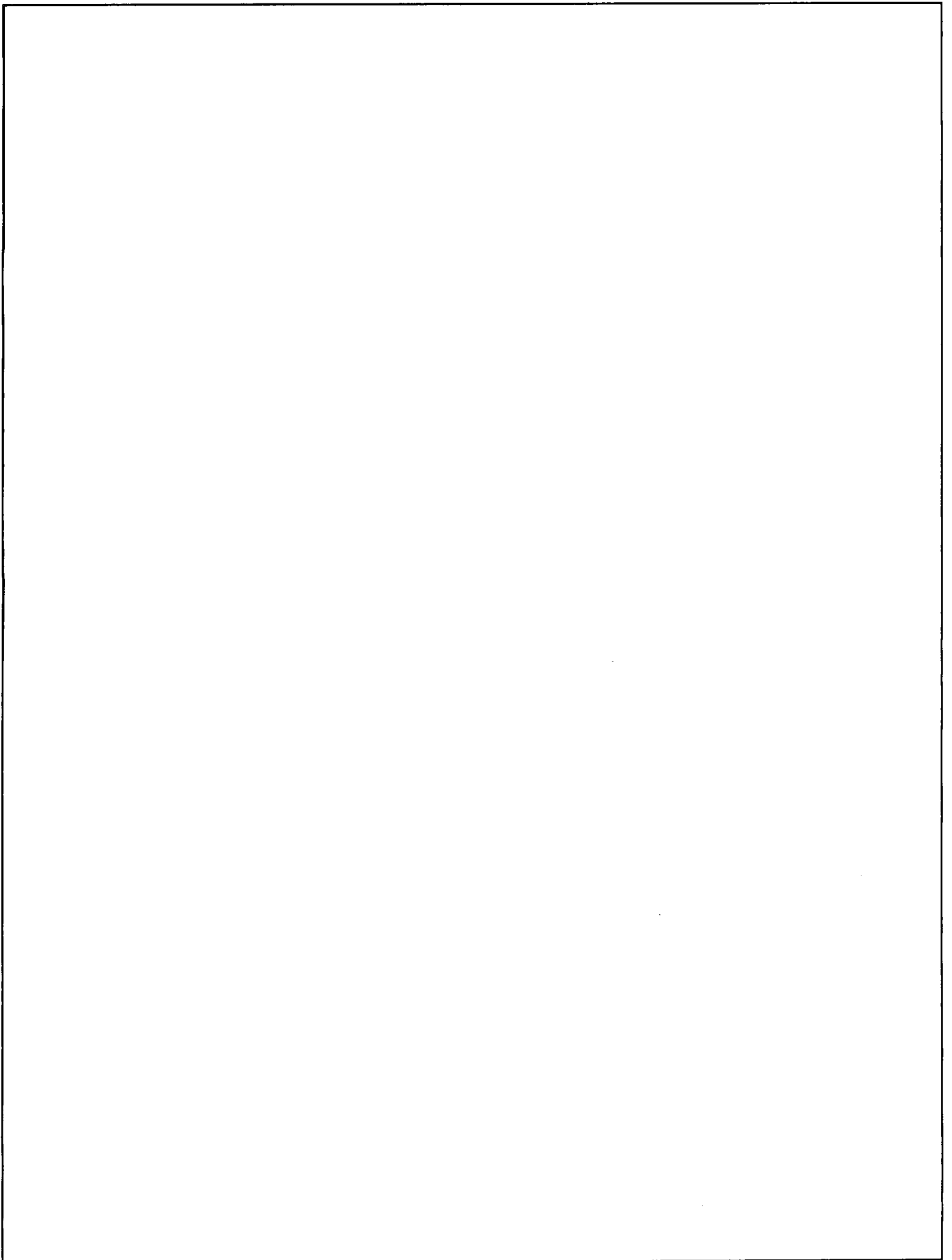


**HISTORY OF MICRONESIA**  
**A COLLECTION OF SOURCE**  
**DOCUMENTS**

**VOLUME 24**  
**MORE WHALERS**  
**AND**  
**THE WILKES' EXPEDITION**





# HISTORY OF MICRONESIA

## A COLLECTION OF SOURCE DOCUMENTS

VOLUME 24

MORE WHALERS

AND

THE WILKES' EXPEDITION

1839-1845

Compiled and edited  
by

**Rodrigue Lévesque.**

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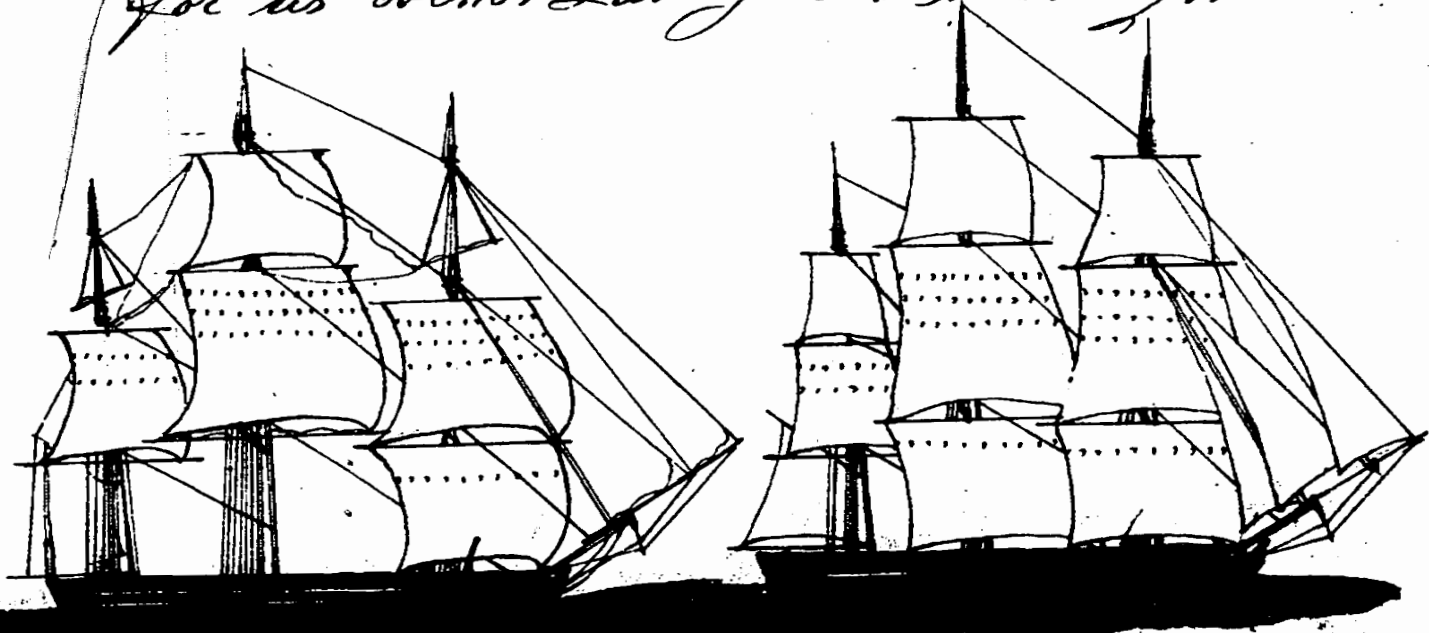
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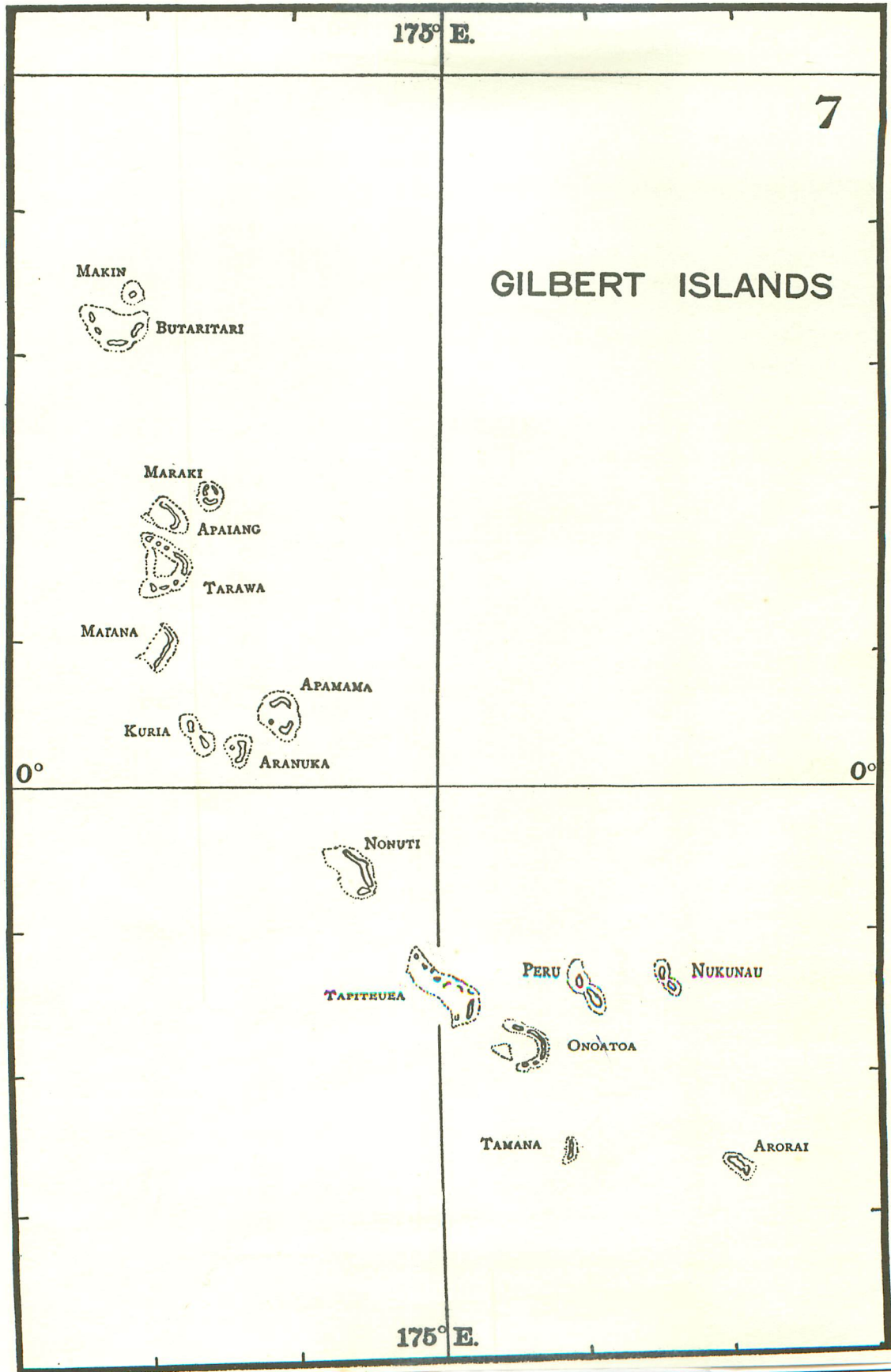


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Two Yankee whaling ships—A page from a logbook.



**(Next page) Gilbert Islands (From Brigham's Index, 1900).**



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**Documents 1839C**

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**Published notes on Pohnpei Island, etc., by  
Captain Blake****C1. Notes on the Island of Ascension in the Pacific.—**

*Source: Nautical Magazine, vol. 14, 1845, pp. 561-562.*

*Ed. note: Some proper names have been incorrectly transcribed.*

**From Remarks of Com. Blake, H.M.S. Larne, 1839.**

On closing the Island of Ascension from north-east we observed a remarkable Sugar Loaf to the southward, a mark for Metallanine Harbour, where the **Falcon** (whaler) was wrecked in July 1836. Here we observed a canoe coming out through the reefs, and in her were two English seamen by way of pilots, whom we received on board. They deprecated our attempting to enter Metallanine harbour, a point, on which my mind had been long since most fully made up. On their recommendation we bore up for the anchorage of Kittie, on the lee side of the island, rounded its north end, where the reef was breaking heavily, and passed to southward on its west side between it and some small low green islands and reefs west of it, five or six miles distant. This group of islands and reefs, which are three or four miles in extent, is termed by the natives Harnd [rather Mahnd], and belongs to the Chief of Kittie. Much tortoise-shell and Biche de Mer, is collected here, as on all the other islands and reefs, to the north-west of Ascension, called Pankeen [Pakin] by the natives. I imagine this Pankeen is the same as marked St. Augustine in Norie's general chart.<sup>1</sup> By the account of some Europeans at Ascension who had been there, this is a small group of islands and reefs very dangerous to ships, having no native inhabitants, but frequented by the Ascension natives, to collect tortoise-shell, &c. and to make mat sails for their canoes, as these islands abound in the material for it, which is a sort of tough coarse grass. The passage in canoes from the north-west part of Ascension across to Pankeen, occupies nearly six hours, with the north-east trade. I therefore conceive that the distance must exceed thirty-five miles, as their canoes generally sail well.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Not so, as Pakin lies only a few miles from Pohnpei, whereas St. Augustine, or Oroluk, is much farther away.

The native name of Ascension is Bonabe [sic]. The island is one of the easternmost of the Caroline Islands, in lat. 6°53' N., long. 158°30' E. by chronometers. It is high and bold, entirely covered with foliage, and may be seen on a clear day ten or twelve leagues distant. It is surrounded on all sides by a reef, having an opening on the north-east side, and another on the extreme south-western end. The first is Metallanine already mentioned, as well as the Sugar Loaf which is very remarkable. It is highly advisable that no square-rigged vessels of any magnitude should enter this harbour.

The passage is narrow, with two rocks in it at different angles, and as it fronts directly to the north-east, from whence the trade wind is perpetually blowing, a heavy swell rolls in incessantly, and there being no soundings **without** the reef, it is dangerous in beating out in case of the wind dropping, and boats are useless for towing on account of the heavy swell. It was entirely owing to these circumstances that the **Falcon** of London (whaler) was wrecked in her attempt to beat out in July 1836, after having been three months wind-bound inside. The other opening on the south-west side, is at a place called Kittie, for which we stood in on the morning of the 19th, having laid to for the night. It may be known by two or three low green islands, detached from the main, which become distinct on steering to the north-west. From the description of its narrow entrance given by John Martin, who was wrecked in the **Falcon**, and whom we had shipped as pilot, I was unwilling to attempt the passage in, until I had examined it. The first lieutenant and myself went in in a boat for that purpose, leaving the ship hove to off. We found it narrow enough, about eighty yards wide, between sunken rocks and the reef. However, we stood in under reduced sail, and anchored in 22 fathoms close to the reef; weighed again; warped ahead, and moored in the most perfect pool I ever saw. With due care and attention this anchorage may be entered with tolerable safety under the guidance of a person of local acquaintance. The white men settled on the island generally answer this purpose.

After passing an outer bight or bay formed by the outer reefs, in which there is nothing less than 45 fathoms, a north-west course leads for the inner passage, which, for about 200 yards is 80 yards wide between a sunken rock, with four feet on it, on larboard hand, and the line of the inner reef very steep to, (7 fathoms,) which should be hugged as closely as possible. The course through the narrow is N.W.b.W.; but a fixed course or marks are unnecessary, as a ship would always pass in and out as the **Larne** did, by the deep water, as distinguished by the eye, when conned from the fore top-gallant-mast head. The ordinary north-east trade is a leading wind in, with very smooth water, and when through the narrow, it is requisite, if possible, to shoot to starboard round the tongue of the reef, clewing all up, and anchor in 22 fathoms. Then warp to northward up the pool to any depth from 20 to 7 fathoms, which it is best to do evening or morning when the wind drops.

At the **Larne's** anchorage we found the latitude 6°48' N., longitude 158°26' E., variation 9°45' E., high water (full and change) 6 hours, rise and fall 4-1/2 feet.

This anchorage was surveyed by Lieut. G. S. Reynolds,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. R. Edwards, (Mate) of **H.M.S. Larne**, and a plan of it forwarded to Rear-Admiral Sir F. Maitland at Trincomalee [Ceylon], 29th August, 1839. It is a perfect pool with strong clay holding ground. To the northward a fine stream of fresh water discharges itself, which can only be entered by boats, an hour before and after high water, with just sufficient breadth to ply the oars. The best place for filling is about half a mile up the stream, near a hut where the natives make nets and repair canoes. Just above this spot the clear fresh descends in a torrent.

We obtained some pigs from Europeans, who had introduced the breed; and a few yams. No poultry of any sort to be had. Some good fish were caught. The whole island abounds with cocoa-nuts, and the bread-fruit in great variety, on which the natives subsist. We were foiled for a day or two in moving from this place owing to the wind drawing unusually eastward.

## C2. [British] whalers in the Pacific

*Source: Nautical magazine, 1847, pp. 127-131.*

*Ed. note: Excerpt from Capt. Blake's final report.*

A few days after the loss of the **Falcon** [in July 1836], and the death of her captain, the cutter **Lambton**, an the schooner **Unity** of Woa-hoo, arrived in the harbour of Metallanine (Ascension Island), finding the **Falcon** a wreck on the reef, and a warfare going on between the white men, together with a friendly tribe of natives, their allies, and the tribes and adherents of Narawah. The **Avon** schooner under Sandwich island colours, was at this time lying in the harbour of Kittie, on the lee side of the island, and a message was sent down to request her assistance, which the captain refused unless the whole of the property saved from the wreck was consigned to him; to which hard condition they were partly compelled to yield. With the force, therefore, now available, attacks were commenced, in which, it is almost unnecessary to say that, the Europeans uniformly had the advantage from the superiority of their means, their arms, ammunition, &c., while their native allies were valuable channels of local information; and as spies and informants regarding movements, &c.

It had been said that shortly previous to these attacks, a plan was concerted by the natives to cut off the cutter and schooners; there was not sufficient evidence to bear out such a supposition. They had undoubtedly become bold from success, as they considered it in their plunder, murdering the captain and his people, &c. and hitherto escaping with impunity; and it is reported they had fired at the boats when on their way to the shore for wood and water. That muskets were fired at them perhaps is true, for it appears that open warfare had commenced since the murder of Capt. Hingston and his crew, and it is plain that the boats of the three vessels, armed and manned, with nearly 40 Europeans, accompanied by near 400 native allies in their canoes, had an-

1 A very creditable survey, preparing for publication by the Admiralty.—Ed.

**other** object than the one of merely proceeding on shore for wood and water; **that** object was undoubtedly to take vengeance for the murder of the **Falcon's** people.

Partial attacks and fighting were carried on now from day to day at Metallanine and the neighbourhood, all the force of the cutter and two schooners, their guns, arms, &c. the wrecked crew of the **Falcon** and the white men on the island being formed into one body under the captains of the three vessels, who all joined in the general determination to revenge the murder.

It should here be observed that Narawah was not more than **third** chief of his tribe, though he had been known to be most active in his hostility to the white men, and undoubtedly the instrument and instigator of the murders; and what still more incensed them against him was, the evidence of many natives that he was the actual perpetrator of the most barbarous and brutal cruelties in mutilating and defacing the bodies. Against him therefore all the vengeance of the Europeans seems to have been directed. Wargie, or second chief of the tribe had evinced a friendliness towards them, but the head chief Johapow, though he had been by no means active in the matter, was nevertheless included in the "proscription" declared by the Europeans, as well as by all who should evince in any way the slightest hostility to them. In consequence of this determination being made known, propitiatory offerings of the "**Cava**" root, according to custom in their own warfare, were frequently made by various petty chiefs and others, whose interest it was to remain neutral, but the "Cava" was never accepted. This had the effect of keeping them in a state of terror and suspense, and effectually deterring them from taking part against the white men. During the several days fighting and routing the hostile tribes, their habitations, cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, banana plantations, and above all their "Cava," on which they set the greatest value, were fired, destroyed, and laid waste. These proceedings becoming now universally known an intimation was spread abroad, that if any of the chiefs or others permitted the murderers to associate with or take refuge in their tribes, they would be treated with the same severity. With the many advantages the Europeans possessed these measures soon brought things to an issue. A terror and apprehension pervaded the natives generally, and had the effect of reducing Narawah and his adherents to a state of entire destitution. With the aid of bribes and inducements the Europeans now had it all in their own hands, information was now sent by the "Nara-mara-yhee" [i.e. Namwarki] or head chief of the Warnah tribe, near Kittie where Johapow was concealed, adding that he should show no opposition to their seizing him. On this two white men with a few natives hastened to the spot and found him in bed, when he was instantly fired at, but the ball missed him and went through his wife's arm; he immediately sprang up and fled outside, when the party fired several shots at him on the spot. On the following day the identical man who struck Captain Hingston his death blow, was pointed out by a native boy, and seized, but made his escape. This boy not long after, again caught sight of him, and at once pointed his musket which he had in his hand to shoot him, however it missed fire, when he quickly seized one from a European near him and shot the man dead. This boy was on board a ship in Kittie, and seemed an active intelligent lad.

Though the foregoing details relate in a cursory manner the leading occurrences up to the period when Narawah was captured, it may be necessary to revert to the day of the **Lambton's** arrival, when intelligence of the **Falcon's** wreck and the murders, was communicated to her captain. On hearing it he declared he would immediately revenge the death of Captain Hingston, and by the evidence of a third person, apparently a very respectable lad, who was wrecked in the **Falcon**, and joined the cutter almost immediately after her arrival, the captain had frequently given out that "he must catch a chief to hang for example," and it will also appear by the deposition of another person, who under the orders and directions of the captain had performed a prominent part in the whole affair, saying "**That Narawah should go up to his yard-arm if he caught him.**"

The several accounts conveyed in the depositions best explain themselves, but it is impossible to refrain from remarking on the boldness and high presumptuous tone of authority assumed by the captain, on all occasions. He seems to have taken the General Chief's command in ordering the attacks, disposal of the force, &c., and the implicit obedience apparently paid to him not only by his own crew, but by the whole of the Europeans, showed that he had inspired a terror amongst them, against the slightest infraction of his commands. Repeated inquiries why Narawah was not shot **at once** on shore, instead of being brought on board the cutter to be hanged in a formal manner? were answered, "That it was the captain's orders to bring him on board the cutter **alive** if he was caught; and, therefore, to shoot him was more than any one dared to do." This was an order promulgated among all the white men; moreover, the strictest injunctions were also issued by the captain "To hold out promises to him that no harm was intended him, that he was only to be removed to another island, whither his family would be allowed to accompany him."

A day or two after Johapow's death, Narawah, deserted by his people, and in a helpless condition, was discovered standing alone against a bread-fruit tree in a state of despair. He made no attempt to escape, but said to his captor "I know what you want, shoot me, I am deserted, and hunted everywhere." He was told by the person that "He dared not shoot him,—that he intended him no harm," &c.; in short, proceeded as his orders directed. He prevailed on him to go on board the cutter; but he evinced especial horror at the idea of being taken on board the **Avon**, as he said "He knew what he might expect at her captain's hands. He was accordingly taken on board the cutter at 7 p.m., when a "consultation" was held, and a sentence of death signed by three commanders of vessels present.

An anecdote, somewhat ludicrous, but perfectly true, is related of the preceding evening, on a discussion arising as to which of the three vessels he should be hanged on board of. One was quite out of the question, since, from some private enmities, her captain did not dare approach most of another's crew. It therefore remained between the **two** captains of the other vessels to execute him. These two vessels had been in the habit of wearing at their masthead, on alternate days, a sort of broad pendant, (as it was described), each commander assuming on that day the appellation of **Commodore**, the



broad pendant being every evening transferred from one to the other. On the day of Narawah's capture, the cutter had wore the "pendant," consequently, it became the other's turn to wear it on the following day. When the question became settled as to the execution taking place on board of her, her captain said, "If I hang him I will wear the pendant." A point which his namesake of the other readily conceded; and the cutter did wear the "pendant" accordingly during the execution.

In order to illustrate further the bold and imperious tone of this captain's arrogated powers and authority, there are other characteristic anecdotes which are corroborated by a host of individuals: he directed all the arrangements as if for a lawful execution, and aped every formality of that awful scene. On Narawah's eyes being bandaged, he was asked by this captain's orders, loudly addressed from abaft to the interpreter, "If he had anything to say?" or "Any message to send to his family?" To this, his request was, "That he might die by the hands of Narrakin," [i.e. Nankin?] another chief, which passed unheeded—immediately after which the gun was fired, and he was run up in the smoke.

Nearly all the white men in the island attended the execution, and in order to give more effect to the scene, about twenty were drawn up on board the cutter, with their small arms; and directed to discharge a volley when the signal gun was fired.

Among these were several of the *Falcon's* crew, and all being loaded with ball, two or three of them pointed their muskets at Narawah's body, feeling a desire, as they said, to avenge their captain's death. The captain, at this moment standing aft, directing the proceedings, with his pistols in his belt, and seeing the muskets raised in that direction, on a sudden exclaimed, loudly, "Fire a volley as you are ordered; any man who dares discharge his piece at that, I will this instant put a ball through his head;" at the same moment taking his pistols from his girdle. The muskets were instantly lowered and fired by way of a volley as directed.

Whatever might have been the aggression of Narawah, or whatever his deserts, there were circumstances occurred shortly before his execution at once revolting and barbarous, and which exhibit in a strong light the cruel and remorseless levity of seamen, when their passions have been let loose, and when they are uncontrolled by discipline or education. During the morning before the hour of his execution, when a sense of awe, at least, might have been expected from them, several seamen were diverting themselves with putting the rope over their necks, and practising ridiculous gestures by way of mockery on the wretch who was to be hanged, while he lay on the deck before them shrinking with horror and despair. And when the two hangmen stepped on board, a loud roar of laughter arose throughout the vessel, at which, and the sight of his executioners, the wretch swooned away. These were two African blacks belonging to one of the vessels, one of whom I saw, and is now on Ascension. They were dressed up in long red gowns, with very full arms, made up from seamens' red kersey shirts, and closed down the front. They had on long wigs made of canvass, and trimmed with yarn of Manila rope, about four or five inches long, and entirely powdered over with flour, and their faces painted



in broad streaks of red, as also their legs and feet. Their devilish appearance had such an effect on Narawah that he swooned away, amidst the laughter of the crew.

The religion, if such it can be called, of the Ascension natives, seems to consist in a general belief and fear of supernatural spirits, and Narawah declare to his constant guard and interpreter, that he thought these figures were the spirits of the murdered people, which the white men had the power to raise before him.

The circumstances attending this execution have now been fully detailed, that it scarcely seems necessary to allude to them further.

The chief Narawah was hanged on board a cutter, in the harbour of Metallanine, in the island of Ascension, in 1836, under the special and personal superintendence of the master of her, and the body was cut down, and towed on shore by the natives for burial.

### C3. British seamen scattered in the Pacific

*Source: Nautical Magazine, 1870, pp. 247-250.*

*Ed. note: Although unsigned, this article is also taken from Capt. Blake's final report.*

In the line of the Caroline Islands, in the Pacific, it is very well known that the current in perpetually setting strongly to the westward, as it does also to some distance northward and southward of that chain. We experienced it strong for two or three days before making Ascension and especially so on the night we stood off Nuttie [Ngatik], which we barely fetched in the morning, though we had carried all sail through the night to keep to windward. Many instances have been related to us of the constant drifting of canoes westward from island to island, and the only feature indicating from whence they came being the make or fittings of the vessel, as all islands which are known to the Europeans, have been remarked by them when on their sundry excursions in whalers. Every island possesses some peculiarity of its own, with regard to its canoes, as well as its language; by which the natives of each, when drifted about, are able to explain whence they come. Nothing could be more striking than the difference of features, and the exterior appearance of the Ascension and Nuttie natives.

About the time of our arrival three canoes, with natives in them, were drifted on Ascension from Duperrey, or Wellington, Islands, fifty or sixty miles to the eastward; and it is a curious fact, that the woman confined on board the cutter on her passage up to Ascension after the attack on Nuttie, was drifted on to the latter island in a canoe from one of the innumerable islands in the Ralik chain, or the King's Mill group. She had been on Nuttie about two months when the attack took place, and by means of what she had acquired of that language, she stated that they were drifted to sea, herself and three men, off their native island Yepparn [sic], that the men died, and that she had subsisted on a small portion of rotten bread-fruit for twenty-six or twenty-seven days, when she reached Nuttie. Here the natives would not assist her, but offered her no violence in her weak and miserable condition. This woman had never even heard of a white man, yet whether from terror at remaining at Nuttie after the scene she had wit-

nessed there, she associated herself with them, and being "taken to," as it is termed, by one of them, she by her own desire accompanied him to Ascension in the cutter. I believe she was not only treated with humanity, but received every attention. Both she and her child are now living at Ascension with a European, with whom also are living two native children of Nuttie, whose mother destroyed herself, and whose father was no doubt among the number killed.

The residence taken up by European seamen on the various islands throughout the Pacific is most extraordinary. On Ascension they are dispersed in all parts round the coast of the island, residing with chiefs or petty chiefs, under their immediate protection, to whose tribe they are considered to belong, and whose people become, as it were, their working attendants or slaves, pulling them in their canoes, fishing for turtle for them, collecting shells, etc.; in short, doing whatever may be required of them. The only compensation they require is in the shape of occasional small payments in pieces of tobacco. The chief perhaps receives nothing for a long period, but on the arrival of a ship when "trading" is carried on, he is presented in return for his protection and the services of the people of his tribe, with one or two muskets, an axe, an adze for making lances [rather canoes], powder, or a portion of tobacco, or whatever he may most desire; and this seems to be the sort of tenure by which the white men hold their settlement on the island.

When the chiefs have once engaged to protect their Europeans they have in general shewn great fidelity to the white men, or if the contrary has occurred, it is admitted that the fault has been with the latter, either from an irreconcilable temper, or failure in their promises and engagements. This is a check on the bad and dishonest propensities of some of the renegade European characters; since it must be the good feeling preserved with the native chiefs engendered by self-interest, as well as by attachment that must ever prove the best security of the white man, under the very extraordinary circumstances of their established mode of living among a set of savages. These people are jealous in the extreme of any violence offered to an individual of their own tribe by one of any other, and this often leads to immediate war, for they are keen at information or discovering any suspicious movement in another tribe.

The brother and refugee adherents of Narawak, with many others who still maintain a lurking enmity to the white men, have united themselves to a tribe on an island called "Tarbac"<sup>1</sup> close off the northeast side of Ascension. Here they all reside, and seldom mix with others over on the main land. They say they defy the white men or any of the native tribes, their allies, but have as yet dared no aggression. Were any attempted, it is said that the five large tribes on Ascension, or certainly four of them, might be relied on to side with the Europeans. Those on Tarbac are aware of this, and the overwhelming force they will have to encounter will probably keep them quiet. Three renegade North American black men have taken up their quarters with these people and swear vengeance against the white men, on account of some former animosities.

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1 Ed. note: Rather Tapak, in the U district.

Martin, who acted as pilot to the **Larne**, a quiet sort of man living abreast of Tarbac, was for some time apprehensive of an attempt upon his life by these men, and for a period of more than a month, he assured me his chief would never leave his side, and that upwards of a hundred people slept every night around him armed with spears and muskets, and that any man attempting to approach would certainly have been killed.

There are upwards of thirty white men now at Ascension, and six at Nuttie, and by accounts derived from several of them there are European and American seamen at present domiciled on the Admiralty Islands north of New Guinea, on New Ireland, on New Georgia, on Pleasant Island, Ocean Island, some of the King's Mill Group, on Navigators Island, on the Fiji Islands, and many on the Friendly Islands. Most of the above are known to individuals now on Ascension, and there are probably more of the same description. The number of whalers cast away must also be considerable. There are seamen on Ascension who belonged to the **Falcon**, wrecked there, to the **Corsair**, also on some part of the Ralik Chain, and to two other. One wrecked on Gilbert Island, one of Hall's Group, and the other on Ocean Island, a mere sand bank in 28° N., a little W. of 180°.

The majority of Europeans scattered about the islands is undoubtedly composed of seamen who have deserted from, or have been wrecked in whalers. But there are others who have left small trading vessels, chiefly connected with New South Wales or the Sandwich Islands, employed in collecting tortoise shell, biche de mer, etc., and no small portion of their number also is composed of runaway convicts from the penal settlements. It appears their occupation is divided between collecting tortoise shell and breeding fowls, pigs, etc. for the supply of whalers and others that may call off for refreshments. At Ascension money of whatever coinage is valueless among them, and was actually rejected by the white men as useless to them. The articles of barter they look for in return for their shell or supplies are muskets, powder, ball, or lead, clothing of any sort, axes, adzes, beads, pipes, and above all tobacco, which actually constitutes the pay of the natives; and it is a most extraordinary fact, but not less true, that their fondness and avidity for this article was utterly unknown to them at Ascension until their intercourse with Europeans about six or seven years since. But it is now grown to such an extent that it passes current among them like money! With the smallest portion of it bread-fruit, cocoa yams, fresh fish, etc., were purchased from the canoes alongside the ship, while the only purpose to which they would apply a dollar or any other coin, was to make a hole in it and hang it round their necks. To acquire and immediately enjoy the proverbial characteristic of savages, was here also thoroughly exemplified: a fish, the instant he was safe in the canoe, was begun to be eaten raw, by gnawing and tearing at him with their teeth and hands, till they were surfeited. The same with tobacco, which they instantly crammed into their pipes, and lighted, and continued smoking whatever more might be obtained, handing it from one to another till the whole was consumed.

As money was of no use whatever, our purser bartered tobacco or slop clothing, as might be most advantageous, for fresh meat and vegetables for the crew, both at As-

cension and Nuttie, procuring the usual certificates and receipts. By this means the supplies were obtained at a very moderate rate, and the pigs at Nuttie were very fine. The pilot was also paid in tobacco.

It was desirable to visit an island alluded to by Europeans at Ascension, called by them "Strong's [Kosrae] Island" (perhaps the same as that marked in the charts "Single Island," to the S.E. of Ascension), but our provisions would not admit of it, as we had already completed twelve weeks from Macao, and by a close estimate, we mustered but sufficient for something short of five weeks for returning thither. An occurrence at the above-named island, was related by Edwin Rowland, who was present at it, seems to partake of a very extraordinary character. He called there in a trading schooner within the last year, having before been at the island. The captain very imprudently left the vessel and landed, when he and his boat's crew were seen from the schooner to be attacked by the natives on the beach, she being unable to render them assistance. At the same time a number of canoes were putting off from the shore towards the schooner, when she immediately got under way.

After beating about and finding it hopeless to recover their captain, his boat and her crew, etc. they stood off, and when in the act of tacking, a shot (affirmed to be either a six or nine pounder) was pitched close to the schooner. This was followed by four or five more shots in succession, which were extremely well directed, some of which it was said passed between the schooner's masts. From this circumstance it is strongly conjectured that Europeans were concerned in it, and, if all be true, it certainly appears strange how a gun of that calibre could have found its way to the island, and still more extraordinary, how it could have been worked and directed with such precision by mere native savages, or where the supply of shot and powder was obtained. Such was the occurrence as related, some of the details of which may or may not be true. It however appears certain, that the captain and his crew have never since been heard of, and that cannon shot were fired at the schooner.

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**Document 1839F**


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**Logbook of the whaler Ohio of Nantucket**

*Source: Log in the NBWh Museum; PMB 268; Log. Inv. 3622.*

**Extracts from the log of the Ship Ohio of Nantucket—Capt. Charles W. Coffin. Voyage 1837-41.**

...

[ In 1838, this ship went directly from Tahiti to the Japan Ground without stopping anywhere in Micronesia, then clockwise back to the Line.]

...

Sunday March 10th [1839]

... At 11 a.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing NSW 25 miles.  
Lat. by Obs. 00°45 S. Long. by Chron. 169°33 E.

...

Wednesday March 13th

... At 11 a.m., spoke Ship **Peruvian** of Nantucket [Capt. Osborne], 1350 [bbls oil].  
Lat. by Obs. 00°15 S. Long. by Chron. 167°40.

...

Saturday April 6th

... At daylight, saw land [i.e. Nauru] bearing SE 15 miles... At M[eridian], lost sight of the land.

Lat. by Obs. 00°40 S. Long. by Chron. 165°59 E, per Lunar 166°17.

...

Sunday April 14th

... At 1 p.m., saw Wellington's [Mokil] Islands. At 4 p.m., had a visit from the natives. At 6 doubled reefed the topsails & hauled our wind on the starboard tack, lie up N by West. Middle part pleasant. Latter part brisk trades & smoly. At daylight, steered WSW.

Lat. by Obs. 07°08 N. Long. by Chron. 158°34 E.

**Monday April 15th**

First part brisk trades & smoky weather. Steered SW by W. At 1/2 past 3 p.m., saw the land [Pohnpei] bearing WSW 25 miles dist. At 5 p.m., doubled reefed the topsails & hauled our wind over the starboard tack. At sunset the land bore S by W 15 miles. Middle part heavy smoke with much rain. Latter part continues the same, stood in near the land. So ends this day.

**Tuesday April 16th**

First part brisk trades & squally. Had a visit from the natives, likewise a white man who acts as pilot. At sunset, the ships at anchor bore S by E 6 miles, the breeze at SEast. Middle part squally with rain. Latter part continues the same. At 10 a.m., came to anchor in 26 faths. of water in company with the **Herald**<sup>1</sup> & **Peruvian**. Paid out 50 fathos. of chain. So ends lying at Ascension.

**Wednesday April 17th**

First part squally. Middle part pleasant. Latter part continues the same. At daylight, took our anchor & hauled in shore. At 8, came to anchor in 13 faths., the shore 1-1/4 mile distant. So ends this day.

**Thursday April 18th**

First part pleasant. Middle part calm. Latter part light westerly breezes. The **Herald** & **Peruvian** left. One watch on liberty.

**Friday April 19th**

First part light westerly winds & pleasant. Middle part calm. Latter part light trades. One watch employed at getting wood, water & blacking the bends. So ends this day.

**Saturday April 20th**

First part light trades with showers of rain. Middle & Latter parts continues the same. Employed at wooding & watering. At 9 a.m., Ship **Marcus** of Fairhaven [Capt. Shearman] came to anchor here. So ends this day.

**Sunday April 21st**

First part moderate trades with showers of rain[.] one watch on liberty. Middle part pleasant. Latter part continues the same. So ends this day.

**Monday April 22**

First part moderate trades & pleasant[.] one watch on liberty. Middle part fine. Latter part continues the same[.] employed at wooding watering &c caulking ship. So ends this day.

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1 Ed. note: See Note 1839J.

Tuesday April 23rd

First part light trades & pleasant[.] one watch on liberty. Middle & Latter parts continues the same[.] employed at getting water & stowing the same. So ends this day.

Wednesday April 24

First part light trades & pleasant[.] one watch on liberty. Middle part continues the same. Latter part showers of rain[.] employed at wooding & watering. So ends this day.

Thursday April 25

First part light trades & squalls with rain[.] one watch on liberty. Middle part pleasant. Latter part showers of rain. So ends this day.

Friday April 26th

First part light trades & pleasant[.] one watch on liberty. Middle & Latter parts continues the same. Fitted the bobsay bolts & chaises & set them up. So ends this day.

Saturday April 27th

First part light trades with showers of rain. Middle part continues the same. Latter part squally[.] one watch on liberty. So ends this day.

Sunday April 28th

... This day discharged by his own request, Charles Smith, being unable to continue the voyage on account of ill health...

