez de Tudela y Bueso, is of the opinion that the so-called logbook of Francisco Albo should be attributed to Sebastian Elcano himself. He bases this opinion mostly on the fact that the logbook uses the first person soon after leaving the Moluccas in the manner of a captain giving direct orders. It is possible that Elcano made some entries in Alvo's journal (ref. Texeira da Mota (ed.). *A viagem de Fernao de Magalhaes*, Lisbon, 1975, p. 656).

pp. 267, 375, 695: Change Cape Cormorin to Cape Comorin.

p. 270: Not 1520, but ca. 1600.

p. 289, line 10: Duarte Barbosa's was not Magellan's brother-in-law but his cousin-in-law, i.e. his wife's first cousin.

pp. 307, 309: The illustration of the Dutch fort of Gamma-Lamma was actually located on the southern end of Ternate I. (see p. 261), whereas the Portuguese fort was at Malayo on the east side (see p. 296).

p. 348: The rest of the translation is: "Magellan, I led you to a new strait... Glory is my reward, the sea is my battleground."

p. 349: Bottom illustration: ref. is Doc. 1525A, pp. 396-397.

p. 455: Footnote. Change the word "become" to "be."

p. 632: Gastaldi. Correct date is 1556 in both cases.

Vol. 2, p. 29: 2nd paragraph: "I have read with joy what you have written..."

Vol. 4, pp. 671-676: See definitive list in HM19: 692-697.

Vol. 5, p. 14: Interchange the names of Fr. Bouwens and Fr. Coomans, or else the dates quoted in that same sentence.

p. 396 footnote, and index entry, p. 700: *mañahag* was a fishing season, for the juvenile rabbit-fish.

Vol. 6, p. 429: Footnote 1: The tree *Aga* was not the Ahgao, but the Agag, now spelled Akgak, the pandanus tree, whose leaves were used to make sandals.

Vol. 7, pp. 5, 38, 39, 40, 41: Change Tepotzlán to Tepotzotlán.
p. 32: Footnote. Sariñana is the correct spelling. Not Doc. 1677K, but elsewhere.
pp. 163, 170: Footnote: Brother Simon Boruhradsky. alias Simon de Castro, remained in Mexico, where he worked as an architect. He died in 1697 on the ship taking him to the Marianas.
p. 638: Footnote. 1681, not 1682.

Vol. 9, p. 586: Marcus Island was discovered by two U.S. whalers sailing in company, in 1824: the **Marcus** of Sag Harbor, and the **Enterprise** of Nantucket.
p. 648: Not 1605, but 1695.

Vol. 10, pp. 94, 135 footnote: Br. Castro (same as Boruhradsky).
p. 336: Add note: Some documents of 1701 have erroneously been placed under 1711C (see HM11: 306 et seq.).

Vol. 11, p. 407: Remove footnote. Rota had only 467 inhabitants, Tinian none.
pp. 465-480: May be missing, as another signature was substituted in some copies.
Vol. 13, p. 662: Add a footnote to '11 towns': this was the number for 1722, not 1731.
p. 265: Total $170 + 830 + 1,711 = 2,711$ inhabitants.

Vol. 15, p. 641: Part 9 instead.

Vol. 16, p. 251: See Doc. 1819D for complete data.
p. 309: Not Fort Dolores, but Fort Soledad.
p. 639: Footnote 3: Replace the word 'next' by the word 'previous.'

Vol. 17, p. 339: Total for Agaña in 1800 should read 2,023, and column total for 1800 should read 4,058.

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