Monday April 29th

... At 8 a.m., got under way & stood out to sea, Ship **Marcus** in company. We have taken on board at this place to complete our company a native & a Tahitian. Our course since leaving has been from NNW to W. At 12 M., St. Augustine [Oroluk] Islands bore SW 8 miles.

Lat. by Obs. 09°04 N. Long. by Chron. 157°19 E.

Tuesday April 30th

First part brisk trades & pleasant. Steered NW by N. Middle & Latter parts continues the same. Ship **Marcus** in sight. Unbent the chains.

Lat. by Obs. 08°55 N. Long. by Chron. 155°56 E.

...

[To the Bonins, bypassing the Marianas. There the Ohio and Marcus met with the Howard and the John Palmer, and carried on whaling activities between the 28° and 30° parallels until October 1839.]

...

Saturday Jan. 25th [1840]

... Saw a ship. Lat. by Obs. 01°37 S, Long. by Chron. 177°36' E...

Sunday Jan. 26th

... At daylight, saw land bearing SW 15 miles dist. Lat. by Obs. 53' S. Long. by Chron. 176°22 E...

...

Saturday Feb 1st

... Saw a sail & land. Lat. by Obs. 00°02 S. Long. by Chron. 173°25 E.

Monday Feb. 3rd

... Spoke the Barque **Victoria**...

'''

Wednesday Feb. 26th

... Had a visit from Capt. Potter of the **Martha** of Newport, R.I... Lat. by Obs. 00°37 S. Long. by Chron. 171°39 E.

...

Monday March 2nd

... Saw a sail. At 6 p.m., tacked Ship & spoke Barque **Elizabeth** of London... Lat. by Obs. 00°43' S. [Long.] 173°30 [E].

...

Wednesday March 4th

... Steered W. At 8, saw land [Banaba]. Steered WSW. Lat. by Obs. 00°48 S. Long. by Chron. 176°02 E.

Thursday March 5th, off Ocean Island.

... At 2 p.m., had a visit from the natives. At sunset, the land bore NE 1 mile dist... Stood to the SE... Latter part... a ship in sight...

...

Monday March 9th

... Saw Ocean Island bearing NW by W. Saw 2 ships. At 11 a.m., the canoes came to the ship. Had much rain...

...

Friday March 13th

... At 2 p.m., spoke Ship **Mary Ann** [Capt. Chase of Fairhaven]... Lat. by Obs. 00°33 S. Long. by Chron. 168°28 E.

...

Saturday March 28th

... Saw a ship... Latter part.... At daylight, saw Ocean Island bearing NNW 12 miles. The natives came on board. Saw a ship amongst whales. Lat. by Obs. 00°54' S.

...

Friday April 3rd

... At 1 p.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing SW. At 5 p.m., hauled our wind & lie up SSE. Had a visit from the natives... Latter part... At 11, the canoes came on board...



Saturday April 4th

... Ship **Elizabeth** of London in sight. At sunset, the land bore WNW 5 miles... Lat. by Obs. 00°22 S. Long. by Chron. 167°39 E.

...

Monday April 6th

... At 9, the canoes came to the ship. Lat. by Obs. 00°22 S. Long. by Chron. 166°59 E.

...

Monday April 13th

... At 11 a.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island bearing NW by W. Lat. by Obs. 04°56 N. Long. by Chron. 163°39 E.

Tuesday April 14th

... At sunset, the land bore WSW 20 miles...

...

Friday April 17th

... At daylight, saw the land [Pohnpei] bearing WSW 25 miles. Saw a sail. Lat. by Obs. 06°48 N.

Saturday April 18th

... At 1, the canoes came to the ship. At sunset, the pilot came on board, the land 1 mile dist., the center of the island bearing N by W... Latter part... At 7, came to anchor in 4 fathoms & a half of water...

Sunday April 19th

... All hands employed at cleaning the bends & getting casks on shore for water... Latter part, showers of rain. One watch on liberty...

...

Friday April 24th

... Employed at wooding & watering. One watch on shore.

...

Saturday May 2nd

... All hands employed on board...

...

Sunday May 3rd

... At 1/2 past 8, took our anchor. At 1/2 past 10, the wind came ahead, let go the anchor in 40 fathoms & brought the ship up with 65 fathoms of chain.

Monday May 4th

... At 1, took our anchor & stood to sea in company with Ship **Martha** of Newport & **Elizabeth** of London. We have left 3 men behind, 2 natives of the Society [Tahiti] Is-

lands & a native of this Island. One of the Society natives sick, the other deserted... Lat. by Obs. 07°35 N.

...  
[The Marianas were again bypassed in 1840 on the way to the Bonins. There they met the Phoenix of New Bedford, the Offley and the Vigilant of London, and the Howard, After visiting Hawaii again, the Ohio went home.]

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**Document 1839G**

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**Logbook of the Gideon Howland of New Bedford**

*Source: Logbook in the Providence Public Library; PMB 863; Log. Inv. 1980.*

**Log of the Ship Gideon Howland of New Bedford. Capt. M. Baker. Voyage 1838-1842.****Extracts from the log kept by Bates and Sherman.**

...  
Wednesday July 10th, 1839. Lat. 00°11 N.

... Steering to the Northward. A ship in sight to the windward. At 10 a.m., spoke the Bark **Juno** of Sydney, Capt. Banks, 8(?) months out, 150 bbls.

...  
Friday July 12, 1839

... At 4 p.m., saw a Ship 1 point off our lee. At 7, spoke the **Daniel Webster** [of] Nantucket, Capt. Plasket, 6-1/2 months out, no oil...

...  
[Change in penmanship. First Mate killed by a whale.]

Thursday, 18th July 1839. Lat. 1°03' S. Long. 173°41 W.

This morning at 7 bells, Mr. Bates breathed his last with hardly a struggle. Whilst killing his whale yesterday, he hit him with his flukes and knocked him out of the boat and hit him while in the water. He was beloved by the ship's company as a brother. He was a sailor, a whaleman and an officer. In the afternoon, saw whales, lowered B. Boat, struck one, killed him, took him alongside at 4 p.m.. At 5 p.m., we buried Mr. Bates with heavy hearts and watery eyes.

Sat. 20th

... Last night, Capt. arranged the watches and offices. Mr. Sherman to act as Mate, Mr. Smith as 2nd, and Mr. Watson as 3rd Mate. The Capt. takes Charley Holmes to steer him in Mr. Watson's place.

...

[Two sheets ripped out from the logbook resulting in no information for the period between 20 July and 23 August.]

...

Friday 23rd of August 1839

... At 10 a.m., spoke Ship **Saniel Webster** [of] Nantucket... Lat. 1°20 [S], Long. 176°50 E.

...

Sunday 24th August 1839

... At 6 a.m., saw Byron's [Nukunau] Island. Ran off for it. Canoes came alongside with coconuts. At 4 p.m., saw whales, lowered, got nothing...

...

Tuesday 26th

... At 8 a.m., saw Byron's Island ahead. Got under the lee of it. At 11, canoes came alongside with coconuts. Saw a bark to windward...

...

Monday 2nd September

... At daylight, saw Byeon's Island... At 2, came to under the lee of Byron's Island to trade with the natives. At 4 p.m., saw a sail. At 07, spoke her, the **Louisa** of London, 11 months out, 700 barrels. Lat. 1°15 [S]. Long. 176°56 E.

...

Wednesday 4th of September

... At daylight, saw a small island called Peruit [Beru]... Lat. 1°03 S. Long. 176°20 E.

...

Sunday 8th

... At 10 a.m., saw Clark's [Onotoa] Island. Ran down under the lee of it. Canoes came alongside with ladies; 2 white fellows came on board that left the **Juno** 8 days before... Lat. 1°36 S. Long. 175°30' E.

...

Thursday 12th

... At daylight, steering NW. Saw a sail off the lee bow. At sundown, spoke her. Proved to be the **Achilles** of Sydney boiling small whales with what she had made 120 bbls, 4 months out from Bay of Island. Lat. by Obs. 1°55 S. Long. by Chron. 174°55' E.

...

Sat. 14th of September

... At daylight, saw Sydenham's [Nonouti] Island and Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island in Lat. 1°12' S, Long. 174°50' [E]... At 5 p.m., kept her off for Pleasant Island steering W. Lat. by Obs. 00°53' S. Long. by Lunar 174°50' E.

...

Tues. 17th

... At daylight, saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing South. Steered for it. At [blank], came to under the lee of it. Lay aback for 1/2 an hour. There was no natives came off.

They appeared to be frightened.<sup>1</sup> At 1 p.m., kept her off W by N for Pleasant Island...  
Lat. by Obs. 00°40' S. Long. by lunar 169°59' E.

...

Sund. 22nd of September

... At 2 p.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing ENE...

Mond. 23rd of September

... At daylight, saw Pleasant Island bearing ENE. Dead calm, current taking us off to the Westward. At 10 a.m., out of sight of the Island...

...

Thursday 26th

... At daylight, saw Pleasant Island 2 points off the lee bow. Stood in till 11 o'clock. 5 white men came on board and about 50 natives. Fetched off fowl and hats. At 11, tacked out...

...

Monday 30th of September

... At daylight, saw Pleasant Island. At 9, were up abreast it. Jack Jones and other white men and a great many natives. Fetched off fowl and coconuts and 3 pigs. At 10, tacked, stood to the Northward...

October A.D. 1839

Tuesday 1st

... At 8 a.m., saw the island. Passed to the weather of it. Several canoes came alongside. Among the rest was Jack Jones and another white fellow. Got 2 dozen fowls and 2 hogs and a lot of coconuts...

...

Tuesday 8th

... Pleasant Island in sight bearing ENE. Several canoes came on board with hats & coconuts...

...

Friday 18th

... At daylight, saw a canoe off the weather beam. Sent a boat to her. Proved to be a canoe bound from Pleasant Island to Ocean Island. Had lost her reckoning. Was out of water and provision. Took her alongside and stripped her. Had 25 persons on board, men, women and children. Stood to the SE all this day for Pleasant Island to land our passengers... Lat. 00°23' N. Long. by Chron. 167°23' E.

---

1 Ed. note: More likely, they were under a temporary taboo imposed by the local chief, a common occurrence at that island.

Sat. 19th

... Saw [land] to the S of us. At 10 a.m., kept off for the land which was in sight. At daylight, went in and landed the natives we picked up... At 2 p.m., left the island heading to the N. Saw another sail standing in for the land...

...

Monday 21st

... Middle part, calm. Canoes came alongside with fowls, coconuts, etc. Latter part... land bearing SW distant 12 miles.

Tuesday 22nd

... I omitted yesterday to mention that we shipped a man we call Sam, a native of Pleasant Island...

...

Saturday 2nd of November 1839

... At 1 p.m., saw Pleasant Island. Stood in to it. Paddy came on board with fowls & coconuts. Tacked and stood to the N...

Sunday 3rd

... Pleasant Island bearing SE distant 10 miles. Canoes came alongside with fowls & coconuts. Shipped a man by the name of Tom; belongs to Tamanor [Tamana]...

...

Friday 8th of Nov. 1839

... Working to windward for Ocean Island...

Sat. 9th

... At 11 a.m., saw a sail... At 3:30 p.m., saw Pleasant Island 3 points off the lee bow. At 6 p.m., spoke the bark-ship [sic] **Rifleman** of London, 24 months out, 1600 bbls sperm oil. At 6 [sic] p.m., braced forward and stood to the North.

Sunday 10th

... The **Rifleman** astern standing the same way. At 4 p.m., saw Pleasant Island 1 point before the lee beam...

...

Wednesday 18th

... At daylight, saw Ocean Island. Was up to it at 9 a.m. Sent Barnaby and his wife ashore. Natives came off with fowls & coconuts. At 10, kept off to the Eastward. Saw a sail ahead. Spoke her at 4 p.m. Was the Bark **Hesper** of Fairhaven, Capt. Almy, 450 bbls...

...

Monday 18th

... At 8 a.m., saw whales. Lowered 4 boats. All got fast and saved a whale. Got them alongside. At 2 p.m., ... cut in one of them and lay by the rest of them. Lat. 02°30' S. Long. 174°30' E.

...

Wednesday 20th

Commences squally and rainy. All hands employed boiling and knocking about the decks. Reader, if you have been on board of a whaler in such a time, just imagine to yourself how comfortable it is [to be] wet through with water and likewise oil...

...

[The ship went south towards Rotuma Island for a while and back to the Gilberts.]

...

Tuesday 17th [Dec. 1839]

... At 12 a.m., saw a sail off the weather bow running down for us. Almost calm. At 4 p.m., lowered down the L. Boat. Mr. Sherman went on board. She was the **Alert**, 30 months out from London and 2-1/2 from Sydney where she left 750 bbls oil. Had 200 since she left Sydney. Had seen the **Howard** [of Nantucket, Capt. Worth] 10 days before with 1000 bbls. Got no observ. nor altitude today.

...

Sat. 21st

At daylight, saw Hope [Arorae] Island. Ran down within 6 miles of it and then hauled out to the SE... Lat. by Obs. 2°30 S. Long. by Chron. 176°53 [E].

...

Wednesday 25th of Dec. 1839

... I suppose people at home are revelling in their sports to celebrate the birth of our Saviour... At 4 p.m., saw Hope Island from the masthead...

...

Friday 27th

... At 10 a.m., saw Byron's [Nukunau] Island. At 5 p.m., hauled aback at Byron's Island. Canoes came alongside with coconuts, etc...

...

Monday Dec. 30th 1839

... At 7 a.m., saw whales. Lowered 4 boats, got 5 whales... A bark in sight to windward, supposed it to be the **Alert** of London...

...

Thursday Jan. 2nd [1840]

... A bark in sight. At 8 a.m., kept off NW for Byron's Island. At 10 a.m., saw a ship ahead steering the same course. At 2 p.m., raised the land ahead. At 5 p.m., spoke the ship. [She] was the **Galen** of Warren, Capt. Borden, 15 months out, 450 bbls. At dark, took in sail for the night. Lat. by Observ. 1°17 S. Long. 176°50' E.

Friday January 3rd 1840

... Byron's Island bearing S by E. At daylight, the **Galen** astern steering for the land. Saw a ship to leeward and a bark to windward. Lat. by Observ. 1°40' S. Long. by Chro. 177°07' E.

Sat. Jan. 4th

... At daylight, saw HOpe [Arorae] Island. Ran down past it. At 2 p.m., saw TAmator. Ran down under the lee of it. Got coconuts, etc. At 6 p.m., stood to the SE...

Sunday Jan. 5th

... TAmator bearing NW. At 12 a.m., ran down under the lee of it. Bought coconuts, etc. At 4 p.m., filled and stood to the SSE... Lat. 2°27' S. Long. 175°50 E.

...

[The ship went South to Samoa and TAhiti, and back to the Line.]

...

Monday 27th of April

... At daylight, saw a sail off the lee beam. Ran off and spoke her. [She] was the **Riflemán** of London, Capt. Davis, 3 months from Bay of Islands and 30 from London with 1800 bbls. Capt. came on board. Braced forward and stood to the Southward. Lat. by Obs. 00°20' N. Long. 173°50' W.

...

[To the Japan Ground, then Hawaii, and back to the Line.]

...

Monday 30th [Nov. 1840]

... At 8 a.m., saw Hope [Arorae] Island. Ran off for it. Canoes came alongside with mats, coconuts and girls to trade for tobacco. At sundown, the land bearing NW by N dist. 5 or 6 leagues. Lat. 2°41' S. Long. by Chro. 177°25 E.

...

MOnday 7th

... At 1 p.m., saw a sail. At 5 p.m., spoke the **Ploughboy** [Capt. Brown] of Nantucket, 17 months out, 400 bbls. Lat. 3°18 S. Long. 177°53' E.

...

Friday 18th

... At 10 a.m., saw Hope Island. At 3 p.m., came to off the S end of it. Natives came on board with mats, coconuts and girls to trade for tobacco...

...

Monday 28 [Dec.]

... At 4 p.m., saw 3 ships, the **Courier** [Capt. Harding] of N. B., 32 months out, 1550 bbls, the **Daniel Webster** [Capt. Plasket] of Nantucket, 12 months, 2300, and **Gideon Howland** [sic] 2050, 24 months. Lat. 2°54 S. Long. 176°50 E.



Tuesday 29th of Dec.

... At 9 a.m., spoke the **Courier**...

...

Sat. 2nd [January 1841]

... At daylight, saw Tamanor and the **Courier**. Lat. 2°55' S. Long. 176°41' E.

...

Thursday 5th

... At 4 p.m., saw whales. Chased them in company with the **Louisa** of London, 28 months out, 1500 bbls. Lat. 3°15' [S]. Long. 175°45' E.

...

Thursday 19th

... At 6 p.m., spoke the Barque **Elizabeth** of London, 29 months out, 1100 bbls sp. oil. Lat. 2°16' [S]. Long. 175°12' E.

...

Thursday 4th [Feb.]

... Saw Rotch's [Tamana] Island. Lat. 2°40' S. Long. 176°16' E.

...

[The ship went to Tahiti in March 1841, and back to the Line in April.]

...

[Sunday] June 30th

... At daylight, saw Hope [Arorae] Island. At 8 a.m., saw whales, lowered, got 2 to the W. Boat. Took them alongside and cut them in. Lat. 2°59' S. Long. 177°06 E.

Monday 31st

... Stood in to Hope Island. Natives brought off coconuts, mats and girls to trade for tobacco. Lat. 2°51 S. Long. 176°49 E.

...

Saturday 5th of June

... At 1 p.m., saw Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island. Lat. 2°02 S. Long. 174°58 E.

Sunday 6th

... At 9 a.m., saw the land. At 12, kept off and ran down the S side of it. At sundown, the W part bearing NW. Steering W for Ocean [Banaba] Island. Lat. 1°37 S. Long. 174° E.

...

Wednesday 9th

... At 11 a.m., saw Ocean Island. At 5 p.m., came to under the lee of it. Canoes came off with hats, fowls and mats, etc. to trade for tobacco. Lat. 00°41' S. Long. 169°31' E.

Thursday 10th

... At daylight, Ocean Island bearing SSE. Stood in under the lee of it. Capt. and boat's crew went ashore and got fowls, etc. At 6 p.m., stood to the N & E.

...

Tuesday 22nd of May [rather June]

... At 10 a.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing SSW. Steered for it till sundown. Came to, heading to the Eastward, land dist. about 8 miles. The ship has been going about 1 knot all day. Lat. 00°15' S. Long. 167°06 E.

Wednesday 23rd

Fine weather and nearly calm. Pleasant Island bearing S dist. about 6 miles. Canoes came on board with fowls, girls and coconuts to trade for tobacco. At sundown stood to the N & E...

...

Saturday 17th of July

... At 11 a.m., saw Pleasant Island. At 1 p.m., saw a sail off the lee end of it. At 5, tacked to the South Eastward, the land bearing NW dist. 2 leagues. The other ship stood to the N...

...

Tuesday 20th

... At 1 p.m., saw a sail off the lee. At 2 p.m., saw the land 2 points before the lee beam. At 4, spoke the **Java** of St. Johns [sic, of St. John, New Brunswick], Capt. Price, 21 months out, 1000 bbls. Lat. 00°13' N. Long. 167°11' E.

Wednesday 21st

... Saw Pleasant Island and the **Java** in sight. Lat. 41 miles South.

Thursday 22nd

Fine weather and calm. The **Java** about a mile distant. Lat. 1°20 S. Long. 166° [E].

Friday 23rd

... Steering to the NE, the **Java** in company. Lat. 1°24 S. Long. 166°33' E.

Saturday 24th of July

... Heading ENE, the **Java** off the weather beam. Lat. 1°16 S. Long. 167°31' E.

...

Tuesday 27th

... At 5 p.m., Joseph, a native of Otahiti died with the locked jaw which originated from a hurt he received [on] the 8th in consequence of getting the S. Boat stove by the whale we got that day. A bark in sight off the weather beam. Lat. 9 miles South. Long. 168°43' E.

Wednesday 28th

... At daylight, saw Ocean [Banaba] Island and a bark to the SE. At 7 o'clock, buried the man that died the night before. At 8, spoke the bark, **Lady Blackwood** of-

Sydney, 2 months out, 100 bbls... Latter... beating up for the land. At 2 p.m., saw a sail to the SE of the Island...

Thursday 29th

... At 10 a.m., saw whales and spoke the **London Packet**, 20 months out, 1450 [bbls oil].<sup>1</sup> At sundown, the land bearing E 1/2 N dist. about 6 miles.

...

Thursday 5th [August]

... At 10 a.m., spoke the **Jefne** [sic] of Sydney, 4 months out, 150 bbls. Lat. 25 miles South. Long. 167°34' E.

Friday 6th

... Steering to the W for Ascension [Pohnpei]. At 10 a.m., spoke the Bark **Franklin** of N.B., Capt. Butle, cutting in a large whale, 24 months out, 600 bbls. Lat. 18 miles N. Long. 166°34' E.

...

Tuesday 17th

... At 8 a.m., saw land [Pingelap], 2 islands. At sundown, bearing NNE distant about 15 miles... Lat. 5°57' N. Long. 160°01' E.

Wednesday 18th

... At 10 a.m., saw them 2 islands; supposed them to be the McAskill's Island. Lat. 6°09' N. Long. 159° E.

Thursday 19th

... At 8 a.m., saw Wellington's [Mokil] Island bearing NW. Appeared like 2 separate islands, one very low, the other quite low. At sundown, bearing N 1/2 E by compass dist. about 6 miles. Course W for [blank]. Lat. at Mer. 6°22' N. Long. by Chro. 159°22' E.

Friday 20th

... At daylight, saw Wellington's Island bearing NE by E. Working to windward all day, a strong current setting to the Eastward... At 6 p.m., the Island bearing ENE dist. about 15 miles. Lat. 6°06' N. Long. 159° E.

Saturday 21st

... Steering W. Lost sight of Wellington's Island bearing E 1/2 N. At 10 a.m., saw Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing W. At sundown, bearing W 1/2 N about 18 miles. Lat. 6°47' N. Long. 158°47' E.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This was the London Packet of Fairhaven, Capt. Howland (ref. Starbuck).

Sunday 22nd of August

... At daylight, ran down to the land. Kept off for the Lee Harbor. Wind died away, could not get in. Hauled off and stood up for the Weather Harbor again. The **Java** of St. Johns [sic], **London Packet** of Fairhaven in the Lee Harbor.

Monday 23rd

Fine weather and calm. Towed into Ascension Harbor and anchored at 1 p.m. in the Lee Harbor. Took a raft [of water casks] ashore.

Tuesday 24th

... The watch employed getting water, yams, etc.

...

Friday 27th

... Bark **Franklin** came in, about 2 years out, 650 bbls.

Saturday 28th

Doing a little of nothing.

Sunday 29th

All hands employed getting off water, stowing it away with wood, etc.

Monday 30th

Dong nothing.

Tuesday 31st

Fine weather and calm. Getting ready for sea.

Wednesday 1st of September

... Got under way and proceeded to sea in company with the **London Packet** and **Java**.

Thursday 2nd

... Steering SSW, Ascension in sight bearing NNE. At 10 a.m., saw Raven's [Ngatik] Islands. Ran down for them. At 5 p.m., came to about 4 miles from the weather ones heading off shore, the **London Packet** in company.

Friday 3rd

... At 8 a.m., lowered 2 boats and went ashore at the SW Island of the [group?]. Got some hogs, etc. The **London Packet** in company.

...

Sunday 5th

... At 10 a.m., saw two islands bearing NNW dist. about 18 miles. At 2 p.m., left them out of sight. The **London Packet** in company. Lat. 5°25' N. Long. 157°58' E.

...

Thursday 23rd

... Broke William A. Johns on from steering the **Bow Boat**; put in Alden Westgate. We got 1650 bbls whilst he steered a boat, had 1000 before. Lat. 1°28' S. Long. 158°48' E.

...

Sunday 3rd [Oct. 1841]

... At 5 p.m., spoke the **London Packet** of Fairhaven, Capt. Howland. Had just finished cutting in two school whales which she got alongside at 1 p.m. Has got a 180 bbls since she left Ascension one month before... Lat. 00°28' S. Long. 161°15' E.

...

Wednesday 27th

... At daylight, saw a sail. At 2 p.m., spoke her, the **Avon** of Sydney, Capt. Wilds, 4 months out, 180 bbls. Lat. 1°25' S. Long. by Chro. 167°10' E.

...

Sunday 31st of Oct.

... A sail off our lee quarter standing the same way. Another ship passed to windward of us standing to the N. At 1 p.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island 1 point before the lee beam.

...

Saturday 6th [Nov. 1841]

... At 3 p.m., saw whales, lowered got none. The Bark got one, the **Walkabout** [sic] of Obertown [sic],<sup>1</sup> 10 months out, 400 bbls. Lat. 00°29' N.

...

Tuesday 3th

... At 8 a.m., saw Pleasant Island. Stood in to it. Canoes came off and one white man, Jack Jones. The natives having massacred 8 white men leaving JONES and one other white man by the name of Murphy who left the **Caroline** of London. We detained one native to induce the natives to fetch the other white man off. We waited until 8 p.m.; did not come off. Braced forward and stood off... At daylight [on the] 10th, land bearing E 1/2 S... Beating to the Eastward; could not hold up. At sundown, the land was in sight from the masthead bearing ENE; one bark in sight astern and a ship ahead, all heading into the N & E...

...

Wednesday 17th

... Steering NE by E for Pleasant Island...

...

---

1 Ed. note: The Walkabout of Hobart Town, Tasmania.

Friday 19th

... At daylight, saw Pleasant Island bearing about NE. Heading in for it. Canoes came off. Fetched off Jones' hogs, fowls and his woman and boy, about 4 years old. The other white man went away in the **Rebecca Sims** [Capt. Ray, of New Bedford].

...

Monday 22nd

... At daylight, saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing ESE dist. 10 leagues...

Tuesday 23rd

... At daylight, saw Ocean Island. Ran down to it. Jones, his wife and boy went ashore. Brought some fowls, etc. Kept her off E by S. The **London Packet** left 4 days previous. Had got 50 bbls since the 3rd of Oct. Lat. 00°47' S. Long. 169°40' E.

...

Friday 26th

... At 5 p.m., spoke the **London Packet** of Fairhaven, 2 years out, 1700 bbls. Lat. 2°57' S. Long. 172°57' E.

...

Monday Dec. 6th 1841

... Lat. 2°20' S. Long. 173°24' E. Three years out with 2700 bbls sp. oil.

...

Wednesday 17th of Dec.

... At daylight, saw Hope [Arorae] Island. Stood in to the leeward of it. Capt. went ashore. Lie off and on. At sundown, stood off to the S & Eastward. Lat. 2°41' S.

...

[To Tahiti, then home.]

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## Documents 1839I

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### Recollect mission in the Marianas

#### I1. Population statistics for the Marianas for 1839, etc.

*Sources: Book entitled: Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Agustinos descalzos (Manila, 1879); B&R 28: 346-348.*

Year	Population	Priests	Remarks
1839	6,982	3	See note <sup>1</sup>
1851	8,435	2	See note <sup>2</sup>
1878	8,125	6	See note <sup>3</sup>

#### I2. Fr. Bernardo's requests for supplies from Manila

*Source: PNA.*

##### Letter dated Agaña, 28 November 1840.

Mariana Islands.

Agaña, 28 November 1840.

[To] Mr. Nicolás Saavedra.

My very kind and esteemed Sir:

Through your good Mr. Francisco Borrego, you will receive the shells that I was able to find after very many efforts; they are from the Carolines as well as from the Marianas. There are only a few from the Carolines because, since Carolinians have been permitted to settle in the Island of Saypan, the canoes bring only savages. He will also deliver to you one machete or knife that I had local people make, so that you can see

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1 Ed. note: The report for 1839 was submitted by the Provincial of the Augustinian Recollects in Manila, Fr. Blás de las Mercedes. It is to be noted that the population of the Marianas paid no tributes, unlike Filipinos.

2 Ed. note: Report of 1851 submitted by Fr. Provincial Juan Félix de la Encarnación.

3 Ed. note: Report submitted by Fr. Provincial Aquilino Bon de San Sebastián. By 1879, a total of 1,004 friars had labored and died in the Philippines and Marianas.

how they work in this country, and so that when you go out on the roads full of Tulusanes,<sup>1</sup> its very glare will give them a sunburn and put them to immediate flight.

By the way, I would like to tell you or warn you about the wine that came in the dark gray wooden crate, the one that I believe you bought with the purchase order at Barbas & Castro, because it was all one order, and I cannot but tell you that he has fooled you. Well, in my opinion, it is not "jerez" [sherry] nor has it passed anywhere near [the town of] Jerez; Mr. Borrigo has drunk it and will be able to give you his vote on the subject, although the better story will be about his arrest by four soldiers and one Sergeant.

...

You will not forget to send on another occasion a few "boruitay," some small cellar cheeses and little hams for the Fathers and to give as presents on the Feast of St. John to these Galileans who come to wish the Rector many happy returns on that day. I forgot as well to ask for long stockings of which you will think about sending 8, 10, or a dozen pairs for these excommunicated ones who are making me lose patience.<sup>2</sup>

If the effects of the College were not insured, do not feel bad about what has been lost because I will take care to compensate here with what is left.

A few days ago, the Governor read me your letter in which you ask for an account of the Marianas and that he was to advise me as well about the matter. If my talents would be great enough to write a History, I would do it with pleasure, if only to be of service to you, but I consider myself unable to do so. Nevertheless, I am sending you a few notes about the island and its conquest.

Please excuse all the mistakes, and the satisfaction that they have taken from you.

From your most sincere servant, who kisses your hand,

Fr. Bernardo del Rosario

---

1 Ed. note: Filipino word meaning highwaymen.

2 Ed. note: He may have been referring to his minions, Fr. Manuel and Fr. José, who had been "expelled" from Córdoba, according to Governor Camba of the Philippines.



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## Documents 1839J

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### The two *Heralds* and the story of a Captain's wife ashore in the Gilberts

#### J1. The *Herald* of New Bedford, Captain Frederick Ricketson

*Source: Log 15 in NBWhM; Log Inv. 2249.*

*Note: This was a 270-ton ship-rigged vessel. She returned full from her cruise with 1788 barrels of sperm oil.*

#### Extract from the logbook

December 23d Friday 1837

At 7 o'clock took our anchor and put to sea, wind WNW, Pilot left at 9 o'clock. All sail set. Cold enough.

...

[The ship went to the Indian Ocean first, then to the Southern Grounds, before returning to the Atlantic, it seems, because the log-keeper does not mention the hemisphere in his latitudes, or the E-W orientation in his longitudes. He did not care about islands, but only about whales. Besides his English was quite laconic. According to Starbuck (p. 335), this *Herald* went a cruise to the Indian Ocean, not the Pacific.]

#### J2. The *Herald* of Dorchester, Captain J. Reynolds

*Source: Ms. logbook of Captain Hudson of the USS Peacock (see Doc. 1841K).*

*Notes: This passage was not published by Wilkes. Starbuck (p. 343) says that this ship was sold to Stonington in 1841. Her logbook may have been acquired by Captain Hudson in Honolulu; if so, it may still be extant among the papers of the U.S. Exploring Expedition in the U.S. National Archives.*

#### Entry of Wednesday April 7th 1841.

...

Endeavoured to make ourselves agreeable to the natives—at the same time being on our guard—believing them to be treacherous, and particularly after seeing the **Iron Breast Hook of a Vessel in the Town**, which was no doubt English, and the one referred to in the following extract taken from the Journal of James Float of Boston,

belonging at the time to the American Whale Ship **Herald** of Dorchester (Mass.), Capt. J. Reynolds, dated

“Saturday March 2d 1839.—Spoke the Ship Folkson [rather **Folkstone**] of London. He reported that he saw a wreck on a reef, one mile from Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Island, one of the Kingsmills Group, that he was trading with the natives, laying off and on. They told him that they massacred all of them except the Captain’s wife and child, that **they were still alive**. The Folkson [sic] got all ready to go on shore, to take her, but the current was so strong, that when the wind hauled to the Northward & Eastward, it set him off, so that he could not fetch it again.”

...

### Entry of Thursday April 8th 1841.

*Source: Idem, p. 186.*

...

I am satisfied from their actions, and what the natives of the other Towns say, **that Anderson is murdered**, and that this is the same Town [i.e. Utiroa], where the inhabitants murdered the Crew of the English vessel here and made prisoners of the Captain’s wife and child—the former to share a fate worse than death, as one of the many wives of a savage Chief. We have learned that this woman & child are both dead, but the natives deny having killed her.

...

### Entries of Friday April 9th 1841.

*Source: Idem, pages 197-199.*

...

I had requested Mr. Hale, our Philologist, and Dr. Palmer, to use every means in their power to gather information in relation to the English Captain’s **Wife & Child**, who were wrecked here—the only two spared in the massacre. Mr. Hale writes me, as follows:

*As the dialect was one with which I was wholly unacquainted, I found it impossible to obtain any certainty with regard to the most interesting subject of our inquiries. The first day I imagined the natives understood me, and that they assured me of her death. But on the two subsequent days, when I had picked up some words of the language, and repeated my inquiries (which I did frequently, and in every form that I could devise) I became doubtful whether I was comprehended, at least I could obtain no answer which appeared to have references to the subject. It is not impossible that my impression on the first day may have been correct, and that the natives, seeing our anxiety on the subject, may have been afterwards unwilling to speak about it, through fear of bringing punishment upon themselves for the murder of the Vessel’s crew.*

...

Doctor Palmer writes me:

*After obtaining all the words I could at Drummond's Island, I was at much pains to enquire about the shipwrecked woman and her child. I thought the natives understood my question: "Was there not a ship wrecked here?" and they seemed to answer—that there was. I then enquired where the woman was, who went ashore from here and slept there—and they answered **moe-moe**. I enquired whether she was killed, **mati-mati**, and they replied **okea mati-mati, moe-moe** (not killed, but dead). I then understood at first that the woman had died a natural death, by this distinction between the words **mati-mati** and **moe-moe**, but subsequent observations rendered the exact meaning of this word **moe-moe** very doubtful, and though I still inclined to think the natives meant to say, the woman had died a natural death, it must be confessed that it is far from certain whether they understood my questions, or I correctly interpreted their answers. When I promised them much tobacco if they would bring off the woman, they immediately started off, evidently supposing that I meant any woman, but when they were recalled, and their mistake corrected, they looked disappointed, and said that the woman who belonged to the Ship was **moe-moe**.*

...

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## Documents 1839K

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### Carolinian settlement in Saipan

*Source: PNA 5(1).*

#### **K1. Letter from the Marianas dated Agaña 1 July 1839**

[From] the Administrator of the Royal Treasury in the Marianas—Letter No. 30.—  
Original copy.

I would like to report to you about a decision made by this Govenor [Casillas] to establish on the island of Saypan in April of last year [1838] 14 Carolinian men and 5 Carolinian women from the South Islands; last February of this year [1839] 9 men and 9 women; and in the middle of last April 100 individuals of both sexes, more or less, from the same islands, and this without any support whatever from the incumbent [i.e. the undersigned] in charge of the finances reserved for the support and maintenance of the lepers, without either considering the immense prejudices that will be caused by said Indians in the above-mentioned island of Saypan to the cattle, pigs and fowls that abound in the woods there and are reserved for the maintenance of the lepers themselves, given that in accordance with the agreement of 25 March 1836 a leprosarium was set up in said island, for [Chamorro] men who unfortunately suffer from that disease, and with adequate staff to assist them. In spite of having given orders to the Mayor of Tinian not to permit them [the Carolinians] to do any harm to the cattle and pigs, that they should only collect fruits from the bush, fish and turtles that abound on its beaches, as it is not possible for him to always be in sight of them, and as they are free to roam everywhere on the island, the result will be that in time they will annihilate the said cattle and pigs. On the other hand, after the large sums invested, and those that will be invested in that settlement, the extra charge that will fall upon the Treasury if another new town is founded, without any hope whatever of benefit nor advantage of any kind, because the said Indians have a propensity for a low standard of living, and there is no hope that they will cultivate the land for their own benefit. In fact, the more they are forced to work, the result will be the same as that obtained in 1823, when a few of those Indians of both sexes from the southern islands who were then settled on Saypan, already baptized, moved back to their islands and their old way of life, because they did not want to have to make plantations to get their food. Indeed, if they wished to join our Holy Faith, become subjects, and live a regulated and laborious life under

the protection of this Government, where better could they do so than in this Capital, given that there are so many abandoned but fertile lands where the fruits they love abound in the wilds, and where the Government could keep an eye on them, the better to protect them and assist them, and the Father Ministers as well, who could give them instruction in religion, thus achieving by this means an increase in the population, and the useful workers who are so necessary for the progress of agriculture in this island.

I bring the above to your attention, so that you may take appropriate action regarding the matter.

May God keep you for many years,  
Agaña, 1 July 1839.

## **K2. The opinion of a bureaucrat in Manila**

[To] His Excellency the Superintendent Sub-delegate of Finance.

[From] Administrative Section No. 3.

The Administrator in the Mariana Islands, in the attached letter of last July 1st reports that the Governor there has given his consent to the settlement of various Carolinians on the Island of Saypan, without his support, and without considering the prejudices that would be caused to those sick with leprosy and the other inhabitants of that island, and consequently he says that if agreement is given to the Carolinians staying in the islands, it would then be proper for them to do so in the Capital or its vicinity because, in that case, they would be in sight of the Government.

I bring the above information to Y.E., judging for my part that the observation made by the Administrator of the Marianas is very fine, because it is well and good for the sake of religion and humanity to allow the admittance of Carolinians in the Marianas, it also appears, in the Government's view, that it should be able to make them sociable and useful, but not on a separate island where, keeping their semi-wild customs, they will be prejudicial to the Treasury.

In view of the above, I believe that Y.E. should send an appropriate letter to His Excellency the Governor and Captain General, so that, on board the ship that is to carry the subsidy during the next monsoon, His Excellency could give directives to the Governor of those islands with regard to the Carolinians in question, [directives] that his superior enlightenment may consider more adequate for the good of these unhappy [Carolinian] islanders as well as that of the [Chamorro] inhabitants in the interests of religion and [humanity?].

Accountant General of the Army and Finance.

Manila, 2 June 1840.

Juan Manuel de la Matta.

### **Editor's notes.**

In a note dated 15 July 1840, Governor Lardizábal advised Matta that he had sent the file back to the Governor of Guam. He sends to Matta another file on the same sub-

ject that had been generated by the Recollect Fathers in the Marianas. There is no further record of action taken in Guam, if any, as a result of Lardizábal's letter.

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**Document 1840A**

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**Trade in the Caroline Islands, by Captain Du Pernet**

*Source: Article entitled: "Iles Carolines (grand archipel d'Asie)" in Annales Maritimes et Coloniales, n° 92, partie non officielle, Tome III, 1845, pp. 64-68.*

**N° 5.—Caroline Islands (Great Asian archipelago).**

*General information on the trade between China and the islands of Polynesia.—Caroline Islands.—Bonabé, or Ascension, Island.—Natives.—Fishery.—Advantages of the position of the Carolines.—Trepang.—Sponges.—Sperm whales.—Resources to be found in the Carolines.*

The information that follows comes from a French ship captain who was shipwrecked in 1843 on the coasts of the Caroline Islands,<sup>1</sup> and who, during many years, has sailed in Oceania, either from Tahiti or from the Sandwich Islands, to the different groups of islands to carry on fishing and trading operations:

"It would be possible, in the China Sea, to found a new establishment that would link our two establishments in the Indian and Pacific Oceans<sup>2</sup> and to create a line for French interests in those neighborhoods, where until now it has been believed impossible."

"Some small vessels, leaving empty, in any season, but equipped with fishing equipment, can visit the most important groups of islands, and go to China after two months of travel, loaded with sandal-wood and tortoise-shell taken in the Viti [Fiji] Islands, sperm whale oil, but specially shark fins and trepang for which there is a high demand in China. As for trepang, it is fished on a large scale in the vast expanse of ocean between Luzon Island and New South Wales. A large portion of this fishery is taken to the warehouses of Manila. Demand in China is forever increasing and, in 1843, excluding what went directly to China and what came out of Batavia and Singapore, the warehouses of Manila have received a quantity worth over 600,000 franks. It is not,

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1 Ed. note: This has to be Captain Du Pernet, who was shipwrecked aboard the ship Shaw at Oroluk in 1843.

2 Ed. note: He refers to the existing colonies of Bourbonna and Tahiti.

therefore, a trade article whose demand is illusory. The islands of Oceania have been exploited on an erratic basis so far, and the supply of trepang to China will belong to the nation that will be first be able to organize this exploitation on a sustained basis.”

“On the return voyage, one could take from China, either a load of tea and silk products to the Sandwich Islands, or—what would be undoubtedly preferable—come to Manila to pick up some rice, mats, hats and cigars and take those to Tahiti and the Marquesas.”

“A French trading house, established in the China Sea, could therefore direct its operations toward Bourbon [Mauritius], on the one hand, and toward Tahiti, on the other hand. Moreover, a French trading house established at Sydney could send merchandise to either point, using French bottoms. Finally, to complete the network, a French shipping line could be established between the houses in China and Sydney. When the return voyage from China to Bourbon or Tahiti would not be profitable, the French ship could be loaded with sugar, tea, coffee, for Sydney, in case the return voyage via Sydney appeared better. By the same token, from Sydney, one could send back the ship to China, loaded with coal, horses, New Zealand lumber and New Zealand stones. We could thus have navigation between both Capes. Otherwise, we will remain strangers to seas that offer their treasures only to Englishmen and Americans. Unfortunately, this idea is, for the time being, only utopia. We need to become more daring and powerful in our trading, and we need to have a French warehouse near China, that would not pay higher duties than the English or the Spanish, and where French ships would themselves come to anchor without paying higher fees than English or Spanish ships.”

“Mr. Fisquet, an officer aboard the *Danaïde*, has surveyed, in 1840, under the orders of Mr. J. de Rosamel, the island of Bonabé, or Ascension, which is the most important of the Caroline Islands. His charts have already made known to the Government the beautiful ports that exist there. This island is big and very fertile. The others are, for the most part, covered with a beautiful vegetation. They also have ports.”

“The natives belong to a fine race of men and are rather peaceful. Far from finding Europeans repugnant, I have never heard of other newly-discovered lands where they are made as welcome. They live from fishing and hunting, specially fishing.”

“The fishery has to become, I believe, the biggest industry of these islands, and could be given a very great impulse. Part of such products could become the foundation for a considerable trade with China, another part would go to the English settlements, and another part, finally, could be sent as far as Europe.”

“As far as maritime affairs are concerned, the Caroline Islands appear to be important. They include the fisheries of the large Caroline archipelago, and would necessarily become the center of all these small archipelago that dot the ocean between the Sandwich and the coasts of New Guinea, and even those of the Philippines (Marshalls, Solomons, etc.). That is not all. The trade articles from the fishery, once brought to the market of Bonabé, would be in an extremely advantageous position. Supposing that they are meant for the English settlements; they would then be free from the dangerous



straits of Torres, Dampier and others, that frighten so much our trading world in Indochina in its relations with the same neighborhoods, because they must cross the Solomon Islands, fertile islands to be sure, but inhabited by a cruel race, though largely unable to do any harm, even as pirates. Now, if the trade be directed at China, the Carolines are situated outside the monsoon regions, and can supply the Chinese markets, whereas Indochina is separated from it by the terrible straits of Formosa."

"The fishing products, and consequently the export products, meant to support this navigation, are:

"1° Trepan, a food item for the Chinese, which used to be found in considerable quantities in the Philippines forty years ago. For the last twenty years, such a fishery has been created in the Dutch possessions, and been extended towards the southern English possessions;"

"2° Sponges, numberless, softer, finer, more beautiful than those of Asia Minor: this is a unique article in these neighborhoods, one that must not be disregarded, in view of the presence of thousands of Europeans in the English settlements, and perhaps the millions who will soon populate them;"

"3° Turtles, abundant enough to feed all the Carolines (which are well populated), and after having extracted the oil from them, oil that would become a remarkable article of trade;"

"4° Sperm whales, finally, whose quantity is great, but are not hunted by the whaling ships, because these islands are too full of dangers for the large vessels to venture among them."

"The monopoly of these fisheries would belong to the nation that would establish in Boneb  the center for an active inter-island trade."

"The Caroline Islands have no animals, but Boneb  is only three days from the Marianas where there are animals. They have no industry, but they have a few articles that could become the basis for an important industry in a neighborhood visited by whalers. Among other things, I will mention a type of wood whose qualities are similar to those of the fir-tree."

"Moreover, it would be possible to set up there an important market center for all the fisheries in the northern part of Oceania, by supplying them with everything that is necessary to the whalers, who can, until now, find very few things in the Marianas, and are obliged, to find sufficient supplies, to go as far as the Sandwich Islands, or to venture inside the China Sea, depending on the monsoon seasons."



Map of Pohnpei by the Rosamel Expedition, 1840.

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**Document 1840B**

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**Survey of Pohnpei by Ensign Fisquet of the French navy ship Danaïde, Captain Rosamel**

*Sources: BNP, Cartes et Plans: GeFF78E; ref. Catalogue des cartes, plans, vues des côtes, etc. qui composent l'hydrographie française (Paris, 1847).*

**Introductory notes.**

This French navy ship came through the northern Marshall Islands, where it made a quick survey of Bigar atoll. The detailed survey of Pohnpei took place in September 1840. It was carried out by Ensign Fisquet, assisted by Cadet Garnault. The resulting charts of Pohnpei, and its ports of Madolenim, Lot and Ronkiti, were first published in 1844 (reproduced here); they were re-issued in 1901, 1904, 1907 and even as late as 1971, with only slight amendments. As for Cadet Garnault, he collected historical and other information from the people of Pohnpei, which was published 10 years later by Captain Jurien (see Doc. 1850A).

**The log of the survey of Pohnpei, in September 1840****Original text in French.**

*Opérations hydrographiques pour le plan de l'île Bonnebey par M.M. Fisquet Enseigne de Vaisseau et Garnault Élève à bord de la corvette la Danaïde, commandée par M. Joseph Rosamel, Capitaine de Corvette.—Septembre 1840.*

*4 7bre. A 5 du soir appercus les Sommets de l'île Bonnebey à environ 30 milles dans le S70°O.*

*5 7bre. Le 5 au soir plusieurs matelots déserteurs de navires établis sur l'île viennent à bord en pirogues baleiniers, offrent de nous piloter dans le port de Metaléline qu'ils considèrent comme le meilleur de l'île.*

*6 7bre. Seulement nous arrivons devant l'entrée du port de Metaléline. Les calmes qui nous ont retenu au large pendant deux jours nous empêchent d'entrer. Le Commandant va dans un canot reconnaître le port et choisir un mouillage pour la corvette.*

*Le 7 7bre. Le calme continuant et le Commandant craignant de ne pouvoir entrer de la journée nous donne l'ordre de partir dès le matin pour commencer les opérations du plan de Métaléline.*

*A 7 h. du matin pris une vue de côte du Port (N° 1) et poussé avec le canot major.*

*Tout autour de la baie les mangliers étendent leurs branches jusque dans l'eau et ne laissent pas d'endroit assez dégagés pour la mesure d'une base. Le seul lieu convenable que nous ayons trouvé était une petite plage à l'entrée de la baie en dedans du bouquet d'arbres qui forme l'île Nahpali.*

*Avec une chainette de 10 mètres, mesuré la distance de l'angle de la base & on signala en allant de b en a et en revenant de a en b.*

*Trouvé la première fois 232,50 m—*

*La seconde 232,20 m—*

*Sur un plateau d, couvert de 5 pieds on éprouva ou considéra comme*

*Stations 2. 3. 4. Mouillé le canot en c. Pendant que je faisais une station dans le canot, M. Garnault prenait les angles en a et b afin d'avoir simultanément les trois angles du triangle abc. Dans chaque station les angles sont pris au cercle à réflexion et écrit au dessin d'une vue de côte.*

*St. n° 5. A 1h30 fait la Station n° 5 sur la roche qui s'élève de deux mètres et située à droite de l'entrée.*

*St. n° 6. La station n° 6 à l'angle de la case C.*

*Dans l'après midi la corvette est entrée après avoir alonné(?) sur la pointe de récifs de Nahpali et a mouillé au nord de la pointe nord de l'île Taouache.*

*Le 8 Septembre. Parti à 6 h, établi une échelle de marée à la pointe N de l'île Taouache (les marées y ont été observées jour et nuit de 15 en 15 minutes jusqu'au 18 par le chef de timonerie et des aides qui faisaient le quart.*

*St. n° 7. Fait en p à la pointe N de l'île Taouache la station n° 7. Observé des angles horaires et pris l'azimut du sommet de Tacaïou ou Pain de Sucre.*

*St. n° 8. Gravi le Pain de Sucre Tacaïou. Fait sur le sommet la Station n° 8. Parti de Tacaïou à 10h22 et commencé à sonder. Chaque fois que le canot change de direction on lève rame, Garnault et moi ayant chacun un cercle nous prenons simultanément nos angles sur les pointes connues de la côte et un timonier les écrivait de même que les sondes, et la nouvelle direction du canot était tenue en gardant un alignement donné. Pour aider les souvenirs je traçais au fur et à mesure la route du canot sur un croquis du plan. Ce croquis devait ainsi me rappeler les petits détails de la côte.*

*Station n° 9. A midi 30 mouillé par 8m 1/2 au milieu de la baie intérieure. Fait plusieurs lignes de sonde. De 2h à 2h45 descendu à terre en les cases 4 pour le diner des hommes. Pris un pilote qui nos conduit sur le plateau de Coraux.*

*Station n° 10. Au milieu de la baie, les yoles mouillés sur le milieu et le canot major tourne autour afin d'en connaître l'étendue. Ce banc sur lequel on trouve 8 pieds a des*



bords à pic et est composé de deux parties dans l'intervalle desquelles on trouva 70 pieds.

Continué à sonder dans le canot de la baie qui se donge(?) vers St. N° 11. Montokoloche [Mutukelej] (4h30 - sans mouiller Station N° 11)--pour les détails topographiques.—

9 Septembre. Poussé du bord à 6h30. Visité l'échelle des marées. Observé des angles horaires (comparé la montée des marées). Continua à sonder en prolongeant la route du récif N au récif Sud et réciproquement afin de déterminer les contours des coraux qui forment le port.

St. N° 12. A 11h40 en dehors de l'entrée. [Voir] Station n° 12 pour les détails. De 2h30 à 3h30 descendu à terre à Nahpali pour diner et repos. A 3h30 continua les sondes. Contourné et traversé dans plusieurs sens le plateau C afin d'en avoir l'étendue. A la nuit rentré.

Le 10 Sept. 1840.—Poussé du bord à 7h30. Sondé la ligne droite du bord à la pointe N de Nahpali. Contourné le récif en dehors de Nahpali et de Nah, et pour les détails fait les Stations N° 13 à 10h, N° 14 à 10h40—N° 15 à 1h.

A 3h30 arrivé à l'île Nahcap. Pendant le diner des hommes fait la Station N° 16.

Retourné à bord directement. La marée étant haute, le canot passe sans toucher par dessus les récifs.—

Le 11. Visité les ruines qui se trouvent au SE de l'île Taouache. Ce sont des canaux dont les qua[r]rés?] alignés et à angle droit sont construits avec des prismes basaltiques superposés sans ciment. Il y a de ces prismes qui ont 15 à 20 pieds de longueur. Ces canaux sont envahis par les mangliers qui entre leurs racines laissent encore des passages couverts de verdure dans lesquels les pirogues peuvent naviguer à marée haute seulement. Les naturels nous conduisaient à regret au milieu de ces ruines et semblaient éprouver une crainte religieuse. Ils n'ont jamais consenti à descendre à terre sur un de ces carrés où il reste encore des constructions en prismes basaltiques qu'on pourrait prendre pour des tombeaux. La partie extérieure de ces constructions a pu être déterminée par des angles, mais à l'intérieur je n'ai pu faire que des croquis à cause de l'impossibilité d'avoir des instruments dans une pirogue dont il fallait souvent descendre pour lui faire franchir des espaces secs.—

Nous emmenons comme pilote dans le canot un matelot baleinier anglais déserteur (il y avait dans l'île deux anglais) qui parle la langue et connaît toutes les entrées de port.

Le 12 7bre. Parti à 6 h30 pour faire le tour de l'île. Suivi le récif à petite distance de manière à en déterminer les contours. De tems en tems et toutes les fois que la route change de direction la position du canot est déterminée par des segments capables.

A 8h30 mouillé sur le p rocher(?) fait la Station ..... N° 17

A 11h, mouillé à la partie Sud de l'entrée du port Haru ..... N° 18

*Entré dans le port de Haru, fait deux lignes de sonde seulement en allant et revenant. Pour les détails de la côte, fait*

<i>A midi la Station .....</i>	<i>N° 19</i>
<i>A midi 50 .....</i>	<i>N° 20</i>
<i>A 2h sorti du port Haru. Les brisants nous obligent à nous tenir par de grands fonds.</i>	
<i>A 2h1/2 sans mouiller, fait la Station .....</i>	<i>N° 21</i>
<i>A 3h, id. ....</i>	<i>N° 22</i>
<i>A 4h, id. ....</i>	<i>N° 23</i>
<i>A 5h, mouillé à l'entrée de port Mante .....</i>	<i>N° 24</i>

*Entré dans le port Mante. Nous sommes entourés de pirogues qui se pressant contre le canot nous permettent à peine de nager. Obligé de rentrer la sonde, les naturels étant tous armés de javelots ... Envoyé le pilote s'expliquer avec les chefs, pour savoir si on pourrait passer la nuit à terre dans la maison du chef de Hou [i.e. U]. Pendant la nuit des naturels armés avec des javelots faisaient de sentinelles autour de nous.*

*Le 19 7bre. A 7h, poussé, fait une ligne de sonde dans la longueur du port Mante.*

<i>A 7h30, sans mouiller, fait Station .....</i>	<i>N° 15</i>
<i>A 9h35, id. ....</i>	<i>N° 26</i>
<i>A 10h25, id. ....</i>	<i>N° 27</i>
<i>A 11h30 mouillé à l'extrémité N du récif, fait la Station .....</i>	<i>N° 28.</i>

*Pour la hauteur méridienne [voir] Supplément.*

<i>A midi 45, levé [l'ancre].</i>	
<i>A 2h25, sans mouiller .....</i>	<i>Station N° 29</i>
<i>A 3h50, mouillé à l'entrée du port Taytik .....</i>	<i>Station N° 30</i>

*Entré dans le port de Jocaits [Joka] par la première passe. A la nuit, rentré la sonde.*

*Le 14 7bre, Au jour gravi le rocher de Jocaits au haut duquel se trouve l'habitation du chef de la tribu. Fait une station sur le sommet .....*

<i>A 9h, poussé. Sondé.</i>	<i>N° 31</i>
<i>A 10h, fait station au milieu du port de Jocaits, touché le récif ....</i>	<i>N° 32</i>
<i>A 11h18, mouillé à la seconde passe. Station .....</i>	<i>N° 33</i>
<i>A midi 46, aperçu l'île Tahouack [Tauak] où nous devons aller dans la soirée.</i>	
<i>Mouillé. Station .....</i>	<i>N° 34</i>
<i>A 2h20, sans mouiller .....</i>	<i>N° 35</i>
<i>A 4h30, id. ....</i>	<i>N° 36</i>

*Vit avoir une passe pour canots.*

<i>A 5h30, sans mouiller .....</i>	<i>N° 37</i>
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*A 7h30 le vent et le courant étant contraires, rentré la sonde. A la nuit pluie battante, grosse mer. Nous n'arrivons à l'entrée de Tahouack qu'à 11h du soir. Mouillé le grapin. Pluie pendant toute la nuit.*

<i>A 8h50, pendant que les hommes font souper sur l'île Tahouack, fait la Station ...</i>	<i>N° 38</i>
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*Le port Tahouack d'après le dire de notre pilote serait praticable pour les navires mais il y pleut presque constamment. Le tems nous empêche de sonder l'intérieur.*

[Le 15 7bre.] *Parti à 8h45. longe le récif sans sonder jusqu'au port Palong [Pwalal?] dedans l'entrée duquel nous faisons la Station ..... N° 39*

*Le port est trop étroit pour être fréquenté. Continua la route à l'entrée dans le port Ronikiti, les hommes descendent à terre sur l'île Nahlape jusqu' 4 h.*

*A 3h30, fait à la pointe N de l'île la Station ..... N° 40.*

*A 4h30, poussé pour commencer les sondes du port Ronikiti.*

*A 5h30, sans mouiller, Station ..... N° 41*

*A la nuit, rentré passé la nuit sur l'île Nahlape.*

*Le 16 7bre. Poussé à 7h pour faire les sondes du port Ronikiti. Les chefs naturels nous accompagnent sur les petits rochers qui se trouvent au milieu de la partie étroite de l'entrée.*

*A 8h15, mouillé, fait la Station ..... N° 42*

*A 9h, id. .... N° 43*

*A 10h30, id. .... N° 44*

*A 11h30, sans mouiller ..... N° 45*

*A midi, sorti du port Ronikiti.*

*A miki 30 (diner des hommes jusqu'à 1 h.) Station ..... N° 46*

*A 2h15, sans mouiller, pour déterminer les détails des côtes ..... N° 47*

*A 3h30, fait la Station ..... N° 48*

*A 4h40, ..... N° 49*

*A 5h15, ..... N° 50*

*Entré dans le port Moudock [Mutok] et passer la nuit à l'île inhabitée de Peniao.*

*En arrivant le soir à marée haute le canot accoste très près de l'île. If fallait de résoudre à l'étude de la mer d'échouer pour la nuit afin de ne pas trop l'éloigner des hommes qui coucheraient à terre. Je m'attendais du reste à ce que le matin à pareille heure la mer haute le remettrait à flot. La mer a baissé en effet jusqu'à minuit. La nuit le canot à échoué(?) le flot du matin s'est à peine fait sentir. Au jour, nous avions devant nous deux encablures de coraux découverts. Il a fallu après avoir haler le canot près d'une encablure sur des rouleaux que nous manque repartir ce jour là à Métaléline. Le flot du matin a été moins fort que celui du soir mais il a été d'un pied 9 pouces.*

*17 7bre 1840. Du canot échoué, fait la Station ..... N° 51.*

*A 2h, poussé.*

*A 2h42, sans mouiller ..... N° 52.*

*A 3h46, ..... N° 53.*

*A 4h22, à l'entrée du port Lodde ..... N° 54.*

*A 5h10 au milieu du port à toucher le bord des coraux ..... N° 55.*

*Passé la nuit dans les cases au fond du port.*

*Le 18 7bre '40. Du mouillage du canot à 9h fait la Station ..... N° 56.*

*Sondé le port Lodde sur 14 lignes allant d'un côté à l'autre des récifs.*

*A 10h05 mouillé par dedans de la petite île de Bounatick, fait la Station ... N° 57.*

*Sorti du port, fait route pour Métaléline.*

*A 11h25, sans mouiller ..... N° 58.*

*Le tems devient à grains et nous cache la terre. et nous empêche de parvenir à terre.*

*Rentré la sonde.*

*A midi 45 dans un embellis ..... N° 59.*

*Pluie et vent le reste de l'après midi. A 9h du soir arrivé à bord.*

*19 7bre. Le 19 7bre remonté dans une pirogue la rivière de Métaléline. Elle est bordée de mangliers entre lesquels on peut circuler à marée haute. Fait le tour de la baie intérieure et de l'île Taouac. Rentré par les canaux des ruines. La corvette fait un essai d'appareillage [mais] le calme l'oblige de remorquiller(?) auprès du banc du milieu. Employé le arts(?) bajouam(?)*

*20 7bre. Au jour sonder la baie de Métaléline, et le canal du côté de l'île Montokoloche, parce que dans les premières courses beaucoup de coups de plomb n'avaient pas atteints le fond.*

*Le 21 7bre. La Corvette appareille. Elle fait le tour de l'île en passant par le Nord et en suivant à petite distance le récif.*

*A 8h du matin et à 9h fait des vues des côtes, peu exactes à cause de la vitesse du navire.*

*A 9h1/2 nous sommes à petite distance des îles Pakins. Fait mouillé(?) et un croquis du haut des barres. Pendant la nuit subi(?) impu (?)*

*Le 22 7bre. L2 22 au matin nous faisons route pour contourner les îles Mants [rather Ant].*

*A 6h15, fait des vues de côtes pour déterminer les détails des îles Mants.*

*A 7h40, id. au moment des angles horaires,*

*A 9h, id.*

*A midi, id. au moment de la hauteur méridionale.*

*A 6h du soir, id.*

*Le 23 7bre. Passé la nuit en calme. Nous nous trouvons au jour dans le N de l'île. A 7h, fait une vue. Fait route pour le port of Ronikiti. A 9h, poussé dans le canot du commandant pour aller sonder dans le port Ronikiti. A 1h30 rentré la sonde, retourné à bord.*

*La corvette fait à l'O. A midi au moment de la hauteur méridionale, vue de côte.*

*A 5h30, id.*



*Le 24 . Hors de vue de terre.*

### *Construction du plan de Métaléline.*

*Les Stations N° 2 en a, N° 3 en b, N° 4 en c, N° 5 en r, N° 6 en C, N° 7 en p, N° 8 en s. m'ont fourni un réseau de triangles dans lesquels je connaissais les angles. Partant de la base ab, j'ai calculé les autres côtés.*

*Le triangle abc m'a donné ac.*

*Le triangle acr m'a donné ar et cr.*

*Le triangle arC m'a donné ac et cr.*

*Le triangle crs m'a donné rs et cs.*

*A vu de ces déterminations, j'ai pu calculer la position de plusieurs points remarquables de l'intérieur, le sommet de Mijijao dans le triangle crs, le sommet de Montokoloche dans acnc.*

*Les côtés rs et as devant me servir pour déterminer le sommet A, P et S et les angles observés de s sur r et sur a me laissant quelques doutes.*

*Dans le triangle drs, calculé le côté sd et les angles d et s.*

*Dans le triangle rca, calculé les angles s et a.*

*Le triangle sap m'a donné p, points A, E, P et s' dans les triangles ASa, rsE, sas', sap.*

*Ayant par plusieurs azimuts la direction de zp = N37°22'O, calculé les distances des points p a c r g b c m à la méridienne et à la perpendiculaire de s.*

*Ayant pris de en diverses stations des angles sur tous les sommets, les pointes et les objets remarquables en vue, j'ai construit graphiquement les contours des côtes.*

*Dans les sondes des positions du canot sont obtenues par des segments capables d'angles observés sur les points calculés autant que possible au lieu d'autres obtenus graphiquement tel que n, ..., s.*

*Les noms sont écrits tel que nous les entendions prononcer par les naturels. Quelques uns nous ont été donnés par un français déserteur établi sur l'île qui nous les écrivait lui même.*

### *Construction du plan de l'île*

*Plan par rapport à la méridienne et à la perpendiculaire de s' les points calculés*  
*s—r—a—b—c—C—p—d—t—E—A—s'*

*Parmi les stations faites autour de l'île, choisi pour les opérations*

<i>celles du 12 7bre à 11h .....</i>	<i>N° 18.</i>
<i>id. à 3h .....</i>	<i>N° 22.</i>
<i>Le 13 à midi .....</i>	<i>N° 28.</i>
<i>Le 14 sur le sommet Jocaits j' .....</i>	<i>N° 31.</i>
<i>id. à 2h20 .....</i>	<i>N° 35.</i>
<i>Le 16 à 4h à la pte N de Nahlope .....</i>	<i>N° 40.</i>

*Les Stations N° 18, 22 ont été placés graphiquement par segments capables d'angles ... sur les points calculés F—d—t—s et ont servi elles même à placer les points m et m' sommets des iles Mant.*

*Le N° 28 placé d'après les sommets E, d, m, m' et le N° 22 déjà connu, ont déterminé le sommet prismatique de j.*

*Le N° 31 en j' placés d'après j - m - E et le N° 28 ont donné de sommet .. de l'île Langha [Langar].*

*Enfin le N° 35 placé par les angles sur j - l - m - E' m'a donné une direction sur la petite île Tahouack qui a été fixée par le relèvement pris du N° 40, la Station N° 40 faite à terre avait fixé elle même par un azimut sur les points A et s'.*

### *Plan de Ronikiti*

*Après avoir placé sur le plan général de l'île la Station N° 40 d'où j'avais un azimut sur s', je me suis servi de ce point n° 40 de A et de s' pour déterminer le N° 41 et N° 42 et N° 43 et 44.*

*Ces cinq stations rapportées sur une échelle plus grande avec les directions de r(?) et de s qui ne pouvaient pas être porté sur la feuille, m'ont donné les positions des iles Touleutick C, Nahmeneur f, les roches q, deux arbres remarquables sur a Nahlape et Chawiac b.*

*C'est au moyen de ces points que j'ai placés les sondes du port, les positions du canot indiquant les courbes du récif, ainsi que les contours de la côte bordée de mangliers. Nous n'avons pas pu entrer dans la rivière, la marée étant basse. Le pilote nous a dit que les pirogues la remontaient assez haut et que passé la barre elle avait plusieurs brasses de profondeur.*

### *Port Lodde.*

*Au moyen de s'—A—s, placé les Stations 54, 57 et 58 qui me servent à fixer un bouquet d'arbres (Nahanior) lieu 5. Avec le bouquet d'arbres 5, le point A et le point s, placé la Station N° 55 et N° 56, sur une échelle plus grande me donnent le plan des points 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7 qui me servent à déterminer la courbe des coraux et les sondes du port ainsi que les contours de la côte bordée de mangliers comme Ronikiti.*

*Revenant au plan général, j'ai rapporté dessus les constructions de Métaléline, de Ronikiti et de Lodde, et j'ai continué la construction en plaçant les autres Stations.*

*Celles de la partie NE d'après les points calculés de la partie Nord d'après les points calculés de SE et les points graphiques m. 1. j.*

*Celles de la partie NO d'après j' l E et Tahouack la partie SO.*

*D'après la Station N° 40, le sommet de Touleutick, les points A et s'.*

*Celles de la partie Sud, d'après le sommet de Touleutick, A, s', P et m, le sommet P était construit graphiquement avec les relèvements des points a et de la Station N° 17. M d'après la Station N° 50 et N° 40.*

*Il y a eu accord dans les constructions de N et de Sud.*

*La partie O laisse de l'indécision surtout pour les côtes qui nous étaient souvent cachées par des grains.*

### *Iles Pakins*

*Sur les positions tous relevés du sommet de Jocaits d'où l'on distingue très bien la limite N et la limite Sud des arbres qui les couvrent, cette direction est recoupée sur un relèvement pris du bord le 22 7bre à 6h15. La position du navire est déterminée d'après les relèvements sur Bonnebey.*

*Le 21 au soir nous nous sommes assez approchés des îles Pakins pour en apercevoir les détails et en avons [fait] un croquis[.] la partie NO n'a pas de vue.*

### *Iles Mants*

*De la Station N° 40, relevé l'île Pachiai, la pte N de Kahalape et la pte Sud Panemour. Un relèvement et un pris de la corvette le 22 à 7h 40, à midi, à 6h du soir ont donné les détails des îlots qui ne sont que des touffes de mangliers et de cocotiers poussant sur la partie Sud d'un récif de corail circulaire.*

*L'entrée indiquée n'a pas été vue. Elle a été marquée d'après l'indication des naturels et du pilote. Ils disent qu'il y a entrée pour un navire.*

### **Translation.**

**Hydrographic operations to make a chart of Bonabey Island by Mr. Fisquet, Navy Ensign, and Mr. Garnault, Cadet officer, on board the corvette Danaïde, under the command of Mr. Joseph Rosamel, Lieutenant-Commander.—September 1840**

4 September. At 5 in the evening, we sighted the peaks of Bonebey Island, about 30 miles distant, to the S70°W.

5 September. On the 5th in the evening, many sailors, deserters from whaling ships who have settled on the island, came alongside with whale boats to offer their services as pilot to guide us into the port of Metalanim, which they considered the best in the island.

6 September. It was only today that we came before the entrance to the port of Metalanim. The calm weather had forced us to remain offshore during two days and prevented us from going in. The Commander went with a boat to reconnoiter the port and select an anchorage for the corvette.

7 September. The calm weather continues and the Commander, fearing not to be able to go in today, gave us the order to leave at daybreak and begin the operations for a chart of Metalanim.

At 7 in the morning, made a plan view of the outline of the port (N<sup>o</sup> 1) and shoved off with the launch.

All around the bay the mangroves push their branches [sic] down to the water and leave no space for us to use as a baseline. The only suitable spot that we found was a small beach at the entrance of the bay, inside the tree grove that makes up Nahpali Island.

With a small chain measuring 10 meters in length, we have measured the distance of the angle of the baseline. We noted our measurements from point b to point a, and vice versa, which gave:

In one direction 232.50 meters;

In the other 232.20 meters.

On a coral flat d, covered with 4 feet [of water], we established the three Stations, N<sup>o</sup> 2, 3 & 4. The boat was anchored at c. While I was making a station aboard the boat, Mr. Garnault was taking the angles at a and b in order to fix at the same time the three angles of the triangle abc. At each station the angles were measured with a reflection circle and recorded on a [draft] plan view of the coast.

Station n<sup>o</sup> 5.—At 1:30, made Station n<sup>o</sup> 5 on the rock that rises two meters and is located on the right side of the entrance.

Station n<sup>o</sup> 6.—Station n<sup>o</sup> 6 was the corner of Hut C.

In the afternoon the corvette came in after having grazed(?) the point of reefs of Nahpali Island and anchored to the north of the north point of Tauas Island.<sup>1</sup>

8 September.—Left at 6, set up a scale to measure the tides at the north point of Tauas Island. The tides were then measured there day and night, every 15 minutes, until the 18th, by the Boatswain and his mates who took turns.

Station n<sup>o</sup> 7.—Made Station n<sup>o</sup> 7 at p at the N point of Tauas. Observed hourly angles and taken the azimuth of the peak of Tacaio, or Sugar Loaf.

Station n<sup>o</sup> 8.—Climbed the Sugar Loaf. Made Station n<sup>o</sup> 8 at the summit. Left Tacaio at 10:22 and began to sound. Every time the boat changed direction, the oars were raised; Garnault and I, each having a circle, would simultaneously take our angles with respect to the known points along the coast and a boatsteerer would write them down, as well as the soundings, and the new heading of the boat was kept straight by aiming at a given landmark. To help with the reckoning, I would trace the route of the boat as it went upon a draft plan view. This draft was to help me later on to remember the small details of the coastline.

Station n<sup>o</sup> 9.—At 12:30 p.m., anchored in 8-1/2 meters in the middle of the inner basin. Made many sounding lines. From 2 to 2:45 p.m., we went ashore in the Huts 4 for the men to have lunch. Taken one pilot to guide us over the coral flat.

Station n<sup>o</sup> 10.—In the middle of the bay, the yawls being anchored in the middle, the launch was going around in order to determine its extent. The bank upon which is found

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1 Ed. note: Same as Taman, or Temwen, the large island near the Nanmadol ruins.

8 feet of water has abrupt edges and consists of two parts; the space in-between them was 70 feet deep.

Continued taking soundings in the bay with the boat in the direction of the Station n° 11. Montokolosh [Mutukelej] (4:30 p.m. without anchoring made Station n° 11, [See it] for the topographic details.—

9 September.—Shoved off from alongside at 6:30 a.m. Visited the tidal scale. Observed lunar angles (compared the rises of the tides). Continued taking soundings between the N reef and the S reef, in order to determine the contours of the coral reefs marking the shape of the port.

Station n° 12.—At 11:30, were outside the entrance. [See] Station n° 12 for the details. Between 2:30 and 3:30 p.m., were ashore on Nahpali for lunch and rest. At 3:30 p.m., continued taking soundings. Went around reef flat C and crossed it in many directions in order to determine its extent. At nightfall, returned.

10 September.—Shoved off from alongside at 7:30 a.m. Sounded in a straight line from the ship to the N point of Nahpali. Went around the reef outside of Nahpali and Nah, and for the details we made Station n° 13 at 10 a.m., Station 14 at 10:40, and n° 15 at 1 p.m.

At 3:30 p.m., arrived at Nahcap Island. While the men were having lunch, made Station n° 16.

Returned on board directly, as the tide was low and the boat was able to pass on top of the reefs without touching them.—

11 September.—Visited the ruins that are found to the SE of Tauas Island. They consist of canals delimiting squares, aligned and laid at right angle, built with basaltic prisms laid one on top of the other but without cement. Some of those prisms are from 15 to 20 feet in length. These canals are invaded by mangroves whose roots nevertheless leave enough space, covered with verdure, through which the canoes can manage but only at high tide. The natives who were leading us among those ruins were doing so reluctantly and seemed to feel a religious fear. They never consented to step ashore on one of those squares where one can still find buildings of basaltic prisms that one could mistake for grave sites. The outside part of these buildings could be determined by angles, but I could never make drawings of the inside because of the impossibility of having any instruments aboard a canoe when it was often necessary to get off it, for it to be dragged over the dry spots.—

As a pilot, we took along aboard the boat an Englishman who had deserted from a whaling ship (there are two Englishmen on the island); he speaks the [local] language and knows the entrances to all the ports.

12 September.—Left at 6:30 to go around the island. Followed the reef at a short distance so as to determine its contours. From time to time and every time the route changed direction, the position of the boat was determined by able segments.

At 8:30 a.m., anchored over rock p. Made Station ..... N° 17.

At 11 a.m., anchored at the south part of the entrance of port Haru N°18.

Entered the port of Haru, ran two lines of soundings only while going in and coming out. For the details, made

At noon, Station ..... N° 19.

At 12:50 p.m., ..... N° 20.

At 2 p.m., left the port of Haru. The breakers forced us to stay in deeper water.

At 2:30, without anchoring, made Station ..... N° 21.

At 3 p.m., id. .... N° 22.

At 4 p.m., id. .... N° 23.

Entered the port of Mant. We were surrounded by canoes that so pressed us on all sides that we could hardly move. Forced to take in the sounding line, the natives being all armed with spears.... Send the pilot ashore to hold a conversation with the chiefs, to know whether we could spend the night ashore in the residence of the Chief of Hu [U]. During the night, some natives armed with spears acted as sentinels around us.

19 Septembre.—At 7 a.m., ran a line of soundings the full length of the port of Mant.

At 7:30 a.m., without anchoring, made Station ..... N° 25.

At 9:35, id. .... N° 26.

At 10:25, id. .... N° 27.

At 11:30, anchored at the N tip of the reef, made Station ..... N° 28.

For the noon time longitude, [see] Supplément.

At 12:45, weighed [anchor].

At 2:25, without anchoring, made Station ..... N° 29.

At 3:50, anchored at the entrance of the port of Taytik, made Station N° 30.

Entered the port of Jocaits [Jokaj] through the first pass. At nightfall, took in sounding line.

14 September.—At daybreak, climbed Jocaits Rock, at the top of which is the residence of the chief of the tribe. Made a station at the summit ..... N° 31.

At 9 a.m., took soundings.

At 10 a.m., made a station in the middle of the port of Jocaits, touched the reef ...

..... N° 32.

At 11:18, anchored at the second pass. Station ..... N° 33.

At 12:46, sighted Tauak Island which we are to reach in the evening. Anchored.

Made Station ..... N° 34.

At 2:20 p.m., without anchoring ..... N° 35.

At 4:30 p.m., id. .... N° 36.

Saw, in effect, a pass for canoes.

At 5:30 p.m., without anchoring ..... N° 37.

At 7:30 p.m., the wind and current being contrary, took in the sounding line. At nightfall, driving rain, sea high. We arrived at the entrance of Tauak only at 11 at night. Anchored with the grapnel. Rain during the night.

At 8:50, while the men were making supper on Tauak I., made Station N° 38.

The port of Tauak, according to the opinion of our pilot, would be practicable for ships, but there is almost continuous rain there. The weather prevented us from taking soundings inside.

[15 September].—Left at 8:45 a.m., followed the reef without taking soundings as far as the port of Palong in the entrance of which we made Station N° 39.

The port is too narrow to be practicable. Continued our route toward the entrance of the port of Ronikiti. The men stepped ashore on Nahlap Island where they remained until 4 p.m.

At 3:30, made at the N tip of the island Station ..... N° 40.

At 4:30, shoved off to begin sounding in the port of Ronikiti.

At 5:30, without anchoring, Station ..... N° 41.

At nightfall, returned to Nahlap Island to spend the night.

16 September.—Shoved off at 7 a.m. to take soundings in the port of Ronikiti. The native chiefs accompanied us to the small rocks that are found in the middle of the narrow part of the entrance.

At 8:15, anchored, made Station ..... N° 42.

At 9, id. .... N° 43.

At 10:30, id. .... N° 44.

At 11:30, without anchoring ..... N° 45.

At noon, left the port of Ronikiti.

At 12:30 (lunch of the men until 1 p.m.) Station ..... N° 46.

At 2:15, without anchoring, to determine the details of the coasts N° 47.

At 3:30, made Station ..... N° 48.

At 4:40, ..... N° 49.

At 5:15, ..... N° 50.

Entered the port of Mudok [Mutok] and spent the night on the inhabited island of Peniao.

Upon arrival in the evening, it was high tide, and we moored very close to the island. It was necessary to make a study of the sea to choose a proper anchorage for the night in order not to be too far away from the men who would sleep ashore. However, I expected that at the same time in the morning the high tide would refloat the boat. Indeed, the tide ebbed until midnight. During the night, the boat grounded; the flow of the morning was hardly noticeable. At daybreak, we had before us two cable-lengths of bare coral reef. It became necessary to drag the boat almost one cable-length upon

rollers in order to make it to Metalanim that day. The morning flow was less strong than that of the evening, but it was 1 foot 9 inches.

17 September.—From the beached boat, made Station ..... N° 51.  
 At 2 p.m., shoved off.  
 At 2:42, without anchoring ..... N° 52.  
 At 3:45, ..... N° 53.  
 At 4:22, at the entrance of the port of Lod [Lot] ..... N° 54.  
 At 4:10 in the middle of the port touched the edge of coral heads N° 55.  
 Spent the night in the huts at the bottom of the port.

18 September.—From the anchorage of the boat, at 9 a.m., made Station N° 56.  
 Sounded the port of Lod along 14 lines between both reefs.  
 At 10:05, anchored inside the small island of Bunatik, made Station N° 57.  
 Left the port and headed for Metalanim.  
 At 11:25, without anchoring ..... N° 58.  
 The weather became squally, hiding the view of the land, and preventing us from going back ashore. Took in the sounding line.  
 At 10:45, during a break in the weather ..... N° 59.  
 Rain and wind for the rest of the afternoon. At 9 p.m., reached alongside.

19 September.—On the 19th of September, we went up the Metalanim River aboard a canoe. It is lined with mangroves between which one can navigate at high tide. Went around the inner bay and Tauak Island. Returned on board by way of the canals of the ruins. The corvette tried to leave the port [but] the calm weather forced her to tow near the bank in the middle using a kedge anchor(?).

20 September.—At daybreak, took soundings in Metalanim Bay and the channel toward Montokolosh Island, because, during the first runs, for many soundings, the lead did not reach bottom.

21 September.—The corvette set sail. She went around the island by rounding its north side and following the reef at a short distance.

At 8 a.m. and at 9 made sketches of the profile of the coasts, rather inexact because of the speed of the ship.

At 9:30 we were a short distance from the Pakin Islands. Anchored(?) and made a sketch from the masthead. During the night sffered(?) rain(?)

22 September. <197>On the morning of the 22nd, set sail intending to go around the Mant Islands.

At 6:15, made sketches of the coast to determine the details of the Mant Islands

At 7:40, id. at the time of the hourly angles.



At 9, id.

At noon, id. at the time of observing longitude.

At 6 p.m., id.

23 September.— Spent the night with calm weather. We found ourselves north of the island by daybreak. At 7 a.m., made a view. Headed for the port of Ronikiti. At 9, shoved off with the commander's boat to go and sound inside the port of Ronikiti. At 1:30 pm., took in the sounding line, went back on board.

The corvette headed west. At noon, at the time of observing longitude, made a sketch. At 5:30, id.

24 September.—Lost sight of the land.

### Construction of the chart of Metalanim [Harbor].

Stations N° 2 in a, N° 3 in b, N° 4 in c, N° 5 in r, N° 6 in C, N° 7 in p, and N° 8 in s have provided me with a network of triangles whose angles were known to me. Beginning with baseline ab, I calculated the other sides.

Triangle abc gave me ac.

Triangle acr gave me ar and cr.

Triangle arC gave me rs and cs.

Given these determinations, I was able to calculate the position of many landmarks inland: the peak of Mijijao within Triangle crs, the peak of Montokolosh within acnc.

The sides rs and as served me to determine Peak A, P and S but the angles made by s with r and with a left me some doubts.

In triangle drs, calculated side sd and angles d and s.

In triangle rca, calculated angles s and a.

Triangle sap gave me p, points A, E, P and s' within triangles ASa, rsE, sas', sap.

Having by many azimuths ascertained the direction of zp = N37°22'W, calculated the distances of points p a c r g b c m to the meridian and perpendicular of s.

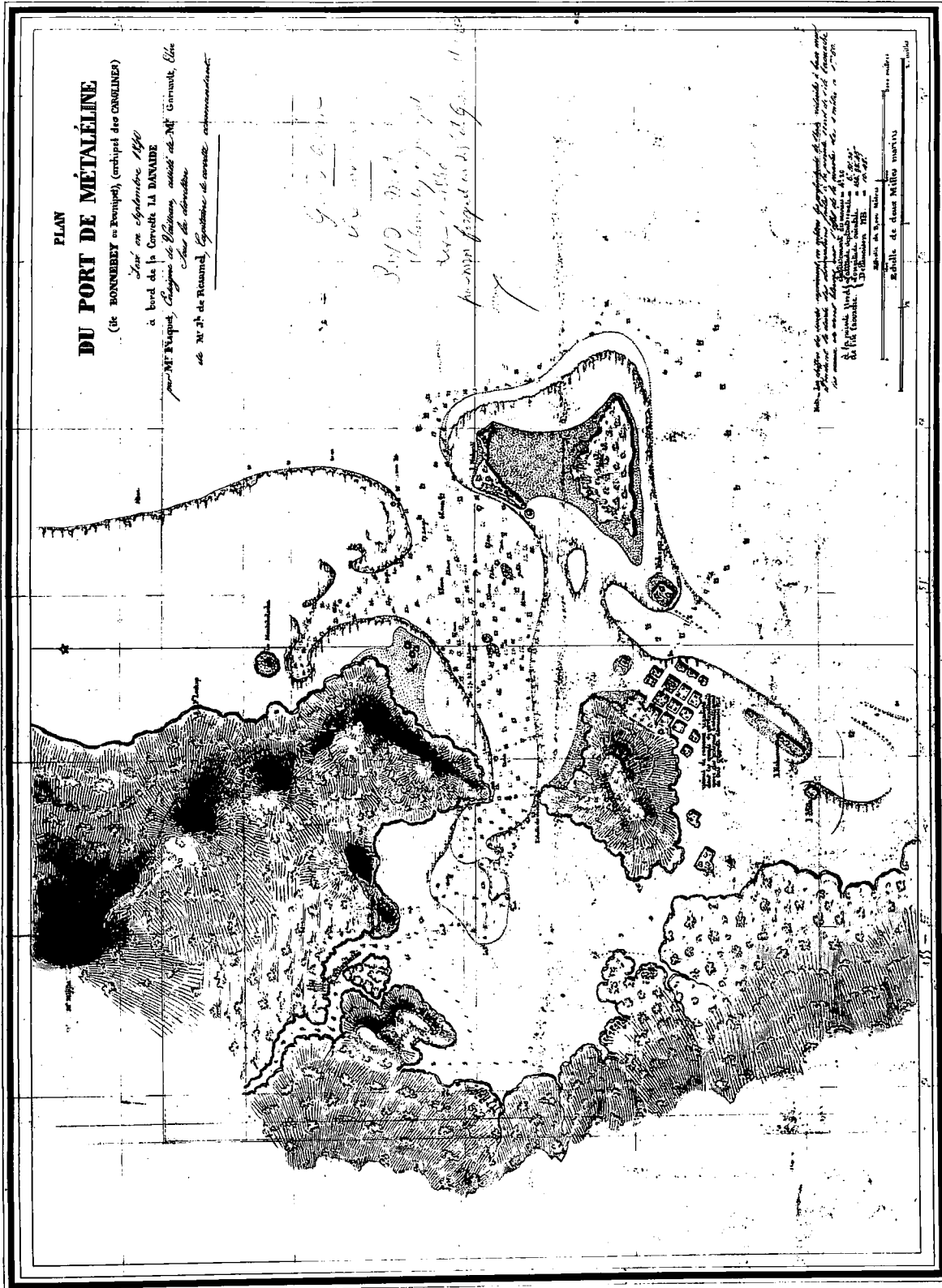
Having noted at various stations the angles made by all the peaks, the points and landmarks in sight, I have constructed graphically the outline of the coast.

As for the soundings, the positions of the boat were obtained by able segments of angles with respect to calculated points as much as possible, rather than those obtained graphically, wuch as n, ..., s.

The names were written down exactly as we heard the natives pronounce them. A few names were given to us by a French deserter who has settled on the island. He wrote them down himself.

### Construction of the chart of the island.

Plan with respect to the meridian and the perpendicular of s' of the calculated points s, r, a, b, c, C, p, d, t, E, A, s'



Among the stations made around the island, I have chosen the following for the operations:

12 September at 11 a.m. ....	N° 18.
id. at 8 p.m. ....	N° 22.
13 September at noon .....	N° 28.
14 September on the peak of Jocaits j' .....	N° 31.
id. at 2:30 p.m., .....	N° 35.
16 September at 4 p.m., at the N point of Nahlap ...	N° 40.

Stations N° 18, 22 have been placed graphically by able segments of angles with the calculated points F, d, t, s and they have themselves been used to place points m and m', the peaks of Mant Island.

N° 28, placed in accordance with peaks e, d, m, m' and N° 22 already known, have determined the prismatic peak at j.

N° 31 at j' placed in accordance with j, m, E and N° 28 have given the peak of Langha [Langar] Island.

Finally, N° 35 placed by angles with j, l, m, E' has given me a direction toward the small island of Tauak which was fixed by the survey made at [Station] N° 40.

Station N° 40 fixed ashore had itself been fixed by an azimuth with points A and s'.

### Chart of Ronikiti [Harbor].

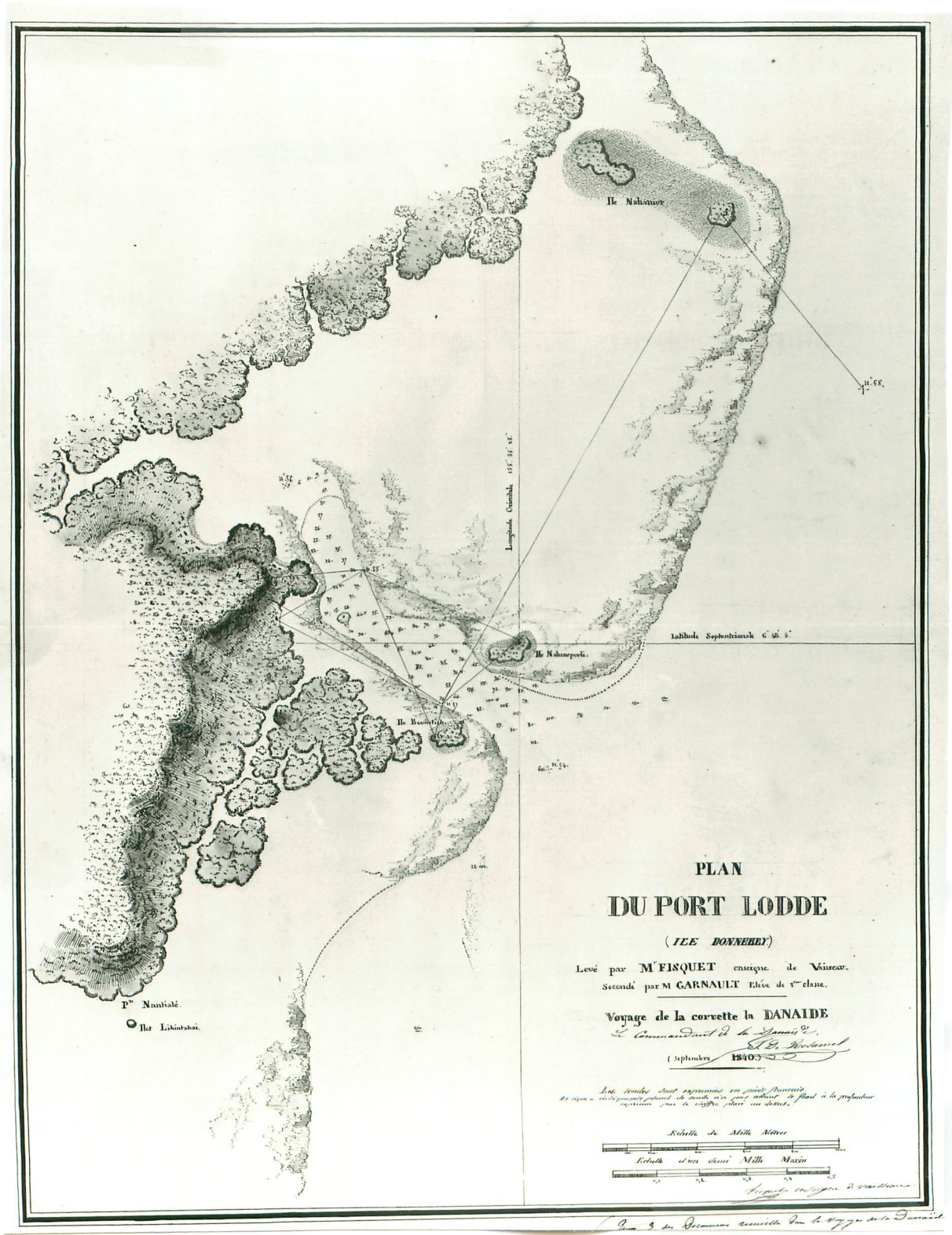
After having placed Station N° 40 on the general chart of the island, of which I had an azimuth with respect to s', I used this point n° 40, of A and of s' to determine N° 41, 42, 43 and 44.

Once these five stations had been recopied upon a chart with a larger scale, with the directions from r(?) and from s which were [themselves] off the chart, they gave me the positions of Tuleutik Island C, Nahmeneur f, the rocks q, and of two remarkable trees a on Nahlap and b on Shaiiak.

It is by means of these points that I have placed the sounding lines within the port, the positions of the boat that show the outline of the reef, as well as the outline of the coast lined with mangroves. We were not able to go up the river, the tide being low. The pilot told us that the canoes do go up it rather far, and that over the bar the water is many fathoms deep.

### [Chart of] Lod Harbor.

By means of s'—A—s, placed Stations N° 54, 57 and 58 that served me to fix a grove of trees (Nahanior), point 5. With this grove of trees, point A and point s, placed Station N° 55 and Station N° 56 on a plan drawn to a larger scale gave me the plan of the points 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 that served me to determine the curved outline of the coral reefs and the sounding runs within the port, as well as the outline of the coast lined with mangroves, as at Ronikiti.



**PLAN  
DU PORT LODDE**

(*ILE DONNELLY*)

Levé par **M FISQUET** enseigne de Vaisseau.  
Secondé par **M CARNAULT** Lieutenant de 1<sup>re</sup> classe.

**Voyage de la corvette la DANAÏDE**

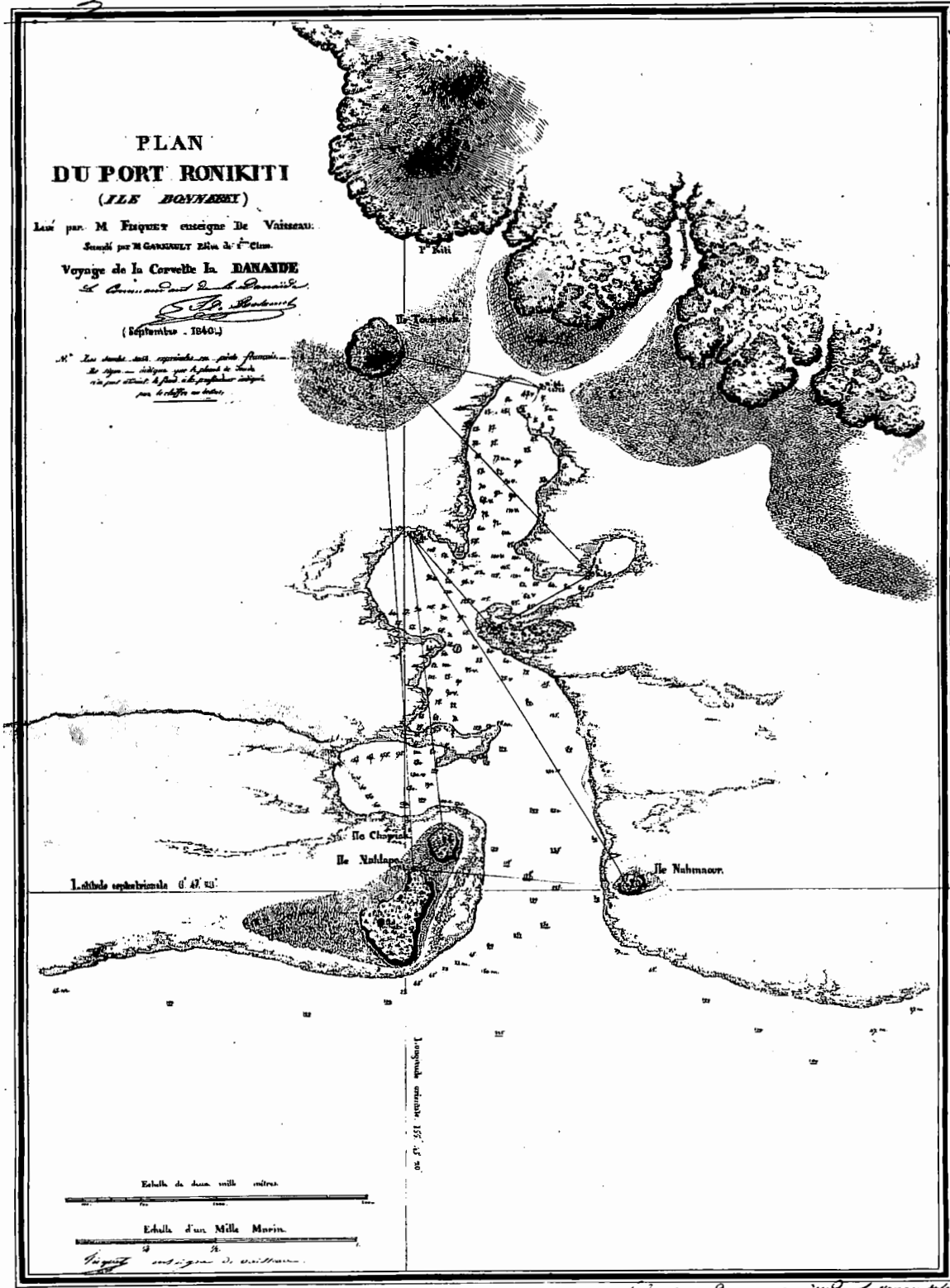
*Le Commandant de la Danaïde*  
*J. B. Hochet*  
(septembre 1840)

*Les sondes sont exprimées en pieds français  
et les hauteurs prises de terre en toises de front à la profondeur  
exprimées par le chiffre placé au-dessus.*



*Plan de la Corvette Danaïde du Voyage de la Danaïde*





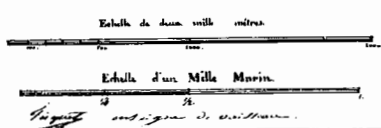
**PLAN  
DU PORT RONIKITI  
(ILE BONNEEY)**

Levé par M. FROSTEN enseigne de Vaisseau.  
 Sous le commandement de M. GARNIER Capitaine de Vaisseau.  
**Voyage de la Corvette LA BANAIDE**  
*(Commission d'Exploration)*  
*(Septembre - 1840.)*

*N. Les points de terre indiqués en noir sur la carte sont indiqués par le capitaine Frosten, par le chiffre en lettres.*

Latitude équatoriale d'47° 30'

Longitude orientale 155° 45' 30"



*(Plan 9 de la Commission d'Exploration)*

Going back to the general chart, I have superimposed upon it the constructions for Metalenim, Ronikiti and Lod, and have continued the construction by placing the other stations upon it.

Those of the NE part, with respect to the points calculated for the north part, those for the SE and the graphical point m, l, j.

Those of the NW part, with respect to j, j', l, E and Tauak for the SW part. Points A and s' with respect to Station N° 40, the peak of Tuleutik.

Those of the South part, with respect to the peak of Tuleutik, A, s' P and m, Peak P was constructed graphically with the surveys at point a and Station N° 17. M with respect to Stations N° 50 and N° 40.

There resulted agreement between the constructions on the north and south sides.

The western part leaves some uncertainty, above all for the coastline, as it was often blotted out by the squalls.

### Pakin Islands.

Their positions are all based on bearings taken from the peak of Jocaits where the northern and southern limits of the trees that cover them can be clearly seen, intersected by those of the survey taken on board on the 22 September at 6:15 a.m. The position of the ship was determined by bearings with respect to Bonnebey.

On the 21st in the evening, we came close to the Pakin Islands in order to see their details and we have made a sketch of them. The NW part has no view.

### Mant [Ant] Islands.

From Station N° 40, we have bearings for Pachiai Island, the north point of Kahalap and the south point of Panemour. Other bearings taken on board the corvette on the 22nd at 7:40, at noon, and at 6 p.m., have given the details of the islets that are but tufts of mangroves and coconut trees on the south part that grow upon a circular reef.

The entrance is shown but has not been seen. It was marked in accordance with indications from the natives and the pilot. They say that a ship can go in.

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## Document 1840C

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### Mallat's description of the Marianas

*Source: J. Mallat. Les Philippines: Histoire, géographie, mœurs, agriculture, industrie et commerce des colonies espagnoles dans l'océanie (Paris, 1846), Tome I, pp. 340-345.*

*Note: In the preface of his book, the French geographer Mallat says that he made two voyages to the Philippines between 1838 and 1842. He did not visit the Marianas, but his information about them came from good sources.*

#### The Mariana Islands.

The Marianas make up a small archipelago of 17 groups of small islands and islets, which the government of the Philippines administers as a province, though they are located about 60 [rather 600?] leagues from them. These islands were the first landfall of Magellan in the Pacific Ocean. He took in food supplies—still to be had there—but, as he was robbed by the inhabitants, who are particularly disposed to this manner of obtaining the objects they covet, he gave to the islands the name of Islands of Thieves (Ladrones). The islands are lined up in a continuous chain, from north to south, over a space of about 150 leagues. Later on, their name was changed to that of the Marianas.

The Spanish government sends a governor there from the Philippines. He resides at Agaña, which was for a long time a stopover point for the galleons coming from Acapulco. This governor is the head of a small garrison, as well as the superior of a few employees placed at Umata, Agat, Rota and other places. These islands, which are almost abandoned, have little population. Although the air is healthy and the soil fertile, they are little cultivated; the inhabitants use as an excuse that the rats are so numerous that they eat all the harvests. On the other hand, the Marianos are good and hospitable people, and European ships have no real problem finding supplies, as many people speak Spanish, though they have their own native language, Chamorro.

It was Legaspi, first governor of the Philippines, who took possession of the Marianas for the Spanish crown. The Jesuits were the first religious to settle there and, when they were expelled, they were replaced by Augustinian Recollects. Queen Maria de Asturias [rather Austria] had provided funds for the establishment of the Jesuits and had placed, besides, a sum of 21,000 pesos for the maintenance and defence of this colony, plus 3,000 pesos for a college that was to provide education to the Indians. The idea was to turn these islands into an important way-station for New Spain.

It is impossible to state exactly the population of the Marianas, because it does not pay tributes; however, it is known to be very low. The census of 1838 puts the number at 6,982 inhabitants. The mayor receives a salary, because it is supposed that he could not find enough local resources otherwise. The government also sends there some supplies for the soldiers, who number a total of 160 men, including their commander (a Major), three lieutenants and three second-lieutenants.

The more important of these islands, beginning with the southernmost, are Guam, Saypan, Rota and Tinian.

Guam, or San Ignacio of Agaña, is the main one; it contains the small town of Agaña. This capital of the Marianas, residence of the governor, has 600 houses, 50 of which are made of stone. The streets are clean, well maintained and laid out in a regular pattern. All the houses are also regular, consisting typically of two rooms. One could be fooled into thinking that he is in Spain, or, at least, in the neighborhood of Manila, because not only do the inhabitants speak Spanish, but they have preserved some of the Spanish customs.

A few artillery pieces are placed around the governor's palace and are attended by natives. The noteworthy buildings are the college, a primary school, some textile mills, barracks and the ruins of a few old monuments. There are gardens that produce the most delicious fruits; one can buy food supplies and fresh vegetables cheaply. Its population is 4,680 inhabitants.

The small village of Mongmon, near Agaña, produces corn, rice and tobacco.

Umata, which is the most important village after Agaña, has a palace for the governor, built partly of stone, partly of teak wood; a very simple church, an old convent, a fort overlooking the bay, a hospital [sic].<sup>1</sup> The village is well located and, though the houses are but thatched huts, they nevertheless give an impression of cleanliness. The houses are surrounded by coconut and orange trees that give delicious fruits. Some banana trees can also be found. Tobacco and taro are cultivated. Its inhabitants, numbering 300, though poor, seem happy and content with their lot. They raise pigs and chickens.

Pago, situated on the east coast of the island, has a royal house, a church and a convent built by the Jesuits.

The islands of Tinian and Rota are remarkable by the ruins of some huge monuments; for this reason, some people think that a long time ago some civilized nations may have settled there and built palaces, where today there can be found only houses made of bamboo. However, it does not appear that such nations had been either Chinese or Japanese, because they, wherever they go, leave behind some characteristic ruins that are recognizeably theirs, even centuries later. In the island of Rota, such ruins consist of many columns, placed in such a way that one may suppose them to have been part of an oval-shaped building. The inhabitants of these islands call such ruins the "monu-

---

1 Ed. noteo: The mention of a hospital gives us a clue that Mallat has taken some of his information from the Voyage of Freycinet.



ments of the ancients" (de los antiguos). The countryside is wonderfully beautiful in Rota; it is covered with a very active vegetation and produces fruits abundantly, among others, watermelons, and delicious vegetables. There are many cotton trees that could be taken advantage of. Bats are huge there, in addition to the rats which are a plague on the island, and some wild pigs and deer in such a large number that from 800 to 1,000 of them are killed every year. It contains 20 houses and 450 inhabitants.

Tinian Island is almost uninhabited and lacks cultivation.

These islands are poor today, but they could become profitable if they were better cultivated. Besides the products that we have already mentioned, they are covered with forests that provide wood for building purposes, including the precious teak, and magnificent prairies where a considerable quantity of cattle are fattened. They produce a small quantity of rice, sugarcane, corn, casava, arrow-root (*Maranta arundinacea*), sweet potatoes, sago, coffee, coconuts and some wild nutmeg; however, the inhabitants are indolent and lazy and they do not want to dedicate themselves to farming.

Mineral ores are unknown in the Mariana Islands.

The governor also acts as a judge, and the village mayors carry out his decisions. The great criminals, when there are any—a rare event—are sent to Manila. The Marianas were formerly a place of exile for the Philippines, but only certain persons condemned for special crimes were sent there.

The whole industry of these islands is limited to a few textile mills established at Agaña. Trading is almost non-existent, as it is limited to the sale of food supplies and a few local products to visiting ships that are always welcome there. Some Carolinian canoes bring a few things to barter there, although the distance between their country and these islands is 200 leagues.

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## Document 1840D

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# The log of the Charles Drew, Captain Bonney

*Sources: Ms. F6870.12 in the Houghton Library, Harvard University; PMB 736; Log Inv. 931.*

### Introductory notes.

The captain was also the log-keeper. His lack of education can be shown by the following entry:

“August 22. This day Randal has got his as kicked from me and the crue ses i struck him but it is a dam lie but thear is one that i want to strike and that is a dam irish man thear is a number of dam liars in the ship...”

I have done some editing of the text to make it more readable. This whaling ship was cruising on the Line Ground by New Year's Day 1840. After returning home in April 1842, she was sold to New Bedford.

### Log of the Charles Drew [of Fairhaven], 1839-42, Nathaniel Boney [sic], Master.

...

Friday December 27 [1839]

This day begins with a strong breeze. At 6 a.m., saw Jarvis Island. Went to the leeward of it. Wore ship to the S. At 5 p.m., took in sail. In company<sup>1</sup>

Lat. 00°35' S. Long. 159°35' [W].

...

Wednesday January 15 [1840]

... Saw the south Carolines.

Lat. 01°35' .. Long. 172°37'

Thursday January 16

... Spoke the **Alpha** of Nantucket...

...

Friday February 8

... At 5 p.m., saw the **Wilmington & Liverpool** [Packet] and **Lancaster**...

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: With the ship Martha.

...

Wed March 4

... Saw the bark **Hesper**, 15 months out 1000 [bbls]. Gammed. Saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing N by W. Steered to the N under light sail.

Lat. 00°12' N. Long. 167°30' E.

Thursday March 5

... Layed off and on at Pleasant Island. Saw 4 ships. Boat went on shore at 9 a.m., came on board at 1 p.m., steered off shore to the N.

Friday March 6

... Saw 3 ships... At sunset the land bore W, 5 miles distant. Gammed with the **Galen** of Warren, Borden Master.

...

Friday March 13

... At daylight, saw Strongs [Kosrae] Island bearing N. Steered in shore till 9 a.m., then steered W by N. In company.

Lat. 05°13' N. Long. 162°58' E.

Sat. March 14

... At 1 a.m., saw the land, Macaskill [Pingelap] Island 2-5 miles... In company.

Lat. 06°06' N. Long. 161°14' E.

...

Mon March 16

... At daylight saw the island of Ascension [Pohnpei]. At 1 p.m., came to anchor. The **Galen** in company.

Tues March 17. Employed in getting water.

Wed March 18. Getting water.

Thu March 19. Painting.

Fri March 20. Painting ship.

Sat. March 21. Liberty.

Sun March 22. [blank]

Mon March 23. [blank]

Tue March 24. [blank]

Wed March 25. [blank]

Thus March 26. [blank]

Fri March 27. [blank]

Sat March 28. [blank]

Sun March 29. This day employed in getting water.

Mon March 30. Four men ran away.

Tues March 31. [blank]

Wed April 1. Caught four men. Put them in irons.

Thurs April 2.

This day begins with wind calm. Bent on and towed out of Ascension Harbor. The **Galen** likewise. The **Emily Morgan** made sail and **Hero** sailed out. Left the **Lancaster** and [W & L] **Packet** in there.

Friday April 3.

... Went in and towed out the **Lancaster**. Layed off and on. Five ships.

Sat April 4

Laying off and on to Ascension. Went in to tow the **Packet** out. Hooked on and towed her ashore. Hauled her off again. 4 ships in company.

Sun April 5

Employed in towing out the **Packet**. Steered NW. Four ships in company: **Lancaster, Packet, Galen, Charles Drew**.

...

Mon April 13

... Spoke the **Packet**. Went on board.

Lat. 14°57' N. Long. 146°50' E.

Tues April 14

This day begins with a strong breeze. At 8 a.m., went on shore to Tinian. Got 5 hogs and a part of a bullock. At 5 p.m., steered NW by N under all sail. **Packet** and **Lancaster** [in sight].

Wed April 15

... Steered NNW. **Packet** and **Lancaster** in sight.

Lat. 16°40' N. Long. 146°14' E.

...

[After visiting the Bonin Islands, the ships went whaling on the Japan Ground, then clockwise back to the Line.]

...

Wed December 30

This day begins with strong breeze. At 6 a.m. wore ship to the N. Made all sail. At 4 p.m. saw Phoebes [sic] Island to the North of us. At 6 p.m., wore ship to the S, all sail.

Lat. 00°20. Long. 176°48 W [sic]<sup>1</sup>

---

1 Ed. note: Phoebe corresponds to Tamana, but he was at Baker Island further east.

...

Sun January 17 [1841]

... At 6 a.m., saw a ship. At 12 spoke her, **Indian Chief**, London, Captain Mon [sic] Master.<sup>1</sup> Made the island, Hope [Arorae] Island.

Lat. 00°52' S. Long. 177°10' E.

...

Sun March 7

This day begins with a strong breeze. At daylight, saw Rota Island. At 11 a.m., went in with the boat. Got some coconuts.

Lat. 13°58' N. Long. 144°57' E.

Mon. March 8

Laying off and on at Rota, getting coconuts. At 4 p.m., steered for Guam. At 5 p.m., saw the island bearing S half W. Lat. 14° 07'

Tues, March 9

This day begins with a strong breeze. At 11 a.m., took a pilot. At 4 p.m., came to anchor in the harbor of Guam and got ready for coopering [oil].

Wed., March 10

This day begins with pleasant weather. Employed in coopering oil.

Thurs. March 11

Coopering. The cooper out sick. Employed in stowing down.

Friday March 12. Employed in coopering.

Sat. March 13. Stowing down and breaking out.

Sun. March 14. Moderate weather.

Mon. March 15.

The **Lancaster** and **Saint George** arrived.

Tues. March 16]

The **Indian** arrived. Employed in coopering.

Wed. March 17. Employed in coopering.

Thurs. March 18. " " "

Fri. March 19. " " "

Sat. March 20. " " "

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This English whaler was named Indian, Captain Maughan, not the same as the Indian Chief, which was an American whaler.

Sun. March 21. Employed in gamming.

Mon. March 22. Employed in wooding.

Tues. March 23. " " "

Wed. March 24. Watch on liberty.

Thurs. March 25. Painting.

Friday March 26. [blank]

Sat. March 27. [blank]

Sun. March 28. [blank]

Mon. March 29. [blank]

Tues, March 30. [blank]

Wed. March 31. Employed in setting up rigging.

Thurs April 1. [blank]

Friday April 2. [[blank]

Sat. April 3

At daylight, got under way and went down to the watering place. Got off a raft of water. At 9 a.m., let go the anchor.

Sun. April 4

Employed in getting water and stowing down oil. So ends.

Mon. April 5

At sunrise, got under way and left Guam and steered on the wind to the N.

Tues. April 6

Steered to the N.

...

[After another season near the Bonins and on the Japan Ground, the Charles Drew went home.]

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**Document 1840E**

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**The illustrated logbook of the ship Martha of Fairhaven****Log kept by Captain John D. Taber**

*Sources: Ms. log in the New Bedford Free Public Library; copy in the Providence Public Library: PMB 876; Log Inv. 3078-79.*

*Notes: The Martha was a whaling ship that sailed for New Zealand in June 1838 and returned with 2,100 barrels of sperm oil in July 1841. Apparently, she did not visit Micronesia; at least, I could not find any mention of it on the first pass. However, the log-keeper, Captain Taber, was an artist who left interesting cartoon drawings in his log.*

**Cartoons by Captain Taber:**

1. Bill Taber.—Probably his brother.
2. Lord Bateman.—Probably a crewman with a pompous character.
3. Free Nigger.—Another crewman.
4. Untitled.—Dream of sailing, when back home.
5. Prize Fight.—Episodes of a boxing match between two men, named Sairs and Henon. Self-explanatory.







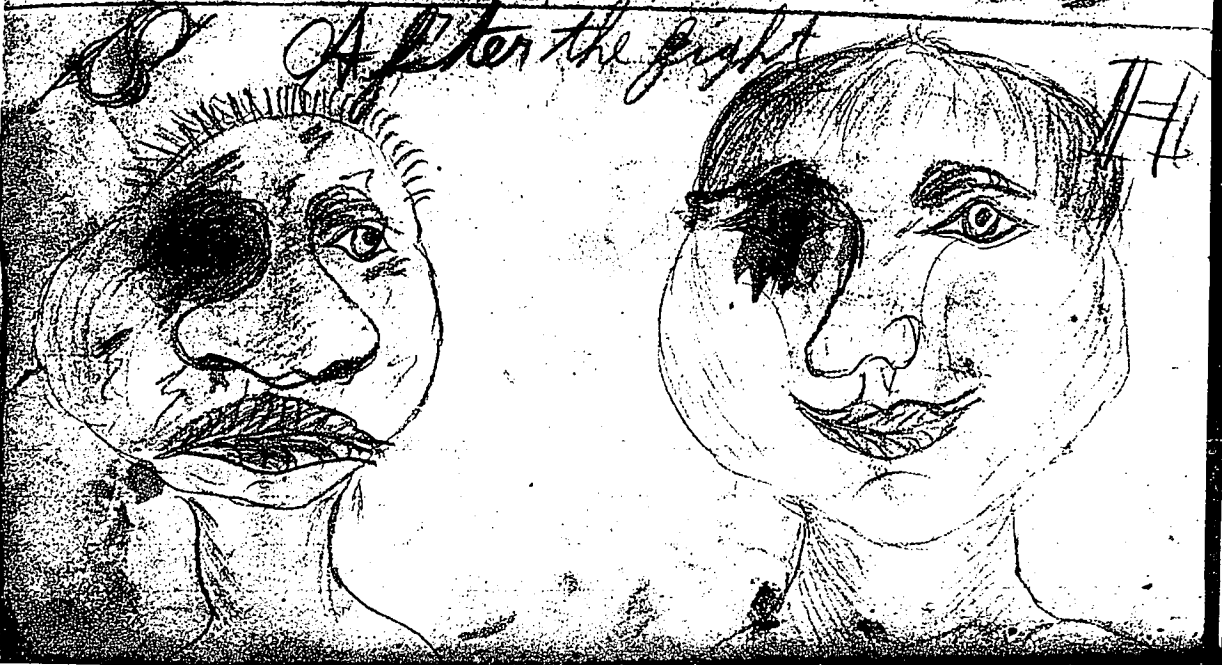
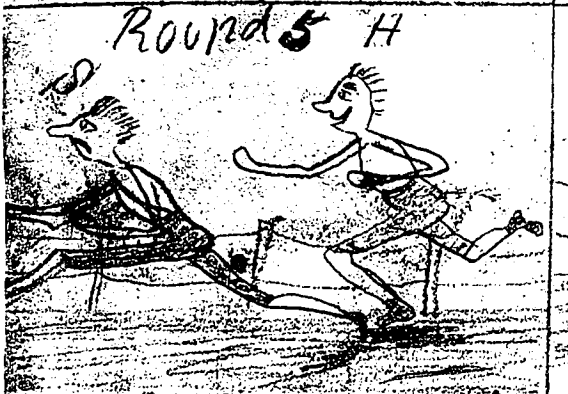
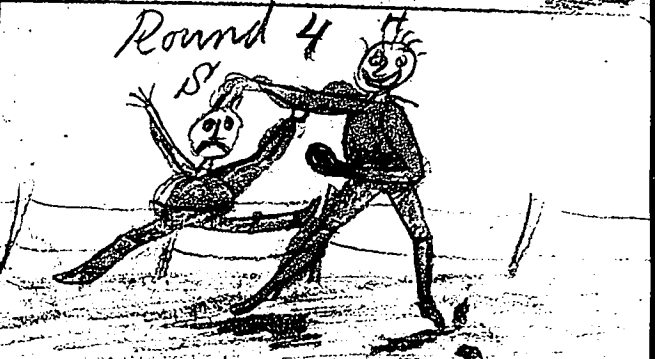
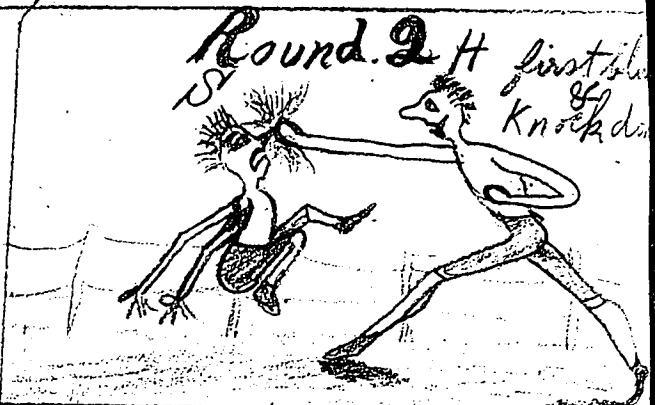
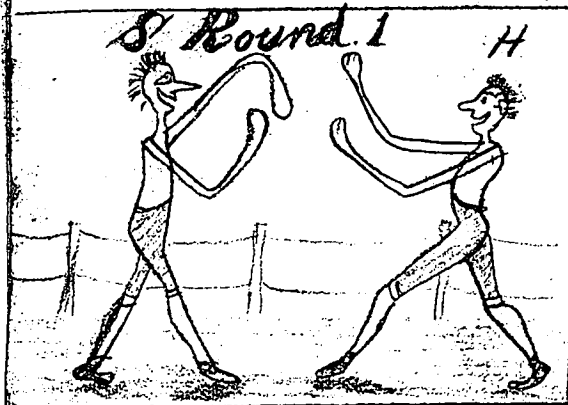


Free Nisser.





Saint *Prize Fight* Hermon



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**Document 1840F**

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**The Marshall Bennett, Captain Hunter, visited  
Nukuoro**

*Source: Article in Nautical Magazine, 1841, pp. 744- 745.*

**Letter from Captain R. L. Hunter, dated Strait of Mindoro,  
Mar. 12, 1841.**

Sir.—  
1  
...

**Islands in 3°52' N., and 154°56' E.**

A group of small and low islands with an attached reef, containing a lagoon, was seen by me in the above situation, while making a passage from New Holland towards the China Sea, December 10th, 1840, having been previously drifted to the eastward by a strong westerly monsoon and easterly current to the southward of the line. Having no account of any land in this situation, is my reason for calling your attention to it. That nearest to it in Mr. Norie's chart is Monteverdeson [sic] Islands, called Monteverde Island in the Epitome, and placed in 3°27' N. and 155°48' E. differing considerably in latitude as well as longitude. I have great doubts as to the existence of any island in that situation; it was but possible our passing without discerning it.

With regard to the islands spoken of, we had them in sight three days, (in fact got a whale during the time,) the last of which was fine weather; I observed at noon in 3°48' N., with the land N.b.E., and the canoes alongside. For the longitude I had two chronometers, one of which was going, and had always gone well; and on the 1st of December we were in with Gardners Island, near New Ireland, making the east point in 152°4' E.; also had left Cape St. George, New Ireland, Nov. 14th, considering it in 152°48' E. The longitude will therefore depend on the accuracy of these points; lunars I leave entirely out of the question, sometimes coming near enough, and at others scarcely within half a degree; their introduction into matters of this kind seems to tend to confusion.

---

1 Ed. note: His remarks about Dampier Strait are here omitted.

These islands, although very small, are well inhabited by a fine and handsome race, above the mean stature, of brown complexion, good hair and teeth, and resembling the natives of the Navigators [Samoa] Group. We had twelve canoes alongside, containing about fifty men, who were highly animated and pleased, I suppose at the novelty of seeing strange faces. Cocoa-nuts, small cord rope in considerable quantities, a few fish, and some other trifles were brought for barter, which were procured for iron hooping and a few knives. The canoes are cut from a solid tree of finely grained timber, and very neatly modelled, with outriggers,—some of them carrying twelve men. From the astonishment displayed at seeing our pigs, I conclude they have no warm-blooded animals fit for eating, and that their diet consists nearly altogether of cocoa-nuts and fish: the size of the islands being not more than twelve or fourteen miles around, reef and all, likewise favours the supposition. To be particular, however, I should state that we approached these islands on the south and west sides, therefore the reef in a north-east direction may extend farther out; but I think not; all the land was distinctly in sight, the whole group being at one time within our masthead horizon.

R. L. Hunter.

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**Document 1840G**

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**The ship Courier of New Bedford, Captain  
Edward Harding**

*Sources: Ms. log in the Providence Public Library; PMB 797; Log Inv. 1285.*

**Extract from the log kept by Captain Harding****Ship Courier whilst cruising about the Line**

Saturday Dec. 26th 1840

Commences with a moderate trade steering SW. at 3 PM luffed to the wind to the SE. at 6 shortened sail[.] middle part moderate[.] at daylight made all sail[.] at 8 AM passed between Birons [Nukunau] & Peroat [Beru] Island[.] latter part brisk trades with fine pleasant weather[.] at 12 saw a ship standing on the opposite tack[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 1°39 S Long by Chr. 176°39 East.

Sunday Dec. 27th 1840

Commences with a moderate breeze from the Eastward with fair weather steering by the wind with the larboard tacks aboard all sail sett[.] at 6 PM tacked to the North[.] at midnight tacked back to the South[.] Later part moderate[.] at half past 10 AM tacked to the North[.] 2 sharks in sight[.] so ends.

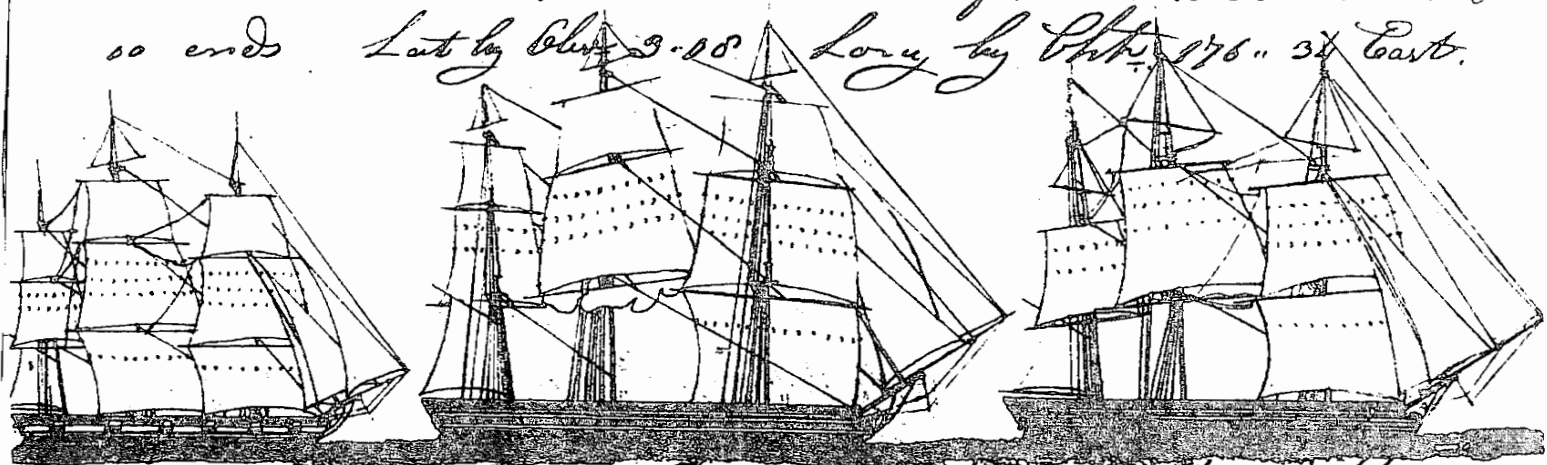
Lat by Obs 2°32

Monday Dec 28th 1848

Commences with a moderate trade[.] at 2 PM spoke the ships **Howard** with 2250 bbls & **Daniel Webster** with 1400 bbls both of Nantucket[.] stood to the South in company with them[.] stood to the ESE through the night[.] at 8 AM spoke the **Gideon Howland** of New Bedford 24 months out with 2000 bbls[.] latter part some showers of rain[.] stood to the SE[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 3°08 [S] Long by Chr. 176°34 East.

in company with them stood the E & E through the night  
 at 5 A.M. spoke the Gideon Howland of New Bedford 24 months out  
 with 2000 lbs latter part sun showers of rain stood to the S & E  
 so ends Lat by Obs. 2.00 Long by Chrt. 176. 31 East.



Tuesday Decr. 27<sup>th</sup> 1840 Commences

with a moderate breeze from the Eastward with fair weather steering  
 by the wind to the North with all sail set at 6 P.M. tacked Ship middle  
 part moderate at 6 A.M. tacked to the North at 9 A.M. saw Whales at 10  
 bored the boats about 10 struck one Whale remainder of them  
 24 hours all hands busy employed in Whaling (so ends).



19. . . . . 11 . . . . .



Tuesday Dec. 29th 1848

Commences with a moderate breeze from the Eastward with fair weather steering by the wind to the North with all sail out[.] at 6 PM tacked ship[.] Middle part moderate[.] at 6 AM tacked to the North[.] at 9 AM saw whales[.] at 10 lo[we]red the boats about 10 struck one whale remainder of these 24 hours all hands busy employed in whaling[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 3°00 S Long by Chr. 176°39 East.

Wednesday Dec. 30th 1840

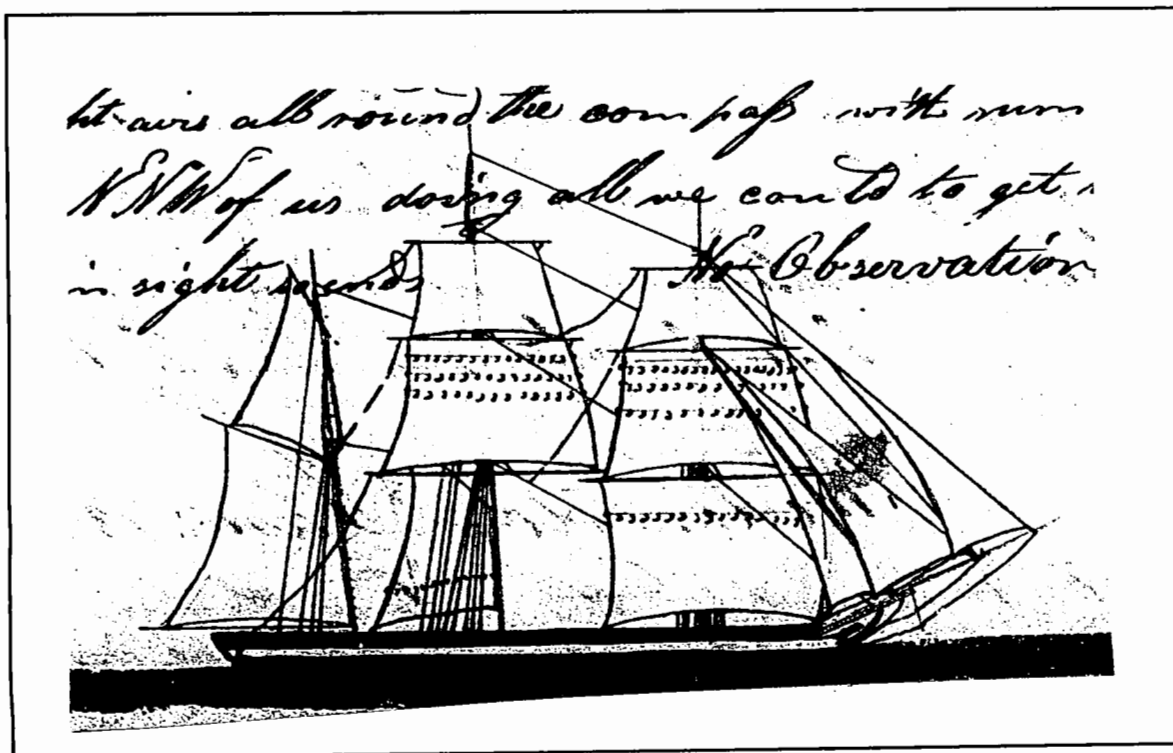
Commences with a very light trade boats off in pursuit of whales[.] at 4 PM took 3 whales alongside sent the boats off for the remainder about 5[.] took other 2 alongside[.] took up the boats and took in sail[.] middle part calm[.] rose our falls & got ready for cutting half past 5 AM hooked on remainder of the day employed cutting a very light trade[.] one ship in sight[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 3°23 South.

...

Friday Jan. 8th 1841

Commences with light air from the North[.] at 2 PM spoke the Bark **Louisa** of London 28 months out with 1530 bbls[.] middle part what part light air all round the compass with some rain[.] saw breakers in to the NNW of us doing all we could to get towards it[.] one ship & a Bark in sight[.] so ends. No Observation



Barque Louisa of London in 1841.

Saturday Jan. 9th 1841

Commences with rainy weather squalls all round the compass[.] after 4 PM had a light breeze from the Eastward[.] ran down and spoke the **Gideon Howland** with 210 bbls 25 months out[.] middle and latter part light airs from the Eastward with cloudy weather[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 2°59.

...

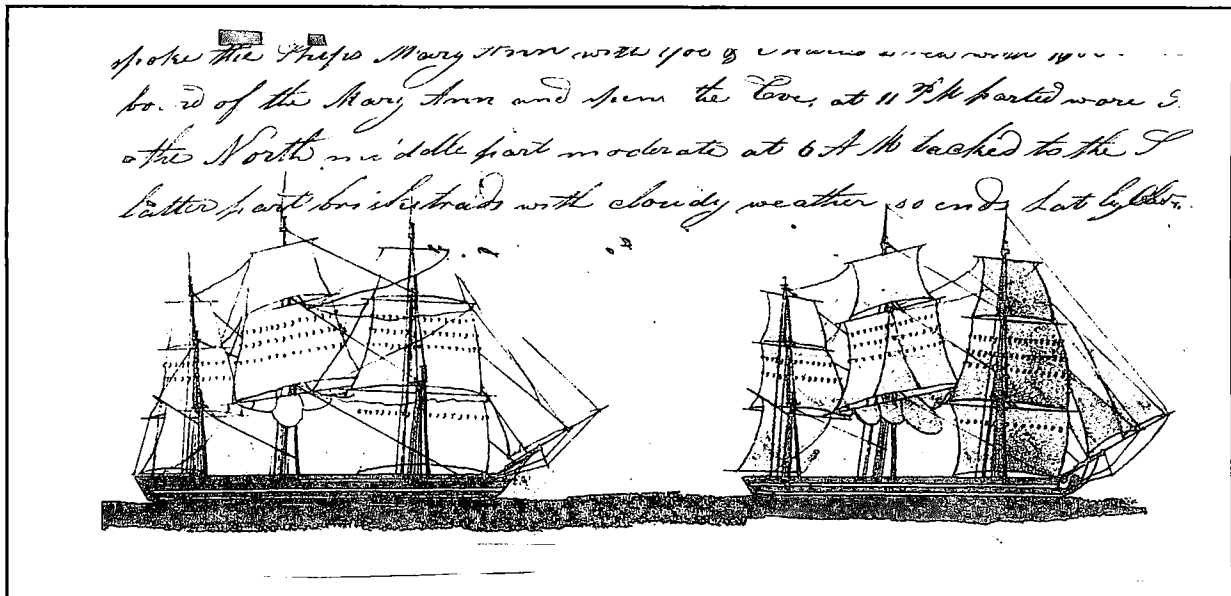
[For the next few weeks, many ships, including this one, were busy chasing whales in the area of the Gilberts, but without any island being mentioned.]

...

Thursday Feb. 18th 1841

Commences with a moderate breeze from the ENE with pleasant weather[.] at 2 PM spoke the ship **Mary Ann** with 1700 & **Charles Drew** with 1600 bbls[.] went on board of the **Mary Ann** and spent the Eve. at 11 PM parted [company,] wore ship to the North. middle part moderate[.] at 6 AM tacked to the SE[.] latter part brisk trades with cloudy weather[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 52 miles North.



**Ships Mary Ann and Charles Drew.**

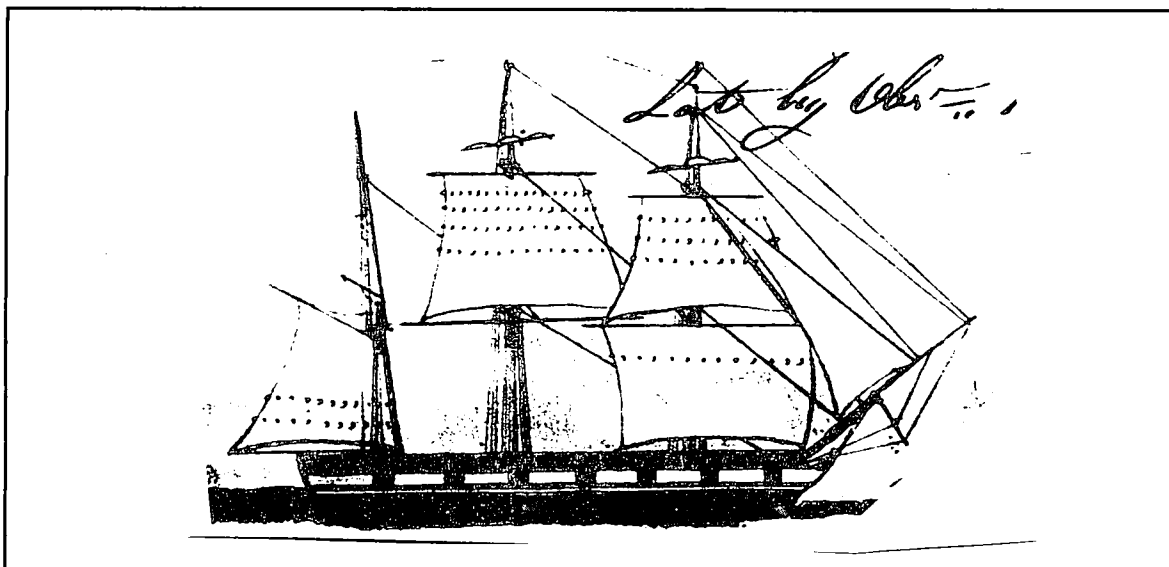
...

Tuesday Feb. 23th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade from the ENE with fair weather steering by the wind with the larboard tacks aboard[.] at 5 PM spoke the Bark **Indian** of London 20 months out 1000 bbls[.] went on board and spent the Evening[.] at 9 PM returned wore ship to the North[.] middle part brisk trades[.] at 6 AM saw whales[.] lo[we]red about half past

7 struck in about one hour a 40 bbl whale could not get alongside of him[.] he ran & sounded bad held on about 4 hours see but little prospects of his stopping[.] cut the line and let him go[.] so better luck[.] at 12 took up the boats & stood to the SE[.] 2 ships in sight[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 1°16 S Long by Chr 165°37



**Barque Indian of London.**

### **Ship Courier from a Cruise Towards the Ladrone Islands.**

...

Thursday March 4th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade from NNE with smoky weather steering by the wind with the starboard tacks aboard[.] at 3 PM took in the fore & mizzen T.G.S. at 11 took in the main & hauled up the main sail half past 11 had a squall put 2 reefs in the topsails half past 3 AM wore ship to the NW[.] at daylight made all sail[.] latter part a brisk trade from ENE with smoky weather steering SW[.] at 10 AM made McAskil's [Pingle-lap] Isles 1/2 point on the starboard bow[.] saw 2 ships about the same time. Employed repairing the spanker.

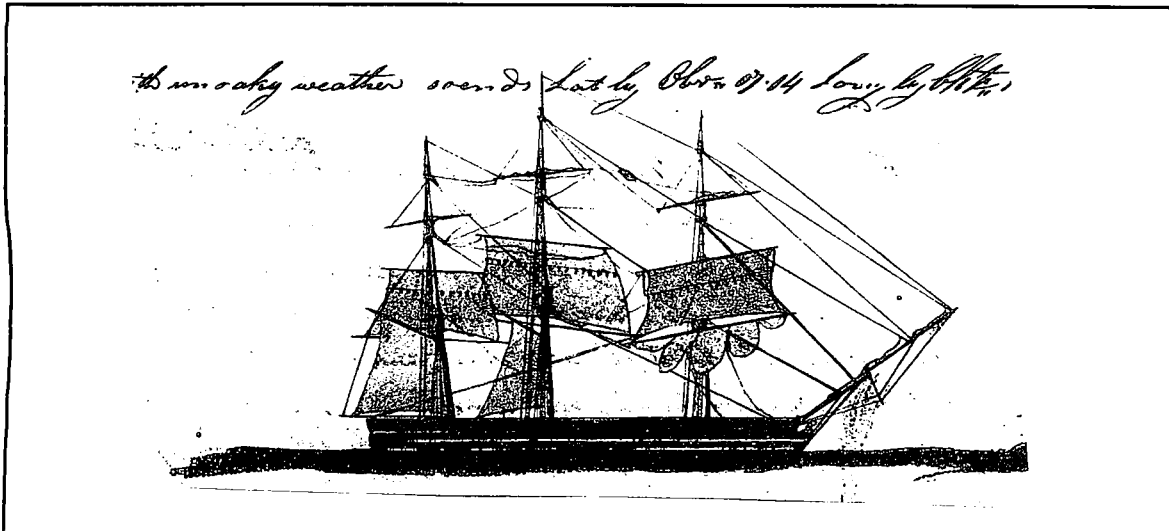
Lat 6°06 [N] Long 160°51 [E]

Friday March 5th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade from ENE with thick smoky weather steering WNW[.] at 1 PM set the fore topmast studding sail[.] 2 ships in sight ahead[.] at 6 PM shortened sail put 2 reefs in the topsails[.] at 9 PM spoke the ship **Lancaster** of New Bedford 28 months out with 2300 bbls[.] the ship **St. George** was in company 18 months out 1200 [.] ran down under their lee and luffed to the wind to the North with the fore topsail to the mast[.] half past 1 AM wore ship to the SE[.] at daylight wore ship steered NW by

W turned the reefs out with the T.G. Sails and topmast studding sail[.] saw Wellington's [Mokil] Isles at daylight bearing North about 3 miles of[.] umbent the main sails to repair[.] latter part brisk trades from NE with smoky weather[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 07°14 Long by Chr. 159°15



**Ship Lancaster of New Bedford, in 1841.**

Saturday March 6th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade from the NE with smoky weather steering NW by W[.] at 5 PM saw the Isle Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing SW1/2S 30 miles dist[.] middle and latter part wind and weather much as the first part steering the same with all sail sett[.] latter part employed tarring & fitting the rigging[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 8°52 [N] Long by Chr. 156°57 East.

Sunday March 7th 1841

All these 24 hours brisk trades from the NE with fair weather steering WNW with all sail set[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 9°45 N Long 154°30

...

[Obviously did not stop at Pohnpei.]

...

Thursday March 11th 1841

Commences with the brisk trades from the NNE steering WNW[.] at 4 PM hauled up NW by W[.] at 9 took in the topmast studding sail & fly jibb[.] Middle part brisk trades took in the T.G. Sails[.] at daylight made Rota Isle ahead about 15 [miles] dist[.] at 8 hauled aback under the SW side of it[.] saw no signs of a town[.] layed aback for half an hour then kept off SW by S with the M.T.G.S. & at 10 AM made the Isle Guam[.] at 11 put 2 reefs in the fore & mizzen topsail[.] at 12 took in the M.T.G.S. so ends.

## Ship Courier Whilst at Anchor in Port Apra the Isle Guam

Friday March 12th 1841

Commences with a very strong trade[,] at 3 PM luffed too aback off port Apra[,] at 4 took a pilot[,] braced forward[,] hauled the tack aboard[,] stood offshore[,] hauled our chains and cleared our anchors then tacked in but found we could not fetch the passage[,] tacked offshore[,] gave up the idea of getting in this night[,] secured the anchors[,] stood off untill 1 AM then tacked in shore[,] more moderate[,] turned the reefs out[,] set the M.T.G.S. at 6 AM kept off for the passage[,] half part 7 got into it[,] worked up and at 8 came to in 21 fathoms water[,] gave the ship about 70 fathoms of chain[,] furled the sails[,] remainder of the day variously employed[,] so ends these 24 hours.

Lat 13°40 N Long 145°50 East.

## List of Ships in port Apra in the Island Guam

[Arr.]

...	Ship Galen	Warren, R.I.	19-1/2 mths out	1350 bbls	75 bbls the Season
...	Ship Charles Drew	Fairhaven	31 "	1600 "	300 "
15th	St. George	New Bedford	18-1/2 "	1200 "	350 "
"	Lancaster	" "	28 "	2300 "	250 "
16th	Indian	London	20-1/2 "	1000 "	220 "
20th	Mary Ann	Fairhaven	30 "	1800 "	...
21st	Bark Rochester	London	14 "	680 "	...
22nd	Ship Vigilant	Do.	24-1/2 "	1200 "	400 "
28th	Bark Gipsy	Do.	16-1/2 "	350 "	80 "

Saturday March 13th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade from the NNE with fair weather[,] middle part much the same[,] latter part took up about 150 bbls of oil to clean the ship so we could black our bends, so ends.

Sunday March 14th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade with some squalls[,] middle and latter much the same[,] latter part all hands employed coopering[,] so ends.

Monday March 15th 1841

Commences with brisk trades from the NNE with some squalls of rain[,] middle part much the same[,] latter part more moderate[,] at 7 AM the caulkers commenced caulking the ship[,] our crew employed coopering our oil[,] so ends.

Tuesday March 16th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade with squally weather[,] employed caulking ship and coopering oil[,] middle part wind and weather much as the first part[,] latter part the same[,] employed as above[,] so ends.

Wednesday March 17th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade with fair weather[.] middle and latter part much the same[.] imployed caulking ship and coopering oil[.] blacking the bends &c. so ends.

Thursday March 18th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade from the NNE with pleasant weather at finishing stowing in the fore hold shifted the tackles over the main hatchway. got clear for breaking out there[.] middle part more moderate[.] latter part brisk trade[.] imployed coopering oil & caulking ship[.] so ends.

Friday March 19th 1841

Commences with brisk trades and squally[.] saw a ship off the harbour which proved to be the **Vigilent** of London[.]<sup>1</sup> middle and latter part the weather more pleasant[.] imployed coopering oil and caulking ship[.] so ends.

Saturday March 20th 1841

All these 24 hours moderate trades with pleasant weather[.] at 8 AM got through coopering[.] at 11 the ship **Mary Ann** of Fairhaven arrived[.] Latter part all hands imployed cleaning ship[.] so ends.

Sunday March 21st 1841

Commences with a moderate trade and pleasant weather[.] imployed cleaning ship & caulking[.] middle part wind and weather much as the first part[.] at 8 AM sent one watch on shore on liberty with two days[.] fine pleasant weather[.] so ends[.] the ship **Rochester** of London arrived.

Monday March 22nd 1841

Commences with a moderate trade and pleasant weather[.] middle part much the same[.] at 7 AM commenced painting ship but was forced to [k]nock off on the account of rain[.] sent the fly jibb boom in[.] imployed scraping off the pitch[.] so ends.

Tuesday March 23rd 1841

Commences with a brisk trade and cloudy weather[.] sent down the mizzen top gallant yard & mast, middle part more pleasant[.] latter part brisk trades with fair weather[.] imployed painting ship[.] at 10 AM the liberty men came off[.] so ends these 24 hours.

Wednesday March 24th 1841

Commences with a moderate trade with cloudy weather[.] imployed painting ship[.] at 3 PM sent the fore yard down to fit the truss[.] middle part moderate with some rain[.]

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1 Ed. note: Rather it was the Indian (see list above).

latter part more pleasant[,] fitted the fore truss[,] got the yard ready to go aloft[,] im-  
ployed painting ship[,] so ends.

Thursday March 25th 1841

Commences with a moderate trade with cloudy weather[,] at 2 PM sent the fore yard  
up[,] got the main truss down to repair[,] middle part moderate pleasant weather[,] lat-  
ter much the same[,] imployed repairing the main truss and putting a new bobstay on.  
one watch ashore on liberty[,] so ends.

Friday March 26th 1841

Commences with brisk trades and pleasant weather[,] imployed on sundry jobs[,]  
middle part squally[,] latter part imployed getting wood off & fitting our trusses[,] at 12  
the liberty men came off[,] put Caleb Knight in irons for abusive language[,] so ends.

Saturday March 27th 1841

Commences with brisk trades and squally weather[,] imployed cutting up the wood  
and clearing up between decks[,] middle part brisk trades & squally[,] latter part brisk  
trades but more pleasant[,] took off 2 boat load of wood[,] the **Lancaster & St. George**  
went to sea[,] so ends.

Sunday March 28th 1841

Commences with brisk trades with fair weather[,] imployed in fitting our water cask  
and cutting up our wood &c. middle part more moderate with fair weather[,] latter  
much the same[,] the English Bark **Gibsy** [sic] came in[,] so ends.

Monday March 29th 1841

Commences with brisk trades and fair weather[,] middle part more moderate some  
squalls of rain[,] latter part brisk trades[,] got another boat load of wood off & some  
potatoes[,] imployed setting up the head stays[,] so ends.

Tuesday March 30th 1841

Commences with a brisk trade with some squalls of rain[,] rigged in the jibb boom  
to put some wedges on it and fit the cap[,] at 5 got it fitted & riged it out[,] middle hard  
wind & weather much as the first[,] latter part the same[,] all hands imployed clearing  
the decks to get under weigh.

Wednesday March 31st 1841

Commences with a very strong trade[,] got off one boat load of potatoes[,] at 4 PM  
the **Lancaster & St. George** passed the harbor.<sup>1</sup> middle part brisk trades[,] at 5 AM  
began to heave in our chain[,] at 7 the pilot came off[,] took our anchor & stood out the

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1 Ed. note: As usual, they had gone to Umatac for watering.

harbor[.] at half past 8 discharged the pilot[.] at 10 put one reef in the topsails[.] at 11 put another in[.] remainder of the day imployed working into Umatic Bay[.] so ends. half past 11 came too in 20 fathoms of water[.] furled the sails &c.

Thursday April 1st 1841

Commences with a brisk trade with pleasant weather[.] at 1 PM sent a raft of water cask on shore[.] at 2 sent another[.] Middle part moderate pleasant weather[.] latter part the same[.] imployed getting off water & stowing it away[.] one boat crew getting off recruits[.] so ends.

Friday April 2nd 1841

Commences with a moderate trade with fine pleasant weather[, imployed stowing away wood & water[.] at 7 PM took the last cask of water off[.] middle part moderate[.] at 7 AM hove short[.] at 10 took in the bow boat & put here on the skids[.] took our anchor & stood to the North with the jibb & spanker set[.] half past 10 made all sail[.] remainder of the day imployed stowing our chains & anchors[.] so ends these 24 hours.

Saturday April 3rd 1841

Commences with a moderate trade fromt he NE with pleasant weather steering by the wind with the starboard tacks aboard[.] middle part much the same[.] at 3 AM tacked to the SE[.] wind from ENE[.] took in the F.T.G. Sail[.] at 3 AM tacked to the North[.] at 9 split the jibb[.] hauled it down & unbent it[.] remainder of the day imployed repairing it[.] so ends.

Lat by Obs 14°29 N Long by Chr. 144°28 East.

...

[Ship was on her way to the Bonins and the Japan Ground.]

\*\*\*\*[Figure: Ship Walter Scott of Nantucket, with Ship Courier of Fairhaven, sketched by the captain of the latter.]



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**Note 1840H**

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**The London Packet, Captain Sampson, 1840-42**

Source: Ms. logbook in NBWhM; Log. Inv. 2900-01.

[The ship positions are not given, which makes it hard to find out where this ship went. On 19 February 1842, they met the barque **Fame** of Sydney, Captain Sullivan. On 12 March, they made the Navigator, i.e. Samoa, Islands, then Tahiti the next day. On 10 April, they gammed with the ship **Elizabeth** of Salem. From there, the ship went to the Duke of Clarence Island, back to Samoa, then met the barque **Noble** of Sag Harbor. In November, they met the barque **Winslow**, in December the ship **Alpha** of Nantucket.]

[Therefore, not Micronesia. For the record only.]



Scene at Agaña, Guam, by Dr Wilson.

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## Document 1840I

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# The Gipsy, Captain John Gibson, 1840-42—The logbook of Dr. Wilson

*Sources: Ms. in the Royal Geographic Society, London; transcript copy kept at ANU Canberra, M198; Log Inv. 2108; summarized by Harry Maude, in JPH 1 (1966), pp. 193-194. Later edited by Honore Forster and published by Ye Galleon Press in 1991 as a book entitled: The Cruise of the "Gipsy: The Journal of John Wilson, Surgeon on a Whaling Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, 1839-1843.*

*Notes: The 403-ton barque Gipsy was built at the Isle of Wight in 1835. For the biography of the log-keeper, see the introduction of the book edited by Forster. The 1839-43 voyage was the second for both ship and captain.*

## Excerpts from the logbook kept by the ship surgeon, Dr. John Parker Wilson

The Gipsy first visited the Marianas in August 1840, after having spent a season near the Bonin Islands. On 28 August, the Gani Islands were sighted. The next day, Saipan and Tinian came into view. On Tinian, many cows and pigs were seen.

"There is a settlement, midway, on the West side of Saypan, of Carolina natives, several canoes full of those people, having (their story) escaped imminent death, in the sinking or over-flooding of the Island on which they had till then lived; they took to their canoes & went in search of some other land whereon to dwell, & luckily landed on Saypan & by permission of the Spanish Government, they were permitted to remain, on condition they afford their assistance to any duty, when called upon by the Authorities. They "increase & multiply," so fast, that in no long time, they will populate the whole group. They are excellent fishermen, & dappers in handling the canoe; some of the latter they build of large size, & are called "Bankers" [bancas]; they make passages in them from one Island to another, disposing of shells they collect from the reefs, in great variety & beauty. They live chiefly on Turtle & fish; they cultivate a little tarro, & yam: small patches."

"We saw two white men ashore on Saypan, who hoisted a signal for a boat, but it was conjectured they were deserters from the **Alert**, a whaler who had most of her crew to leave her in Guam, & thence they were sent here."

"There is a hut or house for the residence of the Commandante [on Saipan], who is to protect the property of the Island, & to lay in a stock of cocoa-nut oil, pigs, &c., for the service of the Governor in Guam. Wood is abundant, & good, but there is no water.

Stock cannot be procured without an order from the Governor, altho' pigs and bullocks run wild in the bush, besides fowls, which can be heard crowing & cackling far inland. It is to this Island or Tinian that persons guilty of offences, meriting transportation, are sent, but mostly to Tinian. These Carolina natives are rude, though harmless; the women wear a hip-cloth of Tappa, barely sufficient to hide their nakedness & the men, a tappa-cloth, passed between the thighs & made fast round the middle. They anoint their bodies with cocoa-nut oil, so rancid & yellow they absolutely stink & look horribly jaundiced. Their huts are regular pigsties."

...  
"Tinian is the larger Island of the Ladrone Group, has the most level land, and affords excellent pasturage to immense herds of kine. The settlement on this Island, is on its Southern extremity, in a creek or small Bay, formed by two projecting headlands; there ships sometimes drop their anchors. There is a Governor or Alcalde [mayor], who is head man, & superintends all prisoners, & has to find employment for all the people there; they hunt & destroy the bullocks & jerk or dry the meat in the sun; they entrap the pigs & pen them; they have tan-pits, & make tolerably good leather of the skin of the buffalo; they grow & manufacture arrow-root, &c. There ships can obtain abundance of stock: pig, bullock, fowl, &c."

...  
"It is singular that both on this Island & Saypan, there exist the ruins of what once constituted part of massive & stately buildings. As you walk over the Islands, towards their interior, these ruins are conspicuous, from the mounds of stone & earth in cleared spaces, which on examination are found composed of broken columns of granite, evidently cliselled into a determinate shape; fragments of capitals, &c., proclaiming beyond question, that no mean nor barbarous people constructed them."

...  
On September 1st, the ship was visiting Rota.

"Don Cecilio was the Alcalde, a middle aged & respectable-looking man. He conducted us to his house, prepared us an excellent dinner, & was particularly courteous & hospitable. He had a family of five full-grown daughters, & one son, really a handsome family, which appeared to be kept under strict watch & ward. We were accompanied by Don Cecilio, a native, & were conducted to the church, built of stone, of solid masonry & very old; it was whitewashed inside & out, as all the stone houses or buildings are. On entering, we were struck with the ruinous & desolate aspect it bore, as compared with the adornment of the altar or chancel, glittering with gilt-work, & gaudy from the flashy costume of saints, & by the stupid embellishments of white & red colouring, lavishly bestowed upon the carved wood. The *Ave Maria Virgina Purissima*, occupying a central stand in the altar, larger & more superbly dressed than the rest, looking anything but pure, & holding in her arms a great dumpling of a child, supported *dexter* and *sinister* [right and left] by effigies of saints, in the shape of as many wooden dolls, all flashily dressed, with tinsel, & gildings of Dutch gold & silver, with here & there a light burning in an old fractured & filthy basin or what not, & you have the

*toute ensemble* of the show. Yet, ridiculous & fantastical as it is, the poor blinded & bigoted natives, reverently bend the knee before those images, & tender a worship, probably as sincere, as did the worshippers of Thor or Odin. But, there is a church & no Padre! a religion & no Professor! I surmise the natives are too poor to maintain a Catholic priest, & are left to shift for themselves."

"Close adjoining the church, we observed the remains of what must have been part of a very substantial building: the walls were of great thickness, composed of stone cemented by cheenam [lime]."

...  
 "The natives grow tobacco, Indian-corn, sweet potatoes, yams, rice. They are passionately fond of tobacco, especially the women, who fashion their cigars or cheroots monstrously thick & long, distorting their pretty faces & there they sit the livelong day, puffing away, occasionally laying it aside, to indulge in another favorite vice, that of chewing the Areca nut & cheenam, which they sometimes carry so far, as to induce a kind of intoxication; this occurs mostly when gossiping, & scandalizing their neighbours. The Alcalde issued the order & we were abundantly supplied with stock, brought by the natives. A good-sized pig cost 2 common shirts or 5 kerchiefs; fowls per doz., 4 kerchiefs; yams, 2 baskets, 1 kerchief."

"We left the Island at sundown, having procured what stock we wanted. By the way, there is a large cavern on the Island, into which the natives take refuge, in the event of their houses being destroyed by hurricanes or the influx of the sea; the former, I believe, has happened & was terribly destructive."

"Breadfruit, *dugdug*, a species of breadfruit, but smaller & contains kernels or stones, cocoa-nuts, & various edible nuts & fruits grow abundantly & furnish to the people, without the necessity of culture, plenty of nourishing food. Inland they have their farms, or *ranchos*, where they breed pigs, & grow potatoes, yams, rice, & Indian corn. Their trade with ships for stock, furnishes them with articles of dress and a little money; of the latter articles whale-ships very reluctantly part with. There is anchorage under the lee of the Island, but it is too open & exposed; ships have anchored there."

"It is necessary if the supplies required are considerable, to give a day's notice to the Alcalde, who has then time to muster all that is required."

"Rota is not very populous, but is clean & orderly & the people are happy & contented. It is pleasant to notice the simplicity of manners of these natives: pursuing with unburthened minds their daily toil, they partake with gusto what health & labour confer, of their homely simple fare, enjoy domestic comfort, and are removed far from those vanities & blandishments that create so many superfluous wants, and multiply miseries & discontent."

On the 2nd of September, the ship arrived offshore Agaña.

"Mr. John Anderson, Scot, & resident, came off in his whale-boat. He is the Government Pilot, Interpreter, Port-Adjutant, &c., &c. he speaks Spanish, & Chamorro fluently & is tolerable French scholar. He is a tall very stout man; full of conversation & anecdote, but rather too fond of the bottle. It is reported he was Lieutenant in the

English navy, was guilty of a breach of trust, & fled here.<sup>1</sup> He has a large family by a native woman, his wife. He has been 20 years on the Island.”

The ship soon left Agaña, with Anderson on board, to go to Umatac where they arrived at sundown.

“The Spanish flag waved from a bamboo fixed upon the summit of an isolated rock, just at left side of the entrance to the Bay. Presently a canoe put off from the shore, with some person of consequence, as was evident from his dress, & occupying a station in the centre of the canoe, with his silver tipped cane (emblem of authority), between his legs; it was supposed to be the Alcalde, but it proved to be his deputy, a paunchy, fat, dumpy old man, who gave himself ludicrous airs, & was solicitous to make known, that he must be made acquainted with the particulars of the ship, tonnage, number of guns, cargo, &c. as he should have to transmit information that very night to the Governador.”

On the 3rd of September, the author went ashore to visit Umatac.

“The skipper, Jno. Anderson, & myself landed at the Settlement this Morning & made our way to the Governor’s or Alcalde’s house, a large roomy, & stone building, under which are accommodation for soldiers, cells & chokee, with stocks to accommodate either the legs or the neck of the offender as the case might be.”

“Don Antonio soon afterwards arrived from a distant village where he had been to settle some dispute. He had walked 12 miles over rugged roads & mountains. He is a patriarchal-looking old man, & tho’ approaching to 80 years of age is still hale & vigorous, of a benevolent countenance. He is Magistrate of this & the neighbouring villages, & is regarded with much respect by the natives.”

“In the front of his house is a level green—formerly used as a bowling green, with circular stone seats, shaded over with the vine in form of an alcove. There is a church, built of stone, in tolerable repair, which from a stone in its front, engraven with the arms of Spain, was erected in 1770. Adjoining, is what used to be the monastery, now in ruins. Formerly, some 15 or 20 years ago, Umata used to be a great place; there the Spanish galleons or merchant ships used to anchor for many days, & pitching numerous tents on the shore... There are two forts commanding the anchorage, one on each side, situated upon an eminence, but they are now dismantled... The whole village will scarcely comprise 50 huts! Very poor—entirely dependent on the shipping for clothing, & other indispensables, they procure in barter for stock, which can be obtained as abundantly as elsewhere. It is, I think, the best place for oranges & ducks & limes. Bullocks cost from 15 to 20 \$.”

“While seated at the Governador’s house, the Padre of Merizo<sup>2</sup> & his doxy came in, having just arrived. He is a young man, short & thin, with overhanging eyebrows, & a scowling sinister expression of countenance. His head is shaven, save a small circlet of

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1 Ed. note: He had been a helmsman aboard the French navy ship Uranie, Capt. Freycinet, when he deserted at Guam in 1819.

2 Ed. note: Fr. José de la Encarnación.

hair & he wears a white surplice & common Manilla hat. His woman is young & pretty. The Padre & Don Antonio, along with the Capt., Anderson, & myself dined aboard the ship; returned again ashore in the evening to Don Antonio's. The Padre prepared to return to his home at Pueblo Merizo; he mounted a fine stout mule, & his doxy a bullock, astride! Yes, astride! it is the Spanish custom, but it looks not quite the thing to an Englishman, to see a woman straddling on a wide backed beast of a bullock. Now, this same Padre, maintains that marriage is an institution of human invention, & therefore not sanctioned by the Holy Scripture, that it is obnoxious to a religious Professor, inasmuch as it tends to wean the mind from spiritual and holy contemplation, by fixing the affections upon an earthly object, & adding to the cares of the world, & therefore it is expressly prohibited by the Canons of the Romish Church. I wonder whether the young woman so constantly by his side, tending upon him, preparing & providing all things necessary to his comfort, obedient to his call & apparently all in all to him—I wonder what?"

On the 4th of September:

"A ship hove in sight of Orote Point: the **Calliope**, Capt. Herbert, 28 guns & 180 men. She anchored & immediately sent her boats, watering. Is 2 years & 10 months out from England. Had come from Valparaiso, is bound to Manilla & from thence to China. The Purser came aboard to buy some oil. —20 gallons. The skipper in the evening went on board the Man o' War, with the purser. The **Calliope** has a rounded stern. She is to take part in the hostilities against the Chinese, against whom report says, the English have already commenced active operations; if so, the arrogant & cunning Chinaman will soon find out that a war of words & a war of a death, are distinct & separate with "barbarian" English! It is reasonable to suppose the English will not only defeat them with ease, but the brunt will fall almost exclusively on the Chinese, a fate their incorrigible presumption & vanity had long deserved."

The next day, the Gipsy move to Apra Harbour, piloted by James Wilson, an English resident. Upon arrival there, they were met by Juan Roberto, another pilot whose house was located at Sumay on the Orote Peninsula.

"No sooner was the anchor down, than numerous canoes came alongside with fruit & shells, & that forbidden spirit *Aguardiente*, of which latter, the sailors must have bought liberally, as, during the night nearly all the crew were rolling drunk, & numerous quarrels & fights were the consequence! The natives very adroitly smuggle it aboard; if found out, they are liable to severe punishments."

"The natives' canoes are made out of the trunk of a tree, & are formed in a very rude manner; in their construction & arrangements they are the worst I have seen, & they handle them very awkwardly & what is more, they appear to entertain a great dread of the water, perhaps, because ground sharks are common & the guard-fish, whose bite they pronounce fatal. These waters contain abundance of fish of most excellent quality: rock-cod, mullet, guard-fish, barracouta, parrot-fish, & others most beautifully & fantastically coloured, and of singular forms. While at anchor, small hooks baited &

sunk to the bottom, procure an abundant supply. The natives are but indifferent fishermen."

On the 8th of September, the author went hunting.

"After breakfast, I also left the ship, taking with me my fowling-piece & ammunition, & landed at Sumay, & piloted by Mr. Roberto, I beat the bush for game, but it was intolerably hot & sultry, the birds had retired into the most shady & inaccessible coverts, so that I had no chance of a shot, scarcely; a mischievous woodpecker, very pretty, but very destructive to tender chickens, I knocked down, much to the satisfaction of my Guide... I took my meals with Mr. Roberto, & spent the evening playing cards. I slept at his house, surrounded with mosquito curtains, as these insects especially swarm at this time of the year & are very annoying."

On the 9th, the author went hunting pigeons near Agat and returned on board in the evening. On the 10th, Wilson walked up to Agaña and found lodging at the house of José Sablan. The next day, he visited Agaña.

"After breakfast, I first visited the College, a roomy stone building; it is for the education of the youth of this place, but from what I could see, sadly neglected & abused. The Padre Bernardo [del] Rosario has apartments in it. There were numerous fiddles going; in fact, they were all "the go", for I did not see a book amongst the whole of "the College boys"—rare learning to be sure, where the violin is deemed the greatest acquisition! On passing one of the doors in our survey of the place, we were saluted by a call from the Padre & Commissary,<sup>1</sup> who occupied a large room, shabbily furnished & very dirty & disorderly. They were seated at table, smoking; having before them a bottle of sherry-wine, & a large decanter of double-distilled Aguardiente, a most powerful liquor. Of course, we were invited to partake. After attempting in vain to make ourselves understood, & having staid long enough, we departed."

"From thence we walked to the church, a large roomy stone building, all ruinous & tumbling down, sadly out of repair. There is a small gallery for the accommodation of the fiddlers & big drum, aye a big drum, which performs an important part in the service. There is a belfry with two bells, all broken & cracked, with a man to attend upon them & to strike the hours, & ring to matins & vespers. There is the chancel at the east end of the nave, superbly furnished; there is, as a central figure, Christ bearing the Cross, the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, & St. Paul, &c., as so many supporters, all glittering with tinsel & gaudy finery. Silver candlesticks & long wax tapers are placed on the altar table, & lamps, burning, are suspended in the front. From the nave are aisles leading to private chapels or oratories, where prayers & masses are privately offered. Lamps are kept constantly burning, night & day, & are not allowed to go out or be extinguished, like the fire of Heavenly origin that Paganism worshipped in the Temple of Isis. There are no pews—only a few benches. The church is whitewashed inside & out, like almost every other Catholic chapels. Several sedan chairs, used by the Padre, when visiting the sick,

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1 Ed. note: Commissary, or Administrator of the Treasury, Felix Calvo (see below).



were in the church. Several mats were spread on the floor for the accommodation of those desirous to offer up their prayers..."

"Padre Bernardo [del] Rosario is the Metropolitan Priest, having the supervision of all the rest. He is a middle-aged person, tall & thin, & is an European Spaniard; he has one daughter by his housekeeper! a pretty lively little girl. He is a famous cock-fighter and notoriously keen in the pursuit of money—trading with ships & in every other way that money is to be had!! Can it be wondered at, that the morals of the people are low, when their religious teachers, openly & confessedly train cocks & bet on that cruel and murderous sport?"

[Father Ciriaco]

"The other Padre, his assistant in the service, is Padre Ciriaco, a very old man, a native, but educated in Manilla. He is much beloved by the people, for his goodness & gentle manners. He too has several children by his housekeeper! & I understand several suburban protégés!! it would seem that human nature, but laughs at the absurd canon of their religion that forbids marriage to any of its Professors."

"The Commissary is a middle-aged, stout, dumpy little man. He lives in a stone building, with balconies, from whence they view the cockfights, which take place on a level green in the front of the house. He has a very large family, of beautiful fair-complexioned children, most of them very young. He is a very excellent person, & is spoken of in terms of praise by the natives, for it must be borne in mind, the Spaniards are notoriously cruel to the dark race. To strangers he is ever hospitable & kind. His name is Don Felix Calvo, an European Spaniard."

"There are two other Priests (& they include all), viz. Padre Manuel [de la Encarnación] of Agat, a young, short, bulky man, a perfect facsimile of Friar Tuck in Ivanhoe: full of jollity & good nature; and José de [la] Concepción, of Merizo, also young, middle-sized, & of repulsive cold manners. He looks, as though he could pass sentence against an heretic with much gusto, at a council of Inquisitors—or as Familiar."

"Then there are more Dons, holding military rank, namely Don José Sylvestre, José Martinez, all Spaniards of more or less repute, none of them are believed to be wealthy; in fact, there is a very limited circulation compared to what there was some years ago, when whaling masters, with their trade used to amass a good many dollars. The people are poor, & the Spaniards have determined to keep them so, for they have introduced a paltry copper currency, valuable only to the natives themselves, while the silver money is taken in exchange by the Commissary & others, and kept closely in their own coffers."

"Last [but] not least in the list of Spanish Officials is the Governor, Don [José Casillas], a short, thin, dark looking personage (this Officer is renewed sexennially by the Government at Manilla) of rather pleasant manners. He is said to indulge in unlimited potions of brandy! and so constant is he in his devoirs to the shrine of Bacchus, that he entirely forgets, he has the domination & welfare of the entire Mariannes, and vested with unlimited power, short of indicting death; so, the natives do much as they please,

& of course, all public works, & improvements calculated to the benefit & comfort of the community are wholly neglected. He too, as well as the Padres, has a housekeeper, with whom he lives! yet they visit with punishment & disgrace, in the natives, what they openly practise themselves!"

...  
 "I have said nothing of the Palace, the Barracks, the Calaboose. The Palace or residence of the Governor, is situated not far from the church, on the same site, on the N.E. end of the Town. It is a long low building with wooden balconies, & red tiles & it is white-washed, inside & out. The arms of Spain are conspicuous in its centre. Its interior presents an air of discomfort & neglect, nearly destitute of furniture & very dirty. The Calaboose & the Guard-house are roomy, but look neglected & ruinous. A soldier constantly stands as sentinel in front of the Palace. The ground surrounding the palace is level & if duly cultivated & laid out in parterres & grass plots would give an appearance of elegance & comfort to the residence of the Governor. There is a good road or gravel walk, planted on each side with trees, still young, & forming a pleasant avenue, that skirts the church & Palace."

"The soldiers, bless me! are those soldiers verily, are they, & that tall, robust, & stern looking person, is a Spaniard as you may see from his fair complexion, and is 2nd Lieutenant! the soldiers! God save the mark, are poor Chamorros who do an arduous unthankful duty for one dollar per week! one dollar, nothing in the world else! Who would be a soldier! & then their trappings their dress! The pride, pomp, & circumstance of glorious war—where are they?"

"The houses of the Spaniards are of stone, very solidly built, & not exceeding one story high, all white-washed within & without..."

...  
 [Description of the natives of Guam]

"The native or aboriginal inhabitants, or as termed in their own tongue, Chamorros, are in colour of a dark brown, approaching to black, with the nose rather flattened & its *alæ* [nostrils] expanded. The cheek-bones are rather prominent. In other respects they do not much differ from the European; only the shape of the head is peculiar, the back part of it is flat & continued in a plane with the neck, instead as is usual, the occiput being convex. The forehead is capacious & the eye & general expression sagacious & pleasing. They are a tall race, well formed, & by a suitable encouragement might be made a hard-working people. They are hospitable & courteous to strangers, never allowing them to pass their door, without asking to partake of some refreshment, at least it used formerly to be the case; since ships have called here so much, & runaway sailors, taking advantage of their open heartedness have heaped insult upon ingratitude, they are somewhat altered."

"The native or Chamorro tongue is said to resemble the Malay. They are taught the Spanish language, & can converse in general, in either."

"The common dress of the men is a frock or shirt, worn over a pair of trowsers, mostly of blue dungaree, with a large sheathed knife, made fast to a belt around the waist,

which they are seldom without, & in their quarrels will sometimes settle the dispute by an appeal to their weapons; but they are naturally very peaceable & not readily offended. They live upon very simple fare, seldom partaking of animal food. *Café blanco* is the staple article of diet; it is made of cocoa-nut & maize or Indian corn, boiled together, & forms a white pultaceous mass; besides rice, & the bread-fruit. Toddy & aguardiente are their favourite drinks, the former, while sweet, is a refreshing inoffensive beverage, but, when fermented & distilled & makes its appearance in the latter form, it adds greatly to their demoralization, which has made sad ravages of latter years, through the pernicious example of European sailors.”

“The women wear a loose jacket & petticoat—such is their ordinary dress—but when they go to church they add the Mantilla, or as called by the natives, *pañu*,<sup>1</sup> made of a showy hand-kerchief fringed with muslin, & really the dress is very becoming & adapted to the climate. Either they or the men seldom wear shoes or stockings; they walk about barefooted, unless on church days, & those are often enough. They all have beads strung round their necks, to which is suspended an amulet—a picture of the Virgin & Christ which they believe prevents evil or accidents, or should any calamity occur it is supposed to have been diminished one-half through their wearing the amulet!”

“Formerly they were great believers in witchcraft, of a good & evil genius, & even its influence is great among the very old people to this day, as is shown in their treatment of the sick.”

“The ancient inhabitants made use of the sling & the spear as weapons of offence. Some of the stones for the slings were shown me; they were of flint, smooth, & of a spherical [sic] form, & formidable from their weight & size.”<sup>2</sup>

[Chamorro houses]

“The houses of the natives are formed either of wood planks made of the beautiful *Toniona*,<sup>3</sup> or of bamboo, or of the interwoven leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. They are raised 3 or 4 feet from the ground upon wooden supports. They are roofed with the leaf of the cocoa-nut tree. They are generally divided into two apartments, the one the cooking & sitting & sleeping room; the other, also, a sleeping room. They have no chimnies, consequently the smoke of the fire must escape anyhow; it is a matter of indifference to them; nor are they particular as to their inmates, fowls, dogs, pigs, cats, lizards, rats, cockroaches, are as much at home as the proper in-dwellers; such a cackling, crowing, barking & grunting is sometimes set up as you enter a hut that you are glad to make a hasty retreat, when the shrill tones of the housewife are heard chiding the obstreperous noise of her dependents.”

1 Ed. note: From the Spanish, pañuelo.

2 Ed. note: Later on, Wilson says the following: “Mr. Anderson gave me some sling-stones, used by the aborigines in their wars with each other: of an elliptical form, composed of silex, smooth & very heavy.”

3 Ed. note: Toñona? Unidentifiable wood. Were probably made of ipil, or ifil.

“Their amusements are purely Spanish: cock-fighting & card-playing & they, too, are imbued with the same reckless spirit, when once engaged in play, staking every thing they possess on the turn of a card or the clip of a cock...”

“The unmixed native, or Chamorro, blood is now seldom to be seen, excepting in the distant villages. In Agaña at least, there is an intermixture of Spanish, & English, & Chinese, & Lascar, &c., which has added greatly to the improving of the original; so much so, that some of the natives both men & women, are far from being dark, & really good-looking. They are cleanly & neat in their persons, to which the river, which runs outside the Town, contributes greatly; in it they wash their linen & they wash themselves. They are frequently in the water, which is a fresh running stream, taking its origin inland at the foot of the hills. It supplies the Town with water, for there are few or no wells.”

...

[English residents of Guam]

“There is one English Medical Practitioner, a Dr. Cass, who has resided on the island a great many years, married a native woman & has a family. He left a whaler at this port. He is a drunken, worthless character: with every opportunity to amass money & secure to himself reputation & respectability, he has become the boon companion of sailors & an outcast from all good society. There are several Englishmen settled & married in the Town: Watkins, James, Wilson, Sherwood, &c., & who gain their livelihood chiefly by attending on the shipping, having purchased whale-boats for that purpose.”

“Agaña is a very dull place, I have heard it termed the “Town of Desolation,” in very truth, there is little to recommend it. Many of the natives have been in English ships, & to England, & can speak our language, but they are always on the look-out, rather to ease you of your money than to contribute in any way to your amusement; in fact, their association with our countrymen has not benefited them much, unless by rendering them artful, designing & selfish be so.”<sup>1</sup>

...

“Called on Dr. Cass; he lives in a miserable dirty hovel. A paralytic sailor lay in the room, helpless & without help!”

...

Wilson describes a night-time procession, the church services on a Sunday and the cockfight that followed it. The next day, 15th of September, was a typical day for him ashore:

“I had a bath, by daybreak, in the River: a clear, cool, running stream and had a drink of sweet toddy. Returned to breakfast, & spent the day in paying visits about the Town: very sultry. The people here permit all the filth & offal to collect beneath their houses, which infects the atmosphere with an odour by no means agreeable: pigs, dogs, ducks, fowls, &c., wander about the streets. At night, the dogs are very noisy, barking

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1 Ed. note: The Gipsy shipped two natives when she left Guam; their names were Juan Amenda [Arienda?] and Mariano Pangelinan.

in chorus all night, & the cocks, of which there are great numbers, (every house has one or two tied up, in training for the ring), are crowing all night too, that to a person with a keen perception, must prove exceedingly annoying & deprivative of sleep."

On the next day, Wilson went back to Sumay, then visited the whaler **Diana**. His own ship left Guam on 19 September and headed south towards New Guinea, and Ontong Java, when they met with the whaler **Vigilant**, on 25 February 1841:

"A sail ahead of us, stood towards it: spoke her: the **Vigilant**, Capt. Grey, going to Guam, while we first call at Ascension [Pohnpei] & perhaps refresh there. Capt. Grey reports he saw a large shoal of whales, (a large one amongst them) off Ontong Java & gave chase, but without getting any."

The Gipsy reached Pohnpei on 17 March 1841:

"Steering W by S at daylight. Soon after the Island of Ascension hove in sight bearing W by N distant about 4 leagues. Bore down towards it, & in the afternoon, running along the lee shore, we saw several vessels (three) at anchor in the Harbour, which is on the S.W. side & well protected by reefs & small islands, but the passage in & out is difficult & hazardous, being a devious & narrow entrance. The **Alert**, a whaling ship, Capt. Palmer of London, got upon a reef in going in, but was got off after much labour, with her bottom seriously injured; the false keel being to a great extent knocked off. She was obliged to make the best of her way to Sydney to get repaired. There are Englishmen who come off to ships, & volunteer their service as Pilots, but they are generally a bad set, & not lightly to be trusted. An Englishman, naming himself James Headly, whose father he said was a Pilot in England, came off, & offered to Pilot the ship into Harbour. He has resided upwards of five years on the island, ever since the wreck of the **Falcon**, a whaler of London, Master, Capt. Hingston, who was massacred, along with his second Mate & three or four of the crew, merely because they tried to prevent the natives from stealing some of the property, saved from the wreck; in the contest several natives were killed. A Sydney schooner, commanded by a Capt. Hart, which arrived there soon after the affray, inflicted summary punishment upon the author & principal actors."

...

"The ships in harbour are:"

"The Ship **Offley**, Lazenby, London out 19 ms. 850 bbls."

"The Barque **Elizabeth**, Cowen, London out 30 ms 1100 bbls."

"The Barque **Reaper**,... American ... 600 bbls."

"All the ships have been lying here a fortnight or three weeks, wooding & watering, & giving liberty to their crews on shore. There is great dearth of refreshments: pigs are scarce & dear; fowls, there are few or none; yams are plentiful, but very bad; there is not much taro; breadfruit is plentiful, but the most cheap & procurable article is a girl, yea, as many as would stock a three-tailed Pashaw's harem, for a few heads of tobacco. Children, young girls, & women, crowd aboard the ships. Their ages from nine to 14 or 16 years of age! There are but few with the fully developed signs of womanhood! yet, they willingly receive the embraces of the most robust men! mere children, holding

unblushing commerce with great stalwart fellows! so much for climate & barbarism. Most of the women or girls are comely & good-looking, & there are not wanting some that would bear comparison with beauties in our own country, being nearly as fair, from their close confinement & careful seclusion from the sun, but these are chiefs' wives or daughters. The ordinary complexion is sienna, or yellowish-brown. The features are well formed; the nose is flattened; the eyebrows are arched, & mouth rather large, with small coral lips & beautiful white teeth. Their skin is soft & delicate. In stature they are rather under the middle size, small made, but finely modeled. In fact, they look pretty & graceful: such small delicate hands! such heads of hair! jet black, fine, long, thick hair, & glossy as the raven! hanging in festoons over their shoulders! the sight would fill with envy the lovely ones of my own native land. Their legs as far as the knee, are prettily tattooed; as are the hands & fingers, also. They fix flowers in their ears, or coral ornaments, and around their heads, they have a circlet of yellow sweet-smelling flowers, which confines the hair. Altogether, they are tasteful in the adornment of their persons. The ordinary dress is a piece of Tappa of various colours, fixed above the hips by a girdle & reaching nearly to the knees. When they can obtain handkerchiefs, they tie two together & suspend one in front, the other behind the body, so as to conceal the breasts. Ashore, among themselves, they wear only the Tappa."

"I ought first to have spoken of the men, as they have priority of claim to notice, but, here they fall quite into the background, the staple trade being carried on by the women, who reap all the profit for the ultimate benefit of the men. The articles of barter on the part of the white men are tobacco & pipes! nothing is wanting if you have only tobacco & pipes! the entire population might be bought for a hundredweight of the weed!"

"The men are tall, robust, & well made, & a shade darker than the women. They wear only a long fringe of split plantain leaf, made fast by a broad belt, above the hip, & reaching midway to the knees. They are tattooed like the women."

"I understand there are upwards of eighty white men on the island! English, Portuguese, American, &c. They employ the natives in catching the hawk's-bill turtle, from which they procure the tortoise-shell to sell to vessels from Sydney that come frequently for that purpose. In consequence, these settlers are enabled to purchase firearms & powder, &c., by which they frighten the natives, completely subdue their native independence, & make them humble & servile, obedient to the will of the most unfeeling & harsh among them. They must be a bad set; I was told two of the whites had a trifling quarrel: when one lay in wait for the other in ambush, & shot him with a musket, & not content with that, he deliberately went up to his prostrate victim, & hacked him to pieces with a sword. What can be expected from runaway felons from Sydney, or deserters from whaling ships? The very scum & dregs of society: men to whom the most rigid laws cannot deter from crime, what then must result when in a situation where there are no laws, nor punishment? Settled on Ascension they lead an abandoned life, persecuting the natives, hostile to each other & by their number & atrocious character, render the harbour anything but safe to a single ship! what would be more easy than for

them to confederate & take a ship, murder all hands, & go with her to some port & sell her? A Man-of-War ought to be sent to clear the land of such fatal vermin."

"The Island of Ascension is situate in North Latitude 6°48' & in Longitude 158°25' East. It is large & lofty & very woody from its base to its summits. It affords good protection to ships at anchor in the harbour, & supplies them with an unlimited quantity of fire-wood, & most excellent water, but stock is very scarce. The only refreshment in abundance are wood pigeons, which at certain seasons are plump & make excellent messes. Owing to its situation within the Trades, it is very salubrious: the soil is fertile, but the natives have no knowledge of cultivating & planting. There is a fresh-water stream or river near the harbour, a favourite bathing place with the natives who are very cleanly in their persons. Eels abound in it of great size, but they are worshipped by the natives & in such veneration are they held that, should they be caught & cooked on board ship & the natives get knowledge of it, every soul would directly abandon her with the greatest abhorrence; they are taboo! so that ships do not like to encounter so strong a superstition."

[Nanmadol ruins]

"It is singular that upon this Island, as upon others, equally as unlikely, remains of buildings of a former age & people have been discovered. Captain Lazenby<sup>1</sup> communicated to me, on board this ship at Ascension, that he had himself visited a ruin on the eastern part of the Island, covering an extent of some acres, among which have been discovered massive archways, & columns fast mouldering into shapeless masses. Having been in part explored, he reported that a gold bar, silver candlesticks, earrings had been discovered, evidencing that the island must have once been inhabited by a superior race of men who had knowledge of the uses of the metals, & of the elegances of life: who were they? of what nation?<sup>2</sup> Other ruins exist, as is apparent by the cleared ground, & mounds of earth regularly & artificially constructed. The lapse of years has added stratum upon stratum of vegetable soil, so as to conceal from the eye what lies underneath, & shrubs & young trees are fast attaining to maturity rendering the ruins more obscure."

"As to the origin or history of these ancient relics, the natives can give no information, neither by writing nor by tradition: they are wholly ignorant."

"There are five native Chiefs & so many independent tribes. They are tolerably peaceable among themselves. The club and spear are their chief weapons. The sling I believe they use, also. Their canoes are well made, & formed out of a solid trunk, having out-riggers, & a triangular mat sail. Numbers of them were observed, sailing inside the reef. They manage them very dexterously & are fond of the water. Their colour is red."

1 Ed. note: Captain of the Offley.

2 Ed. note: My conjecture is that such artifacts confirm the wreck on Pohnpei in 1595 of one of Mendaña's ships. However, it is very likely that the ruins themselves already existed at that time. See also Doc. 1840L for mention of artifacts (cross and dagger) recovered by the crew of the Brixton and the Mechanic in December 1840.

“At 9 a.m. the Capt. went ashore & on board the **Offley** where he stayed all night; as, also the boat’s crew. At sunset, the Island bore W by S and E by N; the ship standing on & off. Canoes came alongside bartering various commodities, as belts, shells, &c. for tobacco. One of them brought off a young girl—a mere child, not more than 9 or 10 years of age to be disposed to anyone who chose to give a head of tobacco! a pretty delicate young thing, & furnished with a shade or parasol in the shape of a large leaf, behind which as she approached the ship, she would peep with her soft eyes. It is a pity & pity it is, ’tis a pity!”

“1841 March 18. Stood off & on during the night. At 10h the boat returned, loaded with yams, a few bananas & one pig. At 11:30 the Capt. & Lazenby came on board, bringing with them two native girls. Capt. Lazenby dined with us, & then took his departure with his little doxies. We crowded sail, and stood to the Northward & Westward.”

“The advice of those in the harbour was, that we had better keep out, as little or nothing was to be had, excepting wood & water, & plenty of bad yams; that the place was dangerous entering it, & sailors were too apt to desert their ships, influenced by the temporary fascinations of the women: a fact confirmed by the **Offley**, as we subsequently heard, who had not hands enough to get under weigh, so many of his crew left him, while he lay there. It is an ineligible place for ships, which have prospects poor & unpromising.”

“They asked a musket, for a good-sized pig! everything is in the hands of the whites, almost.”

The Gipsy went NW, towards Saipan, through the Carolines. Wilson was impressed by the way a ship could so easily become shipwrecked on these low islands, and reports what he heard about a recent shipwreck.

“An American ship (**Fortune**) which passed some part of this Group, on her way to Guam, reports she saw the top-gallant sails of a vessel, their sheets parted, blowing out horizontally by the breeze, just above water, the hull & remainder of the masts being under water, evidently the wreck of some vessel. It lay no great distance from an island. The **Fortune** passed the wreck within 8 miles, & yet would not send a boat to ascertain more particularly her name & nation, & fate of her crew!”<sup>1</sup>

...

The Gipsy reached Saipan on 24 March following.

“[At] daylight, the Island of Saipan close to. Steered towards it, & at 8 a.m. came to an anchor in 6 fathoms water & 45 of chain cable; anchored on the S.W. or lee side of the land, about two miles from the shore; the bottom of soft sand. Here we take in fire-wood, for water is not to be had here. On the N.E. side, there is a fine river of fresh water, but being the weather side is not available for ships.”<sup>2</sup>

1 Ed. note: This was not the ship Shaw, as I first thought, as she was shipwrecked on Oroluk only in 1843.

2 Ed. note: There is no such river.



“The Captain & myself after breakfast went in a boat to the petty Governor’s house, or hut, rather, & also to the Carolinas Settlement.<sup>1</sup> Those natives, few in number at first, are fast increasing. They are ugly, dirty, & indolent. The women have a small piece of tappa hung over their hips, & are covered with cocoa-nut oil, being greasy, offensive, & of the colour of Marigolds. I verily believe, every one of them was in the family way! Such feminine ugliness I never before beheld. The men go naked, or sometimes a mere covering! Their huts are low, small, dirty, smoking, stinking cribs; to enter which you must go on all fours; yet, in one of these, I slept all night! Lizards, large & small run over one with their cold reptile feet, & shrill cry; mosquitos hum & bite one unceasingly, & the smoke well nigh suffocated me, but it had a worse effect upon a wretched old woman, labouring under asthma, close by me, who was coughing and wheezing all the night long. I wished myself out of that; however, I managed to get a little sleep, a very little. I had been beating the bush most of the day for game, attended by a native lad, & shot several fine wild fowl, wick abound in the bush, & are heard crowing in the remotest parts of the woods.”

“25. Returned on board. Afterwards, ashore again with the skipper, having our fowling pieces. Wandered some distance in the bush, but met with no game of any kind. Found it very sultry in the woods. Drunk freely of cocoa-nuts, which our attendant, a Guam native, got for us.”

“We went to the Governador’s place, & there we found abundance of game, cocks & hens were numerous. Now, he dared not sell them, without an express order from the Governor at Guam; therefore, we could not get possession by fair barter; so, rather than starve upon salt meat in port, we, in fact, deemed them as game & shot what we wanted: the hen-roosts, likewise shared a like fate, so that we managed to fare pretty well, in so exclusive a port. Of course, the man was recompensed for his loss. He had numerous pigs caught in the bush, penned up: poor, lank, bony, famished brutes but fierce snapping their tusks & raising their bristles. They run in herds, wild in the bush; as do cattle; the former are caught in traps.”

“26. I went up to the Carolinas with the Governador in a canoe; bought some mullet & rock-cod. A turtle lay on its back: a green turtle & recently caught. Under a shed, the natives were busily building a Banker or Bunker [banca], a large deep canoe, formed of two or three solid pieces of wood, tied firmly together, & made to fit each other accurately. The seams are then plastered over with cement made of cheenam. They have large outriggers & one sail. They are the only means of communication between the several islands, are large bulky, clumsy, heavy things & can be run on the beach without fear of damage. Some are ornamented by painting on the bows in a fanciful pattern.”

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1 Ed. note: Probably located at the site now called Woleai.

"March 27. Ashore: went to the Carolinas settlement, expecting to find some live turtle, but they had all been devoured over night, the shells only remained. While ashore I shot several fowls, & obtained some eggs; neither pigs nor buffalo can be got, nor any kind of refreshment, otherwise. All the wood is aboard; very good, & easy to be obtained; besides, the wood cutters, whose work is really hard, have plenty of cocoa-nuts at hand, for the trouble of mounting the trees & are doubly benefited."

"28. At daylight got under weigh. Sailed along the west side of Tinian & Aguijan... In the evening passed by Rota, intending to land, but the surf beat high & it was very rough: heavy rollers plunging & foaming upon the beach, rendering it unsafe to land, at such times."

"29. Lay to with the head yards aback last night. Steering for the harbour of Guam. At 10 a.m., came to an anchor in the outer harbour in 19-1/2 fathoms water, and 50 fathoms chain cable, the west point bearing W. by S., Fort Apra SE & Goat Island NE by E."

"The following [English] ships were at anchor, viz:"

"The Barque **Rochester**, Kenney;"

"The Barque **Indian**, Maughan;"

"The Ship **Vigilant**, Grey."

"Three American ships were the:"

"**Charles**, Bonney;"

"**Mary Ann**, Chase;"

"and another, whose name I forget."<sup>1</sup>

"As soon as we had anchored, the **Rochester** sent a boat, & having ascertained who we were, letters were sent on board for this vessel. I received a packet of letters & newspapers. Shortly after, Capt. Grey came aboard, & accompanied Capt. Gibson to the Town. I went on board the **Vigilant** at the invitation of the Surgeon, Mr. Morris, to play a game of chess. We were joined by Mr. Hawkes, Surgeon of the **Indian**, & by Mr. Owen, Surgeon of the **Rochester**. The day was passed with mutual satisfaction & pleasure, as may be easily imagined, after being estranged from all society for so long, and as it were, banished the world."

"30. Went ashore at Sumay with the 3d Mate (Mr. White). Went as far as Agat, having my fowling piece with me, as pigeons abound that way. Returned to Sumay & slept at Mr. Roberto's all night. In the morning, I returned on board. The host made me some egg flip, a singular composition, but very good, & nutritious, before I started."

On the 31th of March, Wilson walked to Agaña and took lodging at the house of Narciso Ada, "an honest & obliging native."

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1 Ed. note: This ship was the Courier, Captain Harding (see Doc. 1840G).

“April 1. Had an early bath in the river, and drunk toddy which in the morning betimes, is cool, sweet, & refreshing. Wandered about during the day, & in the evening, being moonlight, promenaded under the cocoa-nut trees.”

The next day, Wilson went hunting. On the 3rd, he attended an evening party where local ladies sang and danced the fandango. He again witnessed a religious procession, and another cockfight, for which he had but scorn. He went back on board on the 4th. On the 5th, he says that “venison is abundant & cheap, a whole deer, can be bought for two dollars!”

“7. This morning, Mr. Morris called on me, desiring my company to Agat, he going on a medical visit to Padre Manuel, the fat Priest of that place, who is sick, or rather feigning; as he is ordered to Rota, a place he has a great aversion to, & procrastinates as long as he can. He is young & very corpulent, a facsimile of Friar Tuck: too fond of the non naturals, & too lazy, the faults of his tribe.”<sup>1</sup>

“The Padre directed our attention to a calf, six months old, full grown & well formed for its age. He ordered some of the natives to throw it down, which having done we began our examination. Its peculiar confirmation respected the generative apparatus. There was the anus in its due situation; there were the four teats, but no show of udder; between & in the centre of the four mamellae, was a small orifice not readily found for the hair, through which the urine passed; it flowed while we were in the act of examining it. Still more anterior was a dependent prolongation of the skin, in the site where the penis terminates, but there was no penis nor opening. There were neither penis nor scrotum! neither vagina nor udder! an animal of no sex! incapable of propagation! a *Iusus naturæ!*<sup>2</sup> a wonderful departure of nature, from even her aberrations which sometimes monstrously great do not in general deviate so far, as in this case; but leave some traits by which the inclination apparently leans to one or other of the sexes. Here, however, is a complete non-sexual animal, in which the end & aim of creation is frustrated, for it can neither “increase nor multiply” its kind!”

“The Priest thought it a great curiosity and asked us as to the propriety of sending it to Europe. Dined with him: frizzled fowl, stewed egg, fried venison, boiled rice: all well seasoned with garlic or shallots & chilis! There is no change in the cuisine of a Spaniard, it is an everlasting fry & as constant a seasoning! Malaga wine, anis (a strong spirit, so flavoured) and cigars followed, as desert. My companion played and sung very prettily. The guitar was the instrument of which the natives are fond, & most of them can play a few monotonous tunes or a fandango. Proficients in music are scarce, the instructions in that branch being very limited. In the evening returned to Sumay where we found the boat waiting our return.”

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1 Ed. note: Padre Manuel did go to Rota on 13 April (see below). The official Recollect histories do not record this posting.

2 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning a freak of nature.

During the following days, Wilson visited other ships, went hunting again, played backgammon and chess, etc. On the 12th of April, he was roused from sleep by other surgeons and accompanied them to Agaña where a man had fallen from a coconut tree, broken his arms and legs.

"We subsequently learned the man had died; if I mistake not, from locked-jaw: a result to be ascribed to mismanagement; for when we were gone, he would fall into the tender hands of the Manilla-man, a snob, who first dressed his wound. Mr. Cass, the medical resident, is nearly blind, & so enervated from excessive drinking that the natives dare not to trust him; consequently, the poor wretches must die!"

"13. Stayed all night at Narciso Ada's with Mr. Hawkes, & returned to the Point in the morning, after calling upon the hurt man who appeared cheerful, & going on well. We met the Commissary, Padre Bernardo, Dons Sylvestre & José upon mules, returning from a visit aboard the **Indian**, where they slept all night. This morning the **Vigilant** made sail from the harbour, having on board the Padre Manuel, goods & chattels, &c., for Rota. I went on board in the **Indian's** boat. The Capt. returned from Town, yesterday, when he dined with the Padre, Commissary, &c. The Padre is a tremendous wine-bibber, smoker, betel-nut chewer, & something more."

On the 14th, the **Gipsy** sailed for Umatac, to obtain water. On the 17th, she sailed for the Bonin Islands on another season of whaling. In his log entry for 31 May, Wilson had this to say about deserters.

"It is a great risk for a whale-ship to enter such harbours as Ascension or anchor off islands like Rotuma, Kingsmill, &c., unless she be a full ship, or nearly full. Sailors are fond of a change and especially where women are in the way never dream of the consequences of desertion, bent only upon "enjoying themselves" as they term it. The **Offley** had not been the only ship that has come out of that place [i.e. Pohnpei] with a serious loss of hands: the **Alert** lost a great many & other vessels whose names I have forgotten. The **Offley** went thence to Sydney to obtain a relay of men; she sailed from thence to the Louisiades &c., and at Treasury Island had three boats' crews massacred by the natives! so that nothing but misfortune tracked the path of poor [Capt.] Lazenby!"

By December 1841, the **Gipsy** had come full circle again and was whaling off the Gilberts.

"11. Light winds and fair weather. Hove to during the night. At daylight Byron's [Nukunau] Island in sight, bearing from SE to SW. Steered around the north end. It is long, low, and narrow, scarcely above the surface of the sea and densely wooded with cocoa-nut trees, shrubs &c., presenting an entire surface of variegated verdure, refreshing and pleasing to the eyes from its vivid hues. Hauled aback the main yard. A great number of canoes (made of solid bamboo [sic], sewed together) came off to us, most of them holding two men and a woman (they used mat sails of triangular shape), some more. On reaching the ship, they made the canoe fast and came on deck, the natives hauling the women out of the canoe or the water by the hair of their heads!"

“They had cocoa-nuts, shark-teeth spears, neatly & ingeniously formed and constructed; coarse sponges; molasses or goola, made from sweet toddy, of a saccharine flavour, and of the consistency of honey; beads; shells; sinnet; mats of various patterns; war-dress; wrought human hair, and last not least, the women were for barter. Tobacco, alone, was what they wanted; they evinced the strongest taste for it, both chewing & smoking—women, as well as men! The women wear a frail covering of slit palm leaf, its form like a kilt or short petticoat, made fast just above the hips and extending down to the middle of the thighs. The men go entirely naked! Their skin is a yellowish brown or sienna colour, with agreeable and well-formed features, with straight black hair, which they wear long and unconfined. Their eyes are black and sparkling. The men are well formed, tall and robust, notwithstanding they live almost entirely on vegetable food, as cocoa-nut, loowallo [taro?], &c., and sometimes fish.”

“The ship’s deck was crowded with native men and women, busied trading with the sailors, for mats, goods, &c. I was informed there are seven mobs or tribes on the Island, ruled over by Chiefs of their own choosing, but whose power is very trifling & scarcely acknowledged. There are priests whom they call *too-pennies*, held in much awe.<sup>1</sup> Not many years ago these people were thorough savages: to approach whose shores were certain death! Now, ten or twelve whites, Englishmen, I believe runaway sailors, reside among them, and even the Master of a ship, Captain Hammer of the **Sussex** Whaler, had been staying at a white man’s house, ashore, for the benefit of his health, being affected with edema of the lower extremities attended with great emaciation and debility, consequences of too free application to the bottle!—so report says!”

“One white man, stating himself to have the greatest influence with the natives, and who has been five years living upon the Island, & is well acquainted with the language, came off in his canoe, bringing with him some bottles of Aguardiente! He distils it from fermented toddy, by means of a copper-powder magazine obtained from some ship; in this way are the poor, ignorant natives furnished with ardent spirit which, having once experienced its influence, became ever after infatuated. As an example of its evil effects, at this time an Englishman is suffering severely from a drunken broil with some of the natives who fiercely attacked him with their sharks’ teeth spears, & mangled him in a horrible manner! Ardent spirit and tobacco, engrafted upon the simple habits and primitive constitutions of these people will speedily engender strife, disease, and death; moreover, to complete the sum of European blessings conferred on the natives of these Islands, that most loathsome and deadly disease—syphilis—is already rife among them, several of the crew being affected with it, and gonorrhœa! Such are the benefits conferred to the confiding heathen who believes he sees in a white skin a nature and intelligence superior to his own! These aborigines, like those of the Sandwich Islands will suffer a gradual extinction, until there will be scarcely a solitary native left to bemoan

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1 Ed. note: Honore Forster says that this misreported word comes from the Gilbertese: *te ibonga* (see also Doc. 1841L)].

the wretchedness of his condition; unless, as upon Wallis Island, they rise en masse, and decimate every white man & stranger among them.”

“These natives often war with each other, and fight with great ferocity; they have war-dress made thick and compact to resist sharks’ teeth spears (their chief weapon) which completely encloses them— *cap-a-pie*.”<sup>1</sup>

“In their intercourse with Europeans they are friendly and well disposed, but incorrigibly thievish. It is considered a token of amity when they bring off their women.”?

[Abortion practices and depopulation]

“They, in common with the natives of Ascension, and I believe nearly all the South Sea Islands, destroy their female children, immediately they are born, or in young unmarried females, for those who have desire to preserve their beauty, as long as possible, and there be few who do not, so soon as they are known to be pregnant, they have to undergo an operation performed by old women, which consists in kneading the abdomen with their knuckles, making violent pressure upon the uterus; and so adroitly is this done as never to fail in its object. What at first resulted from necessity has become a system, for it is known the population sometimes becomes inconveniently great, so as to require for the salvation of the many, the sacrifice of a few; hence it does happen that entire families are doomed to leave the land of their birth in a frail canoe scantily furnished with water & food, to be driven they know not whither, at the entire mercy of sea and current, hoping to find some other and far-off land where they may live in plenty and ease! They have been picked up at sea by ships with the dead lying on the bottom of the canoe, & the living wholly helpless & nearly dead from inanition and exposure! It is hardly likely, now that ardent spirit, tobacco, and disease have got among them, such dilemmas will ever occur again—death will obviate that!”

“Could it be possible to obtain a census of Byron’s Island for a few consecutive years, we should find an amazing decrease, annually progressive as is found elsewhere, although favoured by Christianity & the presence of Missionaries.”

“1841 Dec. 12. Fine clear weather and gentle winds. Cruising in sight of Byron and Perew’s [Beru] Island. At eleven they bore, respectively, N.E. by E., and W.N.W.”

“Saw a Barque (**Sussex**) to the N.N.W. trying out. At 10:30 saw another Barque (**Grasshopper**) manoeuvring after whales. Tacking off and on the Islands...”

“P.M. again, and far from the land, when several canoes came off. At 6 spoke the Barque **Grasshopper** of London, Yates late Gardner, who died in Timor Straits from the rupture of a blood vessel: the consequence, it is supposed, of excessive drinking; were out 22 months with 750 bbls. sperm oil. The Barque **Sussex**, Hammer, is cruising hereabouts.”

“Capt. Yates told us that seven Sydney vessels were dismasted or seriously damaged from a hurricane, while cruising about Solomon’s archipelago...”

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1 Note by Forster: From head to foot.

"15. Moderate breezes and fine weather. At 1 p.m. saw Perew's Island, lying N.W. of us. Bore towards it. At 4 several canoes came off. These natives are very suspicious; they will not permit a thing to leave their possession until they have got the *quid pro quo*. They are less amicable and seem a shade darker in the hue of their skin than those of Byron's Island."

"16. Light winds and fair agreeable weather. Perew's Island to the N.E. At 9 a.m., saw Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island, bearing S.S.W. Steered S.W. At 4 p.m., several canoes came off: a great number forming a large fleet with their triangular mat sails pushed off from the shore towards the ship, it being at the time nearly calm. Several of the canoes had women in them. They came alongside and had for barter a few fowls, cocoa-nuts, mats, spears, &c., requiring tobacco in exchange. The natives of this Island are darker skinned, some two shades deeper than those of Byron's Island! they are an ill-looking, sour set; and are not near so friendly, but seem cautious, sinister and suspicious."

"The Island is near 30 miles in length, formed altogether of low level land, densely covered with cocoa-nut trees, presenting one entire surface of refreshing and shady foliage, under which, cooled by the shade it affords, are built their huts which are said to be very clean & commodious."

"From the south end of the Island runs a coral reef extending some two or three miles; it is called Nautilus Reef, upon which the **Corsair**, a whaling barque from London, Capt. Venables, struck one moonlit night and went to pieces. They took to the boats, the Capt. in one, landed on some sandbank off the mainland, when a number of natives flocked round and began pilfering, when the Capt. shot one, after in vain remonstrating. They then rushed upon him and despatched him, but not until several of their number lay dead at his feet. The Mate and one or two more were seriously hurt, but finally escaped, leaving the mutilated body of the Skipper in possession of the infuriated savages. After suffering great privations in open boats, they eventually got safe, one landing on Ascension (surgeon), another on Rota (2nd Mate, Kenney). Before abandoning the ship they set fire to her in several places, that no part of the abandoned property should be had by the natives, to the prejudice of Europeans, as axes, lances, &c."

"The night was clear & tranquil, the rays of a full orb'd moon shedding its silvery light on the tiny waves, as they played & danced around the ship in her lazy progress. In the waist on the weather side were the Skipper and the Mate leaning over the rail and looking down into the water, apparently in earnest conversation, when the latter observed to the former: "See there, it must be a reef, it must be bottom." "No, no," said the Captain, "it is only the rays of the moon in the water, that you observe." He had no sooner pronounced the words, before the ship was immovably fixed on the rocks!"<sup>1</sup>

...

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1 Ed. note: This information must have come from the former second mate, Kenney, whom Wilson met at the Marianas as Captain of the Rochester.



On the 22nd, the ship went by Banaba, but they did not stop, as no canoes came off. They continued whaling in a zig-zag fashion towards Nauru.

"23. Light winds & fine weather. At 2 p.m., saw Pleasant Island bearing South. Steered towards it. About 4 p.m., canoes came alongside, containing men and women. Their canoes were larger, of greater beam, & more firmly constructed than those of Kingsmills. They had elevated wicker platforms on their outriggers, which I had not observed before among these Islands. Their features, in form and regularity of outline approached very near to the European, and were very intelligent looking. Owing to the mustachios and long beards, which they all wore, combined with their grave aspect, they appeared like so many Jewish rabbi. They are the only natives I have seen to wear the beard, being usual with them to pluck it out."

"They were rather darker than the natives of the other Islands, but somewhat better featured. Their hair is black, straight & long. In person they are tall, robust, and well formed. The women were of lighter complexion, comely and well-looking; and some of them of particularly pleasing expression. Their only dress was a short petticoat, very short, made of split plantain leaf or grass, and is worn by both sexes. The women readily dispose of their favors for a small piece of tobacco! They brought for sale, sinnet, and sinnet-hats which they have learned to make by sailors ashore; fowls in abundance; cocoa-nuts; goola;<sup>1</sup> shells; &c. so that a ship might get good refreshment here. It is known that several Englishmen or runaway sailors are settled upon this Island, & have been for several years, and in the habit of coming off to ships, disposing of their produce, but none have made their appearance! Besides, the natives have got shirts, trousers, and even blankets for sale, & which they dispose of for a mere trifle! How came they possessed of these things? Have they massacred the white men, & thus possessed themselves of their property? A fact that derives confirmation from their non-appearance. Since then, an American ship, **Fortune**, touched here, and took from the Island the only remaining white—who vowed he was momentarily expecting to be put to death, as every white man had been just slain by the natives—he alone remained! of course the appeal could not be resisted, and the man was brought to Guam."

"The poor savages had borne long, the arrogant tyranny, & impositions of base ignorant men, until driven to frenzy, they wreaked an ample vengeance for long endured wrongs."

"The Island is small and woody, but not so low as the Kingsmills Islands."

"Taking Byron's Island as a starting point, and directing the view westward, keeping within a few degrees of the Line, on either side, we observe a gradual deepening in the shade of the skin: there is a very perceptible difference between the colour of the natives of Drummond's Island and those of Byron's Island and again, the difference is still greater in those of Pleasant Island, altho' very nearly in the same parallel of Latitude, and within 10' of the same meridian. This progressive darkening is continued in those of Solomon's Islands, as far as Papua or New Guinea, included between 177° and

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1 Ed. note: Simply called molasses by American whalers.



141° of East Longitude, a space including 46° or 2760 miles. Within this limit is observed great diversity in the persons and ornaments, in the weapons, the canoes, the language, & in the tonsure.”

...  
 “31 [Dec.]. ... The last day of the year 1841... We have got near 900 bbls. the past year, which is tolerably well as times go. What will 1842 do for us?”

...  
 “1842 May 2. Blows very hard, a gale of wind, at least! Passed some fo the Carolina Group, called "Thirteen Islands," which are level with the water's edge, like most of the Islands of this (numerous) Archipelago, and are covered with verdure. We hove to for the night, it being hazardous for ships to run through these islands in the dark, there being so many, so low and small, & having coral reefs extending from them in every direction to unknown distances; these lands being but imperfectly explored, and of course defective on the charts.”

“It is very thick rainy weather. Our position just now, is far from pleasant, for the wind is very strong—howls & whistles through the rigging, as the sea runs fearfully high; so that the ship is driving with the wind and sea, we know not exactly whether in safety or otherwise! We are heading for Guam (NNEJ) as our attempts to get to the Westward were vain & tiresome!! Our destination was originally Timor. The wind has otherwise determined, & so, we [will] again visit the Mariannes.”

...  
 “6. Stiff breezes with light showers; clear & sometimes sunny. Steering N by W. There is a good deal of anxiety manifested by the Capt. & Mates & Crew to get into Port, so as to obtain refreshments. The Skipper, especially, complains of inanition! Six long months and never been over the side! the living—the food, too. Lord help us! [Life at sea,] instead of ministering to vigor and health is destructive of both! For my part, I verily believe my blood is as brine and the whole animal fabric, saline! A man had better never been born, who is to prosecute these voyages for life! Yet, there are men who say they like it! He had better put a mill-stone round his neck and throw himself into the sea.”

“7. Moderate breezes and calm. Steering W.N.W. At 3 p.m., saw the Island of Guam, bearing W.N.W. Steered along its S.W. side, rounding Cocos Island.”

“8. Fresh breezes, clear and fine. Steered along the west end of Guam for the harbour, where we anchored at 8:30 p.m. in the outer harbour, in 25 fathoms water and 42 fathoms chain cable. An American barque (**Fortune**) at anchor. The west point bore W. by S., the north point NE and the Fort S.E. Accompanied the Skipper to Sumay, where, at the Pilot's house, we learnt the **Rochester**, Kenney, had that morning left the harbour; that the **Surprise**, Miller, 10 months from London, has not long gone out; also, that Capt. Bliss in the **Matilda** had called in a boat, his ship standing on and off,

not long from England, all of which we are too late for, else most likely some of us would have had letters.”

“9. Fine weather. Went (A.M.) ashore at Sumay with the Skipper, walked thence to Agat, about four miles distant, through a jungly forest, it being cool & pleasant, but in walking back, about meridian [noon], it was intolerably sultry and oppressive—not a breath of air. We dined at Mr. Roberto’s house, and went on ‘oararo supper. There was no Padre at Agat—Manuel had gone to Rota, and Ciriaco was in Agaña; so we found no Entertainer.”

...  
 “14. The Mate and I go ashore. The Larboard watch ashore on liberty. I walked to Agaña and on the way had to wade up to the middle in water, the cocoa-nut bridges having been washed away by the late rains and not yet replaced, nor likely to be for some time, by these inactive dilatory Spaniards in authority. Dined & supped at Don José Martínez’ with Mr. Bristowe. Slept at Narciso Ada’s where I purpose boarding. Went to Padre Bernardo’s house to attend sick man.”

“15. Visited the Commissary [i.e. Felix Calvo] who presented me with a number of shells, also Mr. Anderson, &c.

“16. Being Sunday with these people, in the afternoon, before the Commissary’s house, were cockfights. We were there, & as usual the Padre, Secretary, &c. I was told several of the cocks belonged to the Governor, who fought them by stealth, his love of money, being excessive, overcoming all sense of dignity and propriety.”

“17. Visited the storekeeper and wife who are invalids; gave them medicine. They are Spaniards and very affable hospitable people. Thence to Padre Bernardo’s house at the College, where I partook refreshment. In the afternoon, about 3 p.m., went to the Commissary’s and was joined by Capt. Gibson and Mr. Anderson. It is a feast-day. Mr. Bristowe went on board the ship; had china-pulver off the Commissary.”<sup>1</sup>

“18. Visited storekeeper and wife, Padre Bernardo, and Maria Dolores. The latter a young and interesting female. The American Ship **St. George** anchored in the outer harbour. She had been beating off the harbour for many days, against a foul wind, & on account of the injured state of the rudder, could not make way to windward. Her rudder was damaged in a violent gale of wind, experienced in Latitude 28° North; she was then in company with the **Surprise**, but parted at that time & did not see her again.”<sup>2</sup>

1 Ed. note: Rather *quina en polvo*, or quinine powder, from the bark of the Peruvian chinona tree.

2 We have since learnt, that the **Surprise** lost the whole of her masts & otherwise seriously damaged, & was obliged to rig jury masts & run to Manilla.

They described it as a Typhoon. It was about the same time that we had the blow, at the Carolinas.”

“The natives of these sultry regions seldom stir out during the "heat of the day" and I have read somewhere an adage (Portuguese, I believe) that says, none but "dogs and Englishmen" are seen without the house at such a time!<sup>1</sup> It is an universal custom with the inhabitants of inter-tropical climes, to which Europeans soon become reconciled, to sleep, or in common parlance, take a siesta, in the middle of the day, directly after dinner, as they dine early. Their meals never exceed three for the day, breakfast, dinner & supper, at which they eat hearty as far as I have observed. The sultriness does not seem to affect their appetites.”

“1842 May 19. Visited my patients, and among the rest, a young man in a deep decline—a consumption that will speedily carry him off: his name was Ada, he spoke English, having been to England in a whaler. I started for the Point, on a lazy, stupid, sleepy beast of a mule, not wishing to ford the rivers, the bridges not being replaced.”

...  
“21. On board. Went on board the American ship and had supper. Her cabins presented the remains of former grandeur, she having been a "Liner," built only for seven years; but at least 14 years old, already! It is what is called a "Temperance ship," no grog fore and aft; a jug filled with "swichel" as Jonathan calls it, made of Vinegar or Lemon-juice sweetened with molasses and regular "cock-lip stuff, I guess," was placed on the table, with common mugs, which, as they became empty, were sedulously replenished! The English sailor, not infected with teetotalism, calls it "bloody belly vengeance," & prefers the scuttle-butt.”

“22. Went again aboard the Yankee ship with Mr. Bristowe, where we spent the evening. Several of their men were drunk, and a dark man, a Portuguese, was put in irons, for mutinous conduct, & eventually put ashore.”

“23. Weighed anchor at 6 a.m. and stood away from Port Apra. Were towed out of the harbour, assisted by two boats from the **St. George**. Capt. Roberto came on board. Standing towards the Bay of Agat, with intention to examine the ground, and if suitable, to cast anchors, as we require wood, which is abundant here. The Captain went in a boat, and sounded the Bay & found eligible ground, and the anchor was let go, in 8 fathoms water, with 30 fs. chain cable.. The north point of Guam bears N.W. 1/2 N, south point S by W 1/2 W, the church on shore E by S. P.M. went ashore with the Skipper and visited Padre Ciriaco, an excellent old man. Returned on board to supper. Antonio Emanuel (Black Jack) was despatched in a boat (about 9 p.m.) with orders to bring off two women, secretly and without noise, who would await his coming. He came aboard, accompanied with the two women and a man—mother, daughter, & father!

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1 Ed. note: The more usual expression is "mad dogs and Englishmen."

The father, a party to his wife, & daughter's prostitution; and the mother to the daughter's! What a family! Yet, they regard it with the utmost indifference! In these countries, the natives practise it, in common! such is the force of habit! The Mate had the mother, the Skipper had the daughter, a young thing, with Chinese features & dark. The mother is a middle-aged and rather good-looking, & speaks English; she is a bad woman."

"24. On shore after breakfast with the Captain. Dined at Padre Ciriaco's, returned on board to supper. The strangers [i.e. prostitutes] aboard & quite at home, in their best bibs and tuckers!"

"25. On board. The Padre Ciriaco dined and supped with us; put him ashore in the ship's boat. Sent me off a bag of arrow-root."

"26. On board. Before daylight, the strangers were bundled into a boat by the Skipper's orders, and sent ashore! He had become tired, and perhaps ashamed of them! The mother was unwell at the time & complained bitterly of the unfeelingness that directed their so unceremonious removal. The Padre sent me a letter to deliver to the Alcalde of Rota."

"The former Governor was very strict, and any fact of misconduct on the part of a female was severely punished, either by imprisonment, fine, or banishment! Now, the reverse has rule, concubinage is as common among the native women, as can well be, and the evil is, the Governor & Padres, the very persons to repress it, are the first to give encouragement & countenance, by keeping domestic ones!!"

"May 27. At 6 a.m., under weigh from the Bay of Agat for Umata. Had to lower three boats to tow the ship, being becalmed near the land. A light breeze sprung up about 10 a.m. from the S.E. & made all sail. At 4 p.m. anchored in Umata Bay in 20 fs. water, and 45 fs. chain cable. Cocos Isl. bears S by W, Fort on the rock S by E, the north point NNW."

"28. Aboard all day. About 9 p.m. we were startled by a sudden shaking of the ship, or vibration that shook her very framework, accompanied with a deep hollow rumbling sound, like successive peals of distant thunder, which continued for the space of two minutes. We had a number of ducks on deck and they ran quacking aft, in the great affright and perturbation! We had no doubt it was an earthquake, and on enquiry ashore next day, it was confirmed, for the Padre at Merizo, a short stout, jolly fat friar, laughingly told us, that the pigs ran for protection into the church! doubtless imploring the Saints for protection! for the people as well as the pigs were astounded with a trembling of the earth and a terrible sound. It showed, however, the pigs were probably better Catholics than their masters, and at any rate had a wish to serve the Priest, for he told us, he levied a contribution in the name of the protecting saints, upon the pigs, who had

sought and found those tutelar guardians within hallowed precincts! Orare priestcraft founded upon the credulity of dark untutored people!”

“29. Directly after dinner went with the Skipper and Don Antonio, the Alcalde, to Merizo, on a visit to Padre José, who received us with much courtesy, kindness & hospitality. We supped at his house, and stayed there all night. I purposed a stroll through the village (it being a fine moonlit night) before retiring to rest, but was stopped by the Patrol, big black fellows with long pikes, who stated strangers were not permitted to wander about at night. I slept little, having to lie on the bare boards or rather bamboos, forming the floor, with mosquitos flaying one alive! I awaited for daylight with the utmost anxiety.”

“30. At daylight we walked to Umata, a distance of three miles, along the beach accompanied with Don Antonio & Marianne. <sup>1</sup> Padre José dined aboard of us, and returned soon after in his own boat ashore. P.M., ashore at the Alcalde's. On board to supper.”

“31. At 1 p.m. hove short and got under weigh from Umata Bay and made sail to the north, having all our wood & water aboard. Don José [rather Juan], a Guam native left us, and we shipped in his place a native of St. Helena, to which place he is anxious to get. Moderate winds and cloudy. Found stock very dear at Umata.”

“Umata is a pretty little village, where ships going to or coming from Japan are accustomed to take in their water, and where refreshments such as pigs, fowls, the sweet potato, yam, oranges, limes, bananas &c. are to be had in barter for handkerchiefs and shirts. The Alcalde Don Antonio is a very obliging old man, and will grant every facility to masters of ships in obtaining produce. Ships desirous of giving their crews liberty ashore generally anchor in Fort Apra Harbour, as it is well protected, whereas in this place it is an open roadstead, and exposed to the SW winds which in the Autumn prevail a good deal & blow sometimes with great violence.”

...  
“1842 June 3. Gentle breezes and fine. Close to the Island of Rota. Directly after breakfast, the Captain and I went ashore. On landing we were met by the Alcalde Don Cecilio and the Padre Manuel; the latter conducted us to his house in company with the former. Dined at the Alcalde's, the Padre being of the party. After dinner the Priest with the Skipper went in the boat to a distant part of the Island where the Padre had a *rancho* [farm], while Don Cecilio and I walked the distance, over a rugged path, exposed to a vertical sun! We returned in a canoe, paddled by one man, edging along the surf, that broke with stunning violence upon the black rocks that line the coast. Bought of the Padre 4 large pigs for \$10. We took supper at the Padre's. He had brought to his house, I presume for our amusement, a fiddler, a guitar and piano players, & several

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1 Ed. note: Mariano, the Guam native they had recruited the year before.

young women and men to dance to the music—Spanish fandangoes, of which the natives seem untiringly fond. The piano is one that at a broker's in England would not fetch the amount of a lawyer's fee! I believe they play by the Ear. A wooden partition only, separated his apartments from the church, yet the Padre played and sang profane songs, danced himself and set others to dance. He is young and portly—a favorite with the women, to whom his good looks recommend him, and has about as much religion as he can conveniently stow in his pockets! We slept at his house. He had an elderly woman and her daughter to live with him, ostensibly as housekeepers, but comprehending other duties! the girl is young and pretty, and the mother, an old sinner, past date, is willing to compromise her daughter's honor, to her own selfishness and ease.”

“4. Light winds and fine. At peep o’day and before the sun, I arose much refreshed, and free from the racking headache caused by the sultry walk of yesterday. Breakfasted at Don Cecilio’s. He has a fine family of five grown-up daughters and one son: the eldest daughter had a phagadenic ulcer (*Noli me tangere*)<sup>1</sup> on the nose, which it had well nigh demolished. Requested I would give them ointment to dress it with. It appears a disease endemic on these Islands as I have observed several natives noseless. The *fefe*, or Elephantiasis, I have seen among them; also, the *Psoriasis gyrata*, which covers the whole body sometimes, and gives them a resemblance to fish from the partial desquamation of the cuticle, & it is attended with a most disagreeable *fætor* [stench]; also, spontaneous ulcers upon the legs, with edema, & great constitutional debility, evidently a declining state of the health, and it often destroys. Likewise *dyspnea*, particularly in young people, that frequently terminates in consumption. The wretched creatures are destitute of all remedial agents, or means of relief, however temporary, unless we except what may be furnished by ignorant doting old women. Returned aboard P.M. and made sail.”

“5. Gentle winds and clear weather. Steering along the west side of Saypan distant about two miles. Observed the settlement of Carolina natives to have greatly increased; saw canoes. The Island of Alamagan in sight, bearing North. Heading to the Northward & Eastward.”

“6. Light winds and fine weather. Two boats were sent ashore on Alamagan, a broad-based pyramidal rock, to obtain cocoa-nuts, which grow on the shelf of level rocks that front the sea. Brought off cowrie shells, several crabs, and a lobster, which they pulled out of holes in the rocks. It is uninhabited.”

...  
“8. Light airs and calms. Pagan Island, not far off. There is a volcano on its N.E. end, sending forth dense volumes of smoke; its sides are channeled by molten lava that at some time had overflowed to leeward of the crater, whence the smoke & sulphurous

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1 Ed. note: Latin phrase meaning: Touch me not.

vapour is blown, the vegetation is withered and blasted. It is a large island, very fertile, & is composed of a great deal of level low land, suited for pasturage and well stocked with trees and plantations of cocoanut trees. There were formerly inhabitants, but there are none now; wild pigs used to abound but they are destroyed by the dogs. Several Islands in sight; we are running down the whole of the Ladrone Group, the wind being favorable for that purpose, which it rarely is. Pagan bears SSE."

"9. Light winds and calms. Pagan and Agrigan Islands in sight to windward, or at sunset they bore respectively N. by E. 1/2 E. & S.E. In the evening observed a large fire upon a hill on the weather side of Agrigan, evidently a signal light. We were full of conjecture as to who the people were, not being aware before that there were inhabitants; as Middleton, an Englishman who formerly lived upon the Island was taken away in a small vessel, by order of the Governor at Guam, who was desirous to remove a man who supplied a great many ships with pigs, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, melons, &c., rendering it unnecessary to call at Guam for stock, to the prejudice of the people."

"10. Light winds and fine weather. It was today, and not yesterday as stated, that the signal light was seen on Agrigan. Near to, & to leeward of the Islands."

"11. Moderate breezes and fair. At 8 a.m., sent two boats (2 & 4) ashore to procure cocoa-nuts. Were directed to pull towards where they had seen the fire the night before. On landing were met by two white men—English—and several Carolina natives of both sexes. There were two whites, nine men & nine women, and two children—Carolinas; most of them advanced in years. They said they had lived upon the Island for five years, having come from Pagan in a canoe where they formerly lived; but were necessitated to abandon on account of the water, which was scanty or brackish."

"They stated, that about 15 months ago, in consequence of its blowing tremendously the sea rose to an unprecedented height, and made an irruption upon the land during the darkness of night. They described it as most awful and terrible, the fierce howling of the wind, and the roaring and dashing of the advancing waters! which reached their dwellings, and they fled in the gloom, terror-stricken, and with difficulty made their escape up the sides of the mountain. The light of day revealed to them the tempest still raging with unabated fury, and their habitations and all they contained, washed away! a serious deprivation to people like them. Trees were torn up by the irresistible force of wind and wave, to an extent of one or two miles inland, to which distance the sea had risen, a thing never before known, and must have resulted from a typhoon, which nothing can withstand. By a singular destiny, these two men ran away from the **Coquette**, a whale-ship from London, many years ago (and have remained on the Islands ever since) and settled on Pagan, I believe, the ship then going on a cruise to Japan, where she was lost, as nothing was ever heard of her, after she got down there. It is supposed, she must have foundered in a typhoon that blow with irresistible force. These two white men are known—one being thin, pock-marked, short, and a talkative young man, with

cockney patois; the other a more staid character, and characterized by his north-country accent. Are desirous to leave the Islands. They necessarily lead a lazy inactive life, associating or rather pigging with a set of naked, ignorant barbarians! What a life for a white man to lead! instead of employing himself in instructing the heathen in the knowledge and arts of civilized life, he debases himself to their level by wandering about naked like themselves!!”

[By August 1842, after a spell of whaling off the Bonins, the Gipsy was back at the Marianas.]

“28. 1842 August 23. Moderate and clear weather. At daylight 2 leagues from the Island of Rota. At 4:30 a.m., Guam in sight to the South. Light squalls and showers of rain on drawing near the land. Hoisted the English Ensign at the mizzen-peak as we passed the town of Agaña. Bent the larboard chain and put the anchor over the bows all ready for letting go. At 5 p.m. let go the anchor in the Bay of Umata, Guam, in 15 fs. water, and 40 fs. chain cable. The Fort on Rock bearing N.E., the northernmost point NNW, and Cocos Island South. Tilagui, a fat portly native, the Governor’s mayordomo, came off in a canoe, to write a despatch for transmission to the Governor, signifying our arrival.”

“24. Light airs and fine weather. Employed watering. Went ashore before and after dinner with the Skipper. Our headquarters are Don Antonio’s house. Exercise on land is essential to our health, and makes great alteration for the better in one’s temper & feelings. John Dobey put off duty for insolence and unbecoming behaviour.”

“25. Moderate and fine weather. At 9 a.m. hove up the anchor and made sail from the Bay of Umata to the South. The reason of our leaving so soon is the drunken, riotous, and noisy conduct of the crew from drunkenness; they purchased the Aguardiente ashore and smuggled it aboard. There is much required to be done to the rigging which must be deferred. Guam, at sunset, bore NE by E.”

...  
The Gipsy went through the Carolines without seeing any. They were on their homeward voyage.

...  
“Thus on the 19th of March 1843, terminated the voyage (2nd) of the **Gipsy**, South-Sea Whaler, after an absence of 3 years, 4 months, 24 days; during nearly the whole time, (permitting only a short period every six or eight months to refresh the crew, in Port) we were at Sea cruising for whales; and, in the prosecution of the voyage, we run down in straight passage courses 306° of Latitude, or 18,360 miles, and 229° of Longitude, or 13,740 miles, in the whole 32,100 miles! This may be doubled, at the least, to allow for the space run over during the cruising, as we were constantly on the move, going to and fro, and from one place to another, so that we must have run over a line of sea, upwards of 64,000 miles in length!”



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**Docment 1840J**

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**The Gipsy—The narrative of Thomas Smith**

*Source: Thomas W. Smith. A Narrative of the Life, Travels and Sufferings of Thomas W. Smith (Boston, 1844).*

*Note: The name of the ship is not given; neither is the year of the visit, which could have taken place much earlier than 1840.*

**Chapter XV. [His 12th voyage].**

[The author was aboard a London whaler that went to New Zealand, before cruising off the Gilberts, later drifting towards the New Hebrides. While cruising off Isabel Island, in company with the whaler **John Bull**, the latter ship was almost cut off by the natives.]

...

The whale season being over at this island [Isabel], we proceeded to Japan to take the approaching season there. On our passage we ran through the midst of the Caroline isles, continuing our course until we arrived at the Island of Guam, a Spanish island and the largest of the Ladrões. It was expedient for us to put into this port to recruit the ship with fresh provisions. The island of Guam is nearly 100 miles long. It is high and mountaneous and its surface is covered with woods. Its chief produce is rice and cocoa-nuts, and these are scanty, not being sufficient to sustain its population, which are often in the winter season in a state of starvation. The island, in former years, abounded with deer, but since it has become a Spanish colony, the introduction of fire-arms has nearly destroyed them. The natives still continue to hunt them in the winter season, and to perform their work more effectually they build small huts in the mountains, to shelter them from the prevalent rains during the continuation of their hunting excursions.

During the colonization of the island by the Spaniards, civilization has not made much progress among the natives. The natives of this island, notwithstanding that they seem to regard the popish religion, are in reality surpassed in civilization by many tribes of savages, who have never heard the sound of the gospel.

Having recruited the ship, we departed for Japan and proceeded along the whole of the Ladrone isles. One of these islands is ornamented with one of nature's light-houses

[i.e. a volcano], which exhibits a beautiful, a brilliant light from the summit of the mount, which seldom fails of attracting the attention of the passing mariner.

At last we made the long expected land of Japan, off of which we anticipated filling our ship with sperm oil...

...

[The ship went back to the New Hebrides, later Rotuma, and New Zealand where he narrates a battle between two Maori tribes.]

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**Document 1840K**

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## **The voyage of the British whaler *Sussex*, 1840-1844, by Henry Foster**

*Source: Henry Foster. Recollections of a South Sea Whaler (Gravesend, 1877).*

*Note: This document is bound with another entitled "Memoir of James Anderson", edited by George Newman. It covers the voyage of the British whaler *Sussex*, Capt. Hammer, 1840-44. This ship was in Micronesian waters in April 1843. In 1881, Mr. Foster was appointed Pilot of the royal yacht *Victoria and Albert*, a position he kept until the end of 1897, when he retired. An article which appeared in the *New Penny Magazine* of that year tells the story of his 60 years at sea. See also Doc. 1843J for the log-book by Captain Hammer.*

### **Recollections of a South Sea Whaler, by Henry Foster, Trinity Pilot, Dover**

**Dover, 17 October 1876**

Dear Friend,

I received your letter of the 11th inst., in which you request me to give you an abstract of the voyage of the *Sussex* whaler (in which I sailed with your dear brother)<sup>1</sup> extending over a period of four years and five months. I will endeavour to comply with your wishes as far as it is in my power to do so.

The first time I ever saw your brother, was the day on which we shipped hands (Feb. 1840). He was about 17 years of age, and shipped as O.S. [ordinary seaman]. I was 13, and just bound apprentice. I was at once drawn towards him as by an irresistible impulse, and I may as well say at starting, that I never on any occasion during the time we were together, remember him giving me a cross word. I may also say that I learned more of my duty as a seaman from him than I ever did from anyone else; in return for which kindness I taught him navigation, which I was well able to do, having assisted at a Nautical School for some time before leaving home; so you see we must necessarily have been much in each other's company, and it is a pleasure to me to speak or write in praise of one whom [I] really loved as a brother—indeed, he was respected by all on board, from the Captain downwards.

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<sup>1</sup> The brother of the addressee was James Anderson.

When I wrote an account of this voyage about 15 years ago [1881], I did not think I should ever have been called upon to speak of any of the crew, but you will see on referring to that account, that your dear brother takes a prominent place throughout the voyage, which must enhance the value in the estimation of his friends who are left to mourn the loss of one so dear to them as I am sure he must have been.

...

We were about 8 weeks buffeting off Cape Horn, during which time the weather was so severe that the Captain [Hammer] lost his sight for about a month, through cold, exposure and long watching, and the navigation of the ship devolved upon the Chief Mate...

...

I had a very narrow escape from drowning one morning. The Steward sent me forward with the ingredients for making a "pease pudding". The ship was lying-to under a close-reefed top-sail, and a tremendous sea was running. When within a few feet of the windlass, I saw a very heavy sea coming—all broken water—and I felt sure it would come right aboard; so I dropped everything I had in my hands and rushed towards a handspike that was sticking in the windlass and the next minute, was carried right out through the broken bulwarks, handspike and all. I clenched the handspike in despair, and never shall I forget that dreadful moment—it seemed as if every incident that had transpired in my whole life appeared before me, quick as lightning's flash. Providentially the Cook saw me and, rushing out of the galley as the vessel gave the next lee lurch, caught hold of me by the shirt-collar, and pulled me into the galley more dead than alive, for the weather was intensely cold, and of course every rag on me was saturated. The watch on the quarterdeck came running forward and shouting "Where's the boy?" making sure I was drowned, as they had not seen the cook drag me in. As soon as I could stand, I went aft, expecting a great deal of sympathy; but instead of that, I received a good reprimand for going along the lee side which was against orders.

...

[After a short visit to Juan Fernandez Island, they followed the coast of South America as far as the off-shore ground, which extended from Valparaiso to Panama and also 400 miles off shore, says the author. After spending about 2 months near the Gallapagos Islands, the ship visited Tumbes in Peru. Then the ship was off to the Marquesas, the Society Is. and Samoa. Afterwards, they went to the Boscawen and Keppel Islands, then to the Duke of Clarence Island.]

#### **[First visit to the Gilbert Islands]**

After refitting here, and getting wood and water we proceeded westward to the King-smill Group. These islands are of coral formation, and as there is no safe anchorage, we cruised among them for 10 months, and took about 20 whales. The islands are very low, not being visible more than about 10 miles. The only thing that grows here in perfection is the cocoa-nut. The natives build their huts with the trunks, and roof them with the leaves—they also make beautiful matting of these leaves.

But the most extraordinary thing is their **canoes**, which are made of hundreds of small pieces of wood sewn together with line made from the husk of the cocoanut. The formation of the canoe is very ingenious. It is very narrow and cannot stand in the water without an outrigger, as one side is flat and the other round, like a whale-boat cut in two lengthwise—the round side being always to leeward, and the outrigger to windward on both tracks, and about 10 feet from the hull which is from 16 to 20 feet long. Both ends of the canoe are sharp, so that when they wish to go in an opposite direction, instead of turning the canoe round, they merely shift the sail and steer with a paddle from the other end. The sail is triangular and made of matting, and they will in fine weather, beat to windward with the fastest ships.

The principal island for trading is Byron's Island;<sup>1</sup> but here, as well as throughout the group, the natives were in the lowest state of degradation and would eagerly barter away their wives and daughters for a few beads or a piece of looking-glass. I do not know how it may be now, but at that time the men went quite naked, but the women generally wore a small apron of seaweed, though some of them were quite naked. They did not tattoo like many other South Sea islanders, but they fought terribly with sharks' teeth spears, and the wounds they inflicted upon each other were horrible to see. They spent much of their time in the water; in consequence of which the skin on some of them became rough, and hung in flakes all over them, giving them a most repulsive appearance. The islands even at that time were swarmed with inhabitants, and many of the children were killed to prevent overcrowding.

On one occasion, while whaling among this group, Anderson's boat got stove, and he remained clinging to it until near midnight before the ship rescued him. The boat's lantern was carried headed up tight in a keg, together with tinderbox and candles; had it not been for this, he most likely would not have lived till morning. He was never able to swim much, and it has often surprised me how he was saved at all.

#### [How whaling was done]

I believe the harpoon is now fired from a gun into the whale's body, so that the men are not compelled to approach so near; but in my time the boats went so close alongside that the harpooner standing upright in the bows, drove the harpoon by sheer force

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1 Nautilus Shoal, a coral reef near Drummond's Island, one of this group, was the scene of the wreck of the Corsair whaler on the night of Jan'y 13th 1834. (Three of the crew were known to me, being natives of Deal.) The crew were severely handled by the natives on the following day while endeavouring to obtain some bread and water from the wreck; but they succeeded in getting a small quantity, and after setting fire to the ship, escaped to sea in the boats where they were chased for some distance by the natives in their canoes. The Captain and all his boat's crew got murdered by the natives, and one boat in charge of the ship's doctor got separated from the others and after 17 days reached Ascension [Pohnpei], one of the Caroline group. The other three boat crews, after 26 days of unheard-of privation and suffering, reached one of the Ladrone Islands. The third mate (Mr. Cartwright) who was in charge of one of these three boats, and Mr. J. W. Bowbyes, one of the crew in the doctor's boat, in the Royal Alfred Institution were afterwards in water...

of arm alone into the body of the monster, who, infuriated by the pain, lashed the sea into foam like a boiling cauldron and one blow of whose tail would, and often did, dash to atoms the boat which danced like a cockleshell upon the scene of action.

While speaking upon this topic, I will try to describe the equipment of a whaling boat, and to the uninitiated it must seem marvelous that so small a boat (27 feet in length) can contain so much gear, and yet leave room for the men to work. Its complement are 6 oars, mast and sails, 5 paddles, 5 harpoons, 3 lances, 1 compass, water keg, lantern keg, 3 flags, 1 blubber spade, 2 knives, one axe, 1 mallet, 2 tubs of line, short warps, lance warps, 2 droghs [?]<sup>1</sup> and 6 men.

On board the ship, there is the cutting-in gear which usually takes the crew all the passage out to fit ready for use, as it must be done well. There are several large fluke ropes, to pass round the whale's tail (generally called the flukes) which is nearly 20-feet wide in a large whale. The rope is passed into the blow-port and secured to the bowsprit-heel and gradually slacked away as the blubber is taken off, which is done in a similar manner to paring an apple, as the whale is hauled round and round by the windlass as the blubber is taken off, until it comes to the tail, which is hove in with the last piece. The blubber is lowered down the main hatchway, and cut up into small pieces called horse pieces, and these are afterwards pitched up on deck to be minced up into thin slices for boiling in the pots.

The top of the forepart of a sperm whale's head is called the case, which is a vast reservoir of spermaceti in a liquid state, which is bailed out in buckets and boiled first, and stowed in separate casks. It is the well-known material for candle making. The blubber is taken off in pieces or strips about 20 feet long, and 5 or 6 wide, according to the thickness, which varies from 6 inches to 2 or even 3 feet near the hump, which is the thickest part.

[Figure: Use that of p. 769 in Starbuck]

The **sperm whale** varies in length from about 35 feet to 90 in an old bull. The sperm whale spouts very regularly about once a minute, and when he goes down (which is called turning flukes) he throws his tail out of the water, and the time he stays down varies from 20 to 80 minutes—the larger the whale, the longer the time. Sometimes the whale breaches, that is, jumps nearly out of the water. This happens after a long stay under water, when he comes up with great velocity, and at such times he may be seen for nearly 20 miles. Whales often go in schools of 200 or more, but they are generally small, while lone whales are usually very large.

The cachalot or sperm whale has a large swallow, but no cavity in the mouth when the jaws are closed. On the contrary, the Greenland whale has a very small swallow, but a mouth in which many men might stand. The sperm whale feeds on squid—a large kind of scuttle fish or octopus—while the Greenland whale subsists on the animalcu-

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1 Ed. note: Perhaps boat grapnels, or tow lines.

lae contained in the water which is constantly passing between the immense slabs of black bone which are fringed with a fibrous substance to catch the prey, which is too small to admit even a small fish.

When a boat's crew have succeeded in killing a whale—if there are any more in the vicinity—they immediately stick a whift or small flag into the dead whale, and give chase after another. This is done in order that those on board the ship may know what progress the boats are making, and how to steer to pick up the dead whales.

Sometimes a ship gets becalmed several miles from a large whale which has been killed; in which case the 4 boats unite, and, after passing a rope through a hole cut in the nib end of the monster's nose, take it in tow; and in this way they manage to get it along at the rate of from 1 to 2 miles an hour. If night overtakes them before reaching the ship, a glare of light is kept up on board, in the shape of a large ladle full of burning shavings and oil, to guide them. Towing is very hard and exhausting work, but when a large whale is worth nearly 1,000 pounds [sterling], and the men are generally paid by the share, it is some encouragement to work hard.

By the time they get the whale alongside, it may be imagined the men are very hungry; and if there is any possibility of cutting a few steaks from under the blubber of the dead whale, no time is lost in procuring them. They are very nice, chopped up with salt pork and fried in onions; and as I was the youngest on board, it generally fell to my lot at such times to chop the sausage meat with a tomahawk, and keep the frying pan well supplied.

Everyone has his work during cutting in the blubber. The first and second Mates are on the stages cutting the blubber from the whale as the crew heave the carcass round with the windlass. The 4 boat-steerers are at the gangways, attending to the guys and tackles, while the Captain superintends the whole process. The carpenter is employed in grinding the spades which are frequently gapped by striking a bone. The pole or handle of the spade is about 20 feet long. I was generally occupied in turning the grindstone, and killing sharks between whiles with a blubber spade. It takes nearly a day to cut-in a large whale, and 2 or 3 to boil him out. The boiling-out is carried on night and day without intermission, the men working during the night by the light of the fires. There is such a blaze kept up that the ship appears at a distance as if on fire. Just before bailing out the pot (which is done with a large ladle) the scraps are skimmed off with a copper strainer and thrown into a large tub to be reserved for fuel to boil out the next lot of blubber; each whale thus finding himself in fuel. If it were not so, the ship would hardly carry sufficient coals to boil out her cargo.

**[Almost eaten by a shark]**

About this time an incident occurred which I shall never remember without a shudder. I had just left the wheel and James Anderson was at the mast-head, when I jumped overboard for a swim before going below, and was some distance ahead of the ship, when Anderson gave the alarm that a shark was approaching. I immediately struck out for the ship which, as I was a very strong swimmer, I soon reached; but my rope had

been hauled in by the cook, when the Mate, seeing my danger, ran forward and threw me another, which I at once seized, but as it had been lying in the greasy scuppers, it kept slipping through my fingers as they hauled in, and, had it not been for the knot at the end which enabled me to hold on, I should doubtless have furnished the shark with a dinner for he seemed bent upon having me, and his head actually followed me some distance out of the water as I was hauled up, more dead than alive from fright! Yet, will it be believed? though it is nevertheless true that, while the shark was lying alongside, which he did for some minutes, one of our Marquesa natives actually jumped right on him, feet first, and scared him right away.

My friend Anderson has since then told the story to his wife in my presence, and stated that, seeing the whole affair as he did from aloft, he thought it impossible that I could escape the jaws of that savage monster.

Two of our crew absconded at Byron's Island, so we returned to the Navigators [Samoa] to recruit and refit before going to Japan; and we all looked forward to another visit to the kind Samoans and their lovely islands with much pleasure.

...  
From Samoa we proceed west, through the Kingsmills again, and in about a month, arrived on the Japan whaling ground, where we cruised in company with the **Fawn** and the **Samuel Enderby**, of London, both well-known whalers. The latter was a beautiful model, and a very fast sailer.

...  
[They soon experienced a typhoon, in which the ship **Eleanor**, Captain Barnett, was also caught. Both ships later proceeded to the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>1</sup> The **Sussex** went to the Marquesas a second time to return some natives to their home island, then to the Society Islands.]

At length we made the Kingsmills again for the third time, touching at Ocean [Banaba] and Pleasant [Nauru] Islands on our way; then passing through Henderson's [Tuamotu] archipelago, we came to an island called Strong's Island [Kosrae], at that time under the rule of the famous chief King George.

#### [Visit to Kosrae in 1843]

Strong's Island possesses a magnificent harbour surrounded by coral reefs, the passage through which is very narrow; but as there were 4 other whalers inside, we were soon towed in with the assistance of their boats. This harbour was the scene of a terrible massacre about a year before, and it was remarkable how it came to light. Capt. Rounds,<sup>2</sup> who was a very intelligent man, had been lying here about 4 months, and had shipped 2 of the natives to act as interpreters in buying provisions, etc., when one day

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1 Ed. note: The **Eleanor** had already visited Honolulu in June 1841, as she was reported there by the Hudson's Bay Co. ship **Barque Cowlitz**.

2 Ed. note: Captain of the Canadian whaler **Pacific** of St. John, New Brunswick.



one of them said to him: "Cap'n, why you waste so much time looking for whales, when here big ship full of it" (oil)?" Upon the Captain interrogating him as to his meaning, he disclosed the whole affair, which was as follows:

The ship **Harriet** (whaler) of London, had put in here for wood and water—this was in '42—and one day, as they had no suspicion of the natives, nearly all hands went on shore shooting, leaving only one boat's crew on board the ship. The temptation was too strong for the islanders who first surrounded and killed all on shore, and then went off in their canoes to the ship, intending to kill the remainder of the crew; but they, suspecting what had happened, made their escape to sea in a whaleboat and, as far as I know, were never heard of afterwards. All this was done quite unknown to the chief, King George, who was always friendly to whalers, and who on hearing of the massacre, killed 30 of the ring-leaders with his own hand by way of atonement.

Capt. Rounds, on hearing this account from the native, immediately towed into the harbour in company with 2 or 3 other whalers, and there they found the **Harriet** sunk in 6 fathoms of water.<sup>1</sup> With considerable ingenuity they managed to rig a diving-bell out of a cask, and on going down, found the ship had been set fire to. They got her figurehead and several other things which clearly identified the vessel, and then consulted with Capt. Hammer as to the propriety of trying to raise her, and dividing the proceeds between them. It was calculated that there were 1600 barrels of oil in the ship; but after a good deal of scheming, they thought they had better give it up, as it might lead to some difficulty with the owners on reaching home.

I shall never forget my visit to the King's palace on this island. We pulled up a narrow creek for several miles, and at last came to the royal residence, which was a large hut built of poles, and roofed over with matting. There were a dozen natives pounding Cava between two stones (instead of chewing it as they do at Samoa) which made it more acceptable to drink. They cooked fish and yams underground, which were certainly equal to any I ever tasted. This underground cooking is the prevailing made throughout the South Sea islands and is done somewhat as follows:

In the first place, a hole is made in the ground large enough to contain a pig or anything else they may want to cook. This hole is then lined with stones and a fire lighted in it, and kept burning until the stones are rendered very hot. The embers are then removed, and the oven is ready. If a pig is about to be cooked, they remove the entrails and the whole of the inside, and then fill the body with very hot stones, each of which is wrapped up in breadfruit leaves. The body itself is then wrapped in leaves, and placed in the oven, belly downwards, upon some small branches of the breadfruit tree to prevent it [from] coming in contact with the hot stones at bottom of the oven. More branches are then placed over the pig and then a pile of breadfruit and banana leaves, and over that again, a mound of earth is raised to prevent all steam from escaping. In this way a pig may be beautifully cooked in half an hour.

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1 We were the first to bring tidings of the loss of the ship on our arrival in London in 1844. Her owners had heard nothing of her for 3 years.

When the Captain remained on shore all night, he always kept King George or his brother on board as an hostage. On one occasion, I was sent with the king to release his brother who was then on board. We started in a canoe about 12 feet long. I sat in the bow with a pole to keep her off the banks, while the king paddled her along until we reached the ship. He asked me lots of questions about England, and English manners and customs, and seemed quite affable, and although I was in the canoe alone with him for so long, I did not seem to experience any fear of him. The natives spoke very good English (although I never heard how they acquired it) but were cunning and deceitful, and very immoral. They paid great homage to their chief; always falling on their knees and covering their faces with their hands whenever he approached them, and remaining in that position until he was out of sight. We fired off 4 nine-pounders every evening to warn them that if they meant any attack, we were on the alert.

I went with James Anderson into a hut one day where there was a young girl sitting apparently very busy, and curiosity prompted us to see what she was doing. She was getting a light with two pieces of wood. We have all read of this being done, but how is it done? Ah! there's the rub, for the strongest person might rub all day if uninitiated. In every hut a log is kept ready, split down the middle. The operator sits astride the flat surface, and taking a short, pointed piece of hard wood about a foot long, rubs the pointed end rapidly along the grain of the log, thus making a groove, with very small shavings, and as the heat increases with the continued friction, they ignite. A dry leaf is then applied, and fire is obtained; but it requires considerable practice as well as patience to perform this feat.

From this place we proceeded to Japan for the last time, but our cruise was rather short, as we soon completed our cargo. The last whale we caught was such a teaser that I must give a little account of him. The day was very calm, and we lowered 4 boats in chase. The Chief Mate's boat was the first to come up with the whale, and Anderson who was harpooner in this boat, put two irons into him when, almost instantly, he rolled over on his back, threw his lower jaw right across the middle of the boat, and ripped her clean in two, but the men all got clear. The Mate shoved his lance right down the brute's throat and then jumped as far as he could from the half of the boat on which he was standing. Then the second Mate's boat fastened, and soon met the same fate, and the third Mate's followed with a like result. The rascal evidently knew what a whale-boat was, as the sequel will prove. The fourth boat then fastened, headed by John Brown who nearly shared the same fate, but after a while succeeded in killing him. All this time the remainder of the crew on board were getting out spare boats to the rescue, and we did not lose a man; for it is a remarkable fact that sharks never bite the men while the whale is bleeding, but keep following the tracks of the blood. When we got the whale alongside, he was the largest one we ever killed, being nearly 100 feet long, but he yielded very little oil, as he had evidently been fastened to before, as there was a large swelling on his back, as large as a tun butt, which no doubt accounted for the blubber being so thin, and also for his savage attacks on the boats.

**[Visit to the Marianas in 1843]**

It was about April, 1843, we turned the ship's head west for the Ladrone islands, of which Guam is the principal, and the seat of government. Some of them are uninhabited. The first one we visited was Amalgum [Alamagan], on which there was a burning volcano. We landed, and found no inhabitants, but plenty of cocoanuts, and a soil that I should think would grow anything. It seemed a pity that some of the poor overcrowded Kingsmills natives should not be transferred to these islands. I had here another very narrow escape from a shark as I was swimming off to the boat. I just succeeded in getting into her as he came alongside. He was a ground shark, and they are considered as dangerous as any. We were obliged to carry very snug sail when near shore, as the gusts of wind between the mountains are terrific. We did not stay here long, but continued our course westward through the Pellew Islands and along the north coast of New Guinea, which is a very large island, and, at that time, but little known; but from what we could see from the sea-coast, it was very fertile...

...

[The **Sussex** then went on to Gilolo, down the Banda Sea and to Timor where it anchored. From Timor they followed the south side of Java and headed for the Cape of Good Hope and back to England, which they reached in April 1844.]

A most remarkable fact connected with this voyage was that not anyone in the ship, from the Captain downwards, ever received the smallest iota of news from their friends during the whole time, until we arrived in the Downs, when I received a letter from the shore, to say my father had been dead more than three years. Both Anderson and myself had made up our minds to go in the same ship again, but Captain Hammer dying three weeks after reaching home, altered our plans entirely.

...

I expect to be in Gravesend shortly, when I will call and see you.  
Till then, believe me to be  
Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Henry Foster.

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## Document 1840L

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# Sketches of Pohnpei, from the logbook of the Brixton

*Sources: Original sketches by an unknown artist, in the Peabody Museum, Salem: Box 97; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Ponape.*

### Sketches taken from a logbook, by R. L.

They were ripped off from a logbook, kept by someone whose initials were T. T. This man was probably her surgeon. He was serving either aboard the whaler **Brixton**, of London, Captain Elbourne, or aboard the whaler **Mechanic** of St. John, New Brunswick, Captain James Allen. In mid-December 1840, these whalers were at anchor in Ronkiti Harbor at Pohnpei Island. Before that, they had been cruising for whales near Nukunau in the Gilberts. At Pohnpei, both captains joined the author on an expedition to the Manmadol ruins, aboard a native canoe, guided by a European named Thompson, acting as a pilot of Ronkiti.

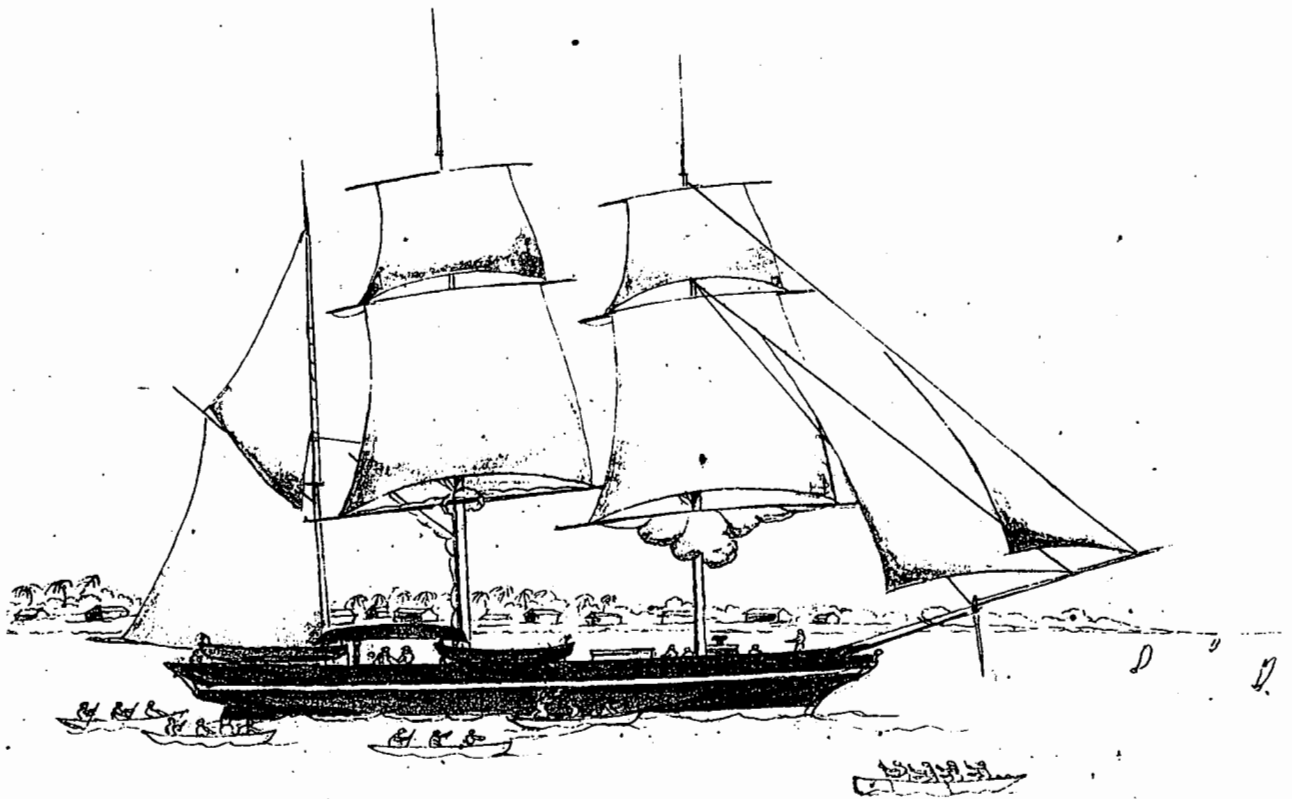
#### **Provenance.**

The sketches (reproduced below) were part of the Estate of Stephen Phillips, a solicitor, and were given to the Peabody Museum in 1972. A check made by Mr. Winfisky, Curator of this museum in the 1980s, confirmed that the logbook (from which the drawings came) was **not** part of the lot, and it may be assumed to have been lost. Also, the reference book by Sherman et al., entitled *Whaling Logbooks* (New York, 1986), does not list any logbook for either the **Brixton** or the **Mechanic**.

#### **The ships in question.**

According to Jones' *Ships Employed in the South Seas Trade*, the **Brixton** was a 319-ton barque which left London at the beginning of July 1838 and returned there at the end of July 1842. From the sketches themselves we learn that she cruised off Nukunau and visited Pohnpei, in 1840 at least. She was reported by the **Active** as having 750 bbls. of oil in August 1840. She had also been reported earlier by the French whaler **Nile** as having 500 bbls. in April 1840.

According to my own research (see Doc. 1840M), the 399-ton ship **Mechanic** was built in St. John in 1836 and was owned by the St. John Mechanics Whale Fishing Company. Since we know that James Allen was her master from Sept. 1838 to January 1842, these dates must correspond to her voyage to the Pacific Ocean.



*H. B. 1840*

**The barque Brixton off Nukunau, Gilberts on 23 July 1840.**

**Sketch N° 1 (previous page).**

*Source: Peabody Museum, Plate 2165, Neg. 14936.*

Caption: The **Brixton** off Byrons Island, Kingsmill Group, S[outh] P[acific]. Natives coming off to Trade.

Comments: From notes added to the edges of the sketch later on, it appears that it was drawn on 23 July 1840 when the ship was in Lat. 1°28' S. and Long. 177°3' E.

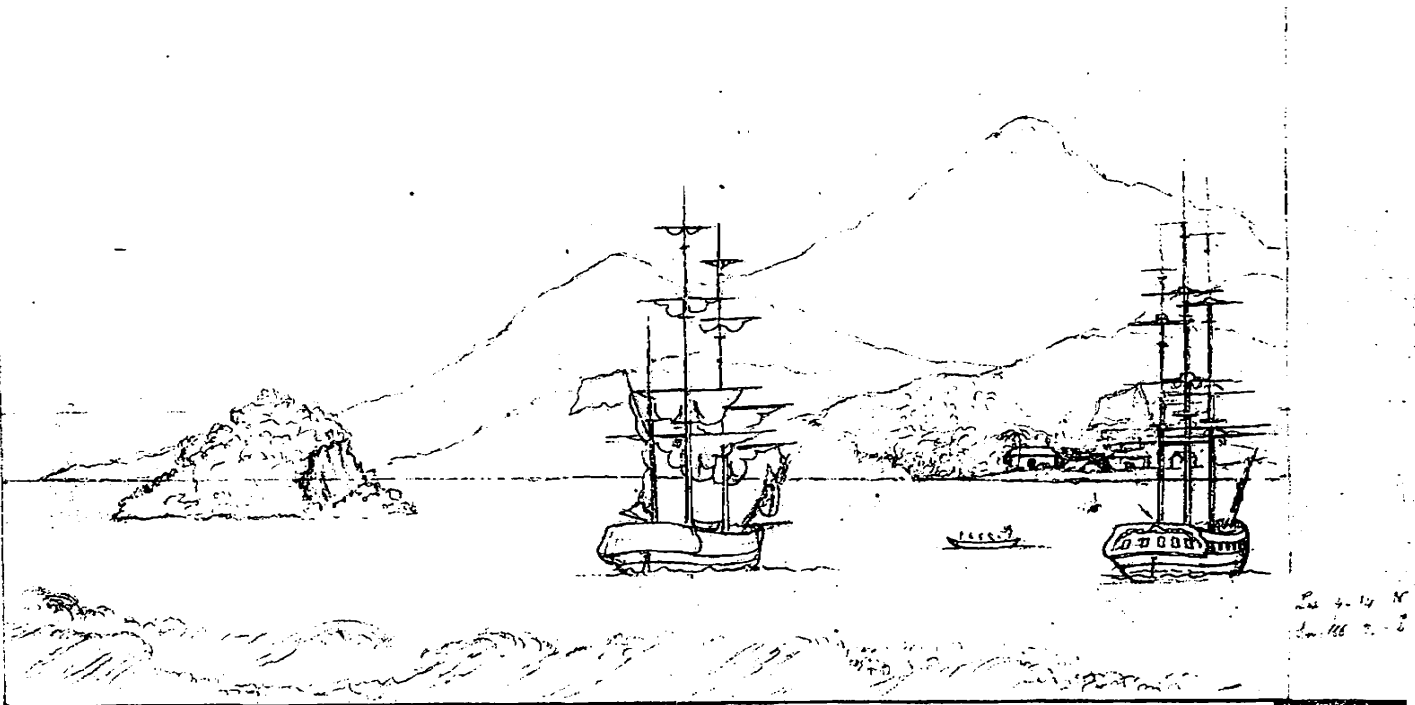
**Sketch N° 2 (next page).**

*Source: Peabody Museum, Plate 2222, Neg. M14925.*

Caption: Harbour of Rola-kiti, Island of Ascencion, New Carolinas Group, S. P.

Notes added later: Barque **Brixton** of London. Dec. 14, 1840. Ship **Mechanic** of St. Johns [sic], N. B. Lat. 7°14' N. Long. 158°8' E.

Comments: Since someone from St. John, New Brunswick, would not have confused it with St. Johns, Newfoundland, I think that the mysterious log-keeper may have been aboard the **Brixton**. It is strange that he recorded the name of the harbor as Rola-kiti, rather than the more common Rona-kiti.



Harbour of Pola-kiti, Islands of Ascencion, New [REDACTED] Group S. P. [REDACTED]  
Barque Brixton of London. Dec. 14. 1840 Ship Mechanic of St. Johns. N. B.

Barque Brixton of London and Ship Mechanic of St. John.

### Sketch N° 3 (next page).

*Source: Peabody Museum, Plate 2223, Neg. M14929.*

Caption: Ascencion Canoe proceeding to Matippa, with the 2 Captains, T. T. & Thompson the Pilot, to make an examination of the supposed Tombs &c.

Comments: This excursion to the Nanmadol ruins took place in December 1840. Matippa refers to the Metipw Section of the Metalanim District, located **north** of the Metalanim Harbor; no mention is made here of the more famous at Nanmatol, on the south side of the harbor; however, it becomes clear (from N° 4 below), that indeed they visited Nanmadol.

### Sketch N° 4.

*Source: Peabody Museum, Plate 2224, Neg. M14931.*

Captions: A Large Tomb, supposed to have been of Spanish origin, owing to the Discovery of a Gold Crucifix & Silver handled Dirk, with some parts of Skeletons & during a Search made by T. T. in Company of Capt. Elbourn[e] & Capt. Allen, also Thompson the Pilot of Rota-kiti. Dec. 27, 1840.

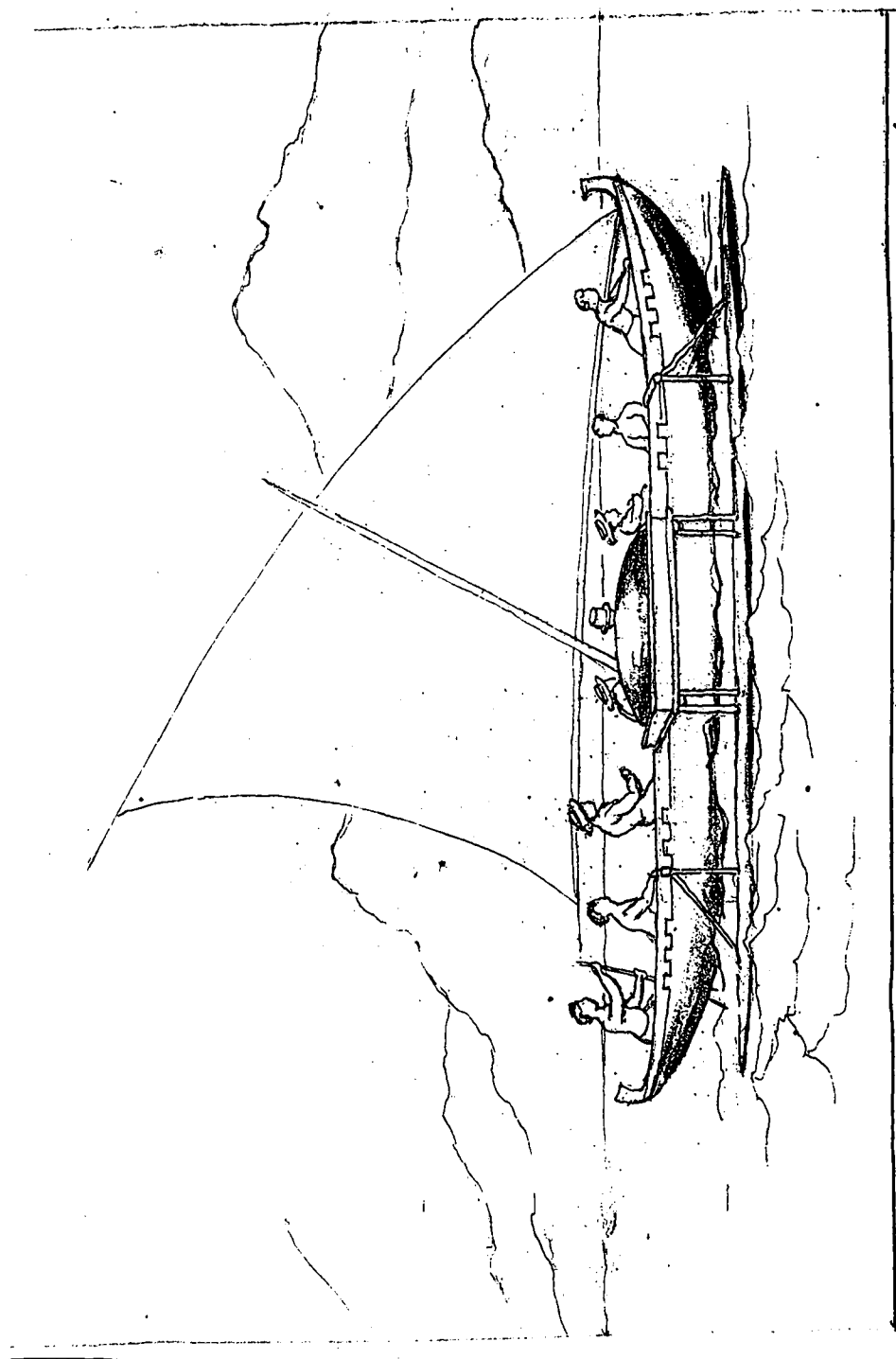
The Islands where the Tombs are situated are not inhabited, but they are view'd with a Superstitious awe by the Natives. On other Islands, Natives reside, & raise Cocoa Nuts, Bread Fruit, Bananas, Yams, Sweet-Potatoes, &c.

The Walls, forming the enclosure of the supposed Tombs, are built with Stones of Octogonal, Sextagonal & Pentagonal shape, some of them measuring 16, 17 & 18 feet in length, each alternate layer being placed transverse. Height of Wall 17 ft, thickness 4 feet. The Tombs are built in a similiar [sic] style, to the Walls.

The Tree seen on the top of the Tomb, is a Bread Fruit Tree, the Fruit is never used by the natives. This Tomb is the largest, of 3 we visited, the locality of them, is on a series of square Islands, about 3/4 to 1 Mile distant from the shore, inside of the coral reef which surrounds the Island; these small Islands were intersected by a Canal of Salt Water, about 18 feet wide & from 2 to 2-1/2 feet in depth.

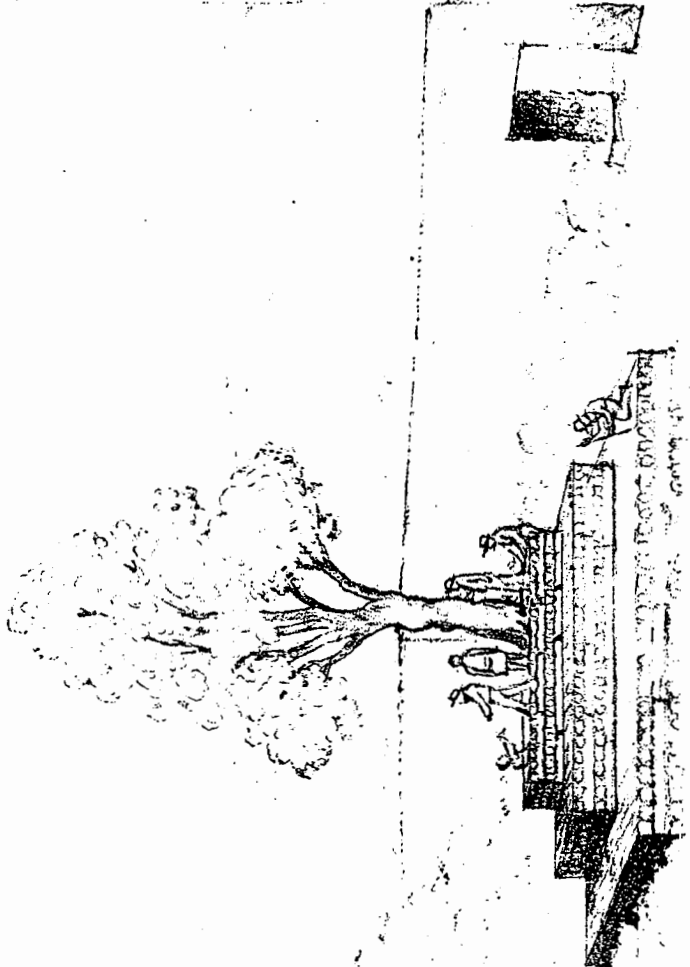
Comments: The so-called discovery of a gold crucifix and silver-handled dirk, or dagger, was not made by T. T. and his friends. It probably had been discovered by the beachcombers themselves and reported as such by Thomson. Two and a half months later, when the whaler **Gipsy** visited Pohnpei, it was said the the objects discovered had been "a gold bar, silver candlesticks, earrings" (see Doc. 1840I). Since T. T. had time to investigate the matter, more so than Dr. Wilson aboard the **Gipsy** (which remained in the offing), the treasure most probably consisted of a crucifix and dagger.





*Abreaccion Coarse proceeding to Matilopa, with the 2 Captains, J. T. & Thompson the Pilot, to make an examination of the supposed Tombs &c.*

The Saluda were the Saluda were attracted to the island, but  
one never with a Saluda were seen by the Saluda, on other Saluda, in  
the Saluda were the Saluda were attracted to the island, but  
one never with a Saluda were seen by the Saluda, on other Saluda, in



The three seen on the top of the Tomb, in a broad Saluda tree, the Tomb is a  
of square Saluda, about 3/4 to 1 mile diameter from the shore, inside of the  
reef which surrounds the Saluda, there are small Saluda are in Saluda.  
Canal of salt water, about 15 feet wide & from 2 to 2 1/2 feet in depth.

Near the Tomb } A large Tomb, supposed to have been of Spanish origin, owing to the Discovery of a Cold  
of Matappa } Crucifix & Silver handled Dish, with some parts of Skeletons during a Search made by J.T.  
Admirer. } in Company of Capt. Elvira & Capt. Thompson the Pilot of Rola-Kill, Jan. 21, 18

Matappa = Matappa & Matappa

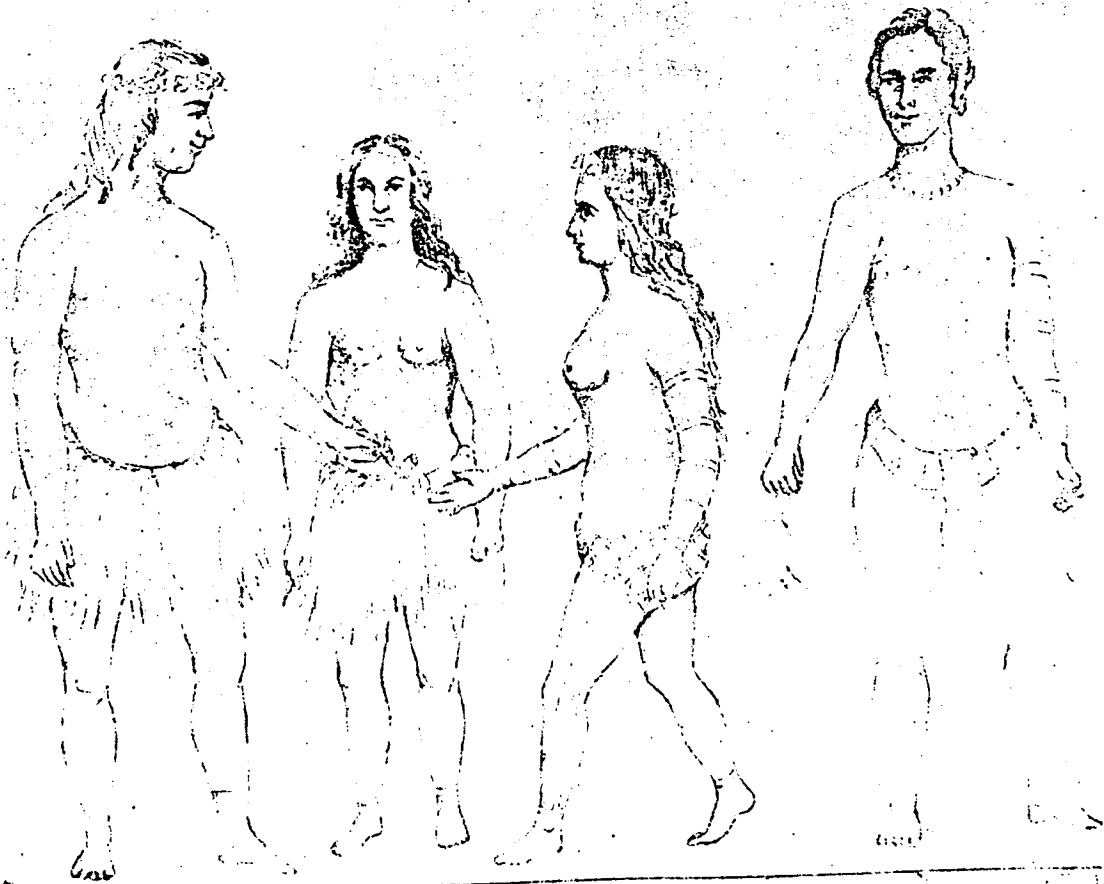
**Sketch N° 5 (below).**

*Source: Peabody Museum, Plate ... Neg. M149...*

Caption: Male & Female Natives of the Island of Ascencion, New Carolinas.

**Epilogue.**

I have found no other document mentioning the buried treasure, except for the presence of the associated skeletons, that were disturbed but not removed by the treasure hunters. The logbook of the ship **Mechanic** has been lost, probably in the great fire that destroyed the docks of St. John in 1877.



*Male & Female Natives, of the Island, of Ascencion, New Carolinas, 1841.*

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## Document 1840M

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# Canadian whalers in Micronesia (1840-1850), by Rodrigue Lévesque

### Introductory Note<sup>1</sup>

Canada did not become an independent nation until 1867, and at the time Canadian-based whalers visited the Pacific Ocean (1835-1850), Canada was still part of British North America. The Pacific coast of North America was not yet sufficiently developed to support whaling fleets in the Pacific. Rather, the ships came from the well-developed Atlantic ports.

The English were the first whalers in the Pacific. However, by 1800, the first New Bedford and Nantucket ships had followed them around the Horn in search of whales. The decade 1845-1855 was the peak U.S. whaling period in the Pacific. The overlapping decade 1840-1850 represents the short life span of the Canadian whale fishery in Micronesia.

The early success of the whale fishery in Massachusetts had attracted the attention of Governor Parr of Nova Scotia as early as the year 1784 when he induced some Quaker whalers to move from Nantucket to Dartmouth, across the harbour from Halifax. Whaling in Nova Scotia was then limited to Atlantic waters. It was not until 1836 that the first two Canadian ships were sent whaling to the South Seas. They were the Barque **Royal William**, owned by the newly-formed Mechanics' Whale-fishing Company of St. John, New Brunswick, and the Ship **Margaret Rait**, owned by the St. John merchant Charles C. Stewart. All in all, **there have been twelve Canadian whalers engaged in South Sea whaling**. They were all from St. John, except two that hailed from Halifax. The Canadian participation in the South Sea whale fishery ended abruptly in 1850.

The table below summarizes the information now available about the presence of Canadian whalers in Micronesian waters, as reported by other whaling ships and the four original accounts left by the Canadian whalers themselves. The great fire that destroyed most of St. John in 1877 is responsible for the disappearance of the logbooks

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<sup>1</sup> This article has already appeared in summary in the *Journal of Pacific History*, 1989 volume, pp. 225-237.

and papers in which was recorded most of the history of the Canadian whale-fishing industry.

### Canadian Whaling Voyages Through Micronesia, 1840-1850

Voyage N <sup>o</sup>	Year(s) of visit	Name of the vessel	Home Port	Tons	Rig	Captain
1	1840	<b>Mechanic</b> <sup>1</sup>	St. John	398	Ship	Allen
2	1840-41	<b>Java</b> <sup>2</sup>	St. John	420	Ship	Price
3	1844-45	<b>Java</b> <sup>3</sup>	St. John	420	Ship	Allen
4	1843	<b>Pacific</b> <sup>4</sup>	St. John	347	Ship	Rounds
5	1843-45	<b>Rose</b> <sup>5</sup>	Halifax	421	Barque	Wood

- 
- 1 Ship **Mechanic**. Voyage 1838-1841. Her second voyage to the Pacific. Size: 110'6" x 27'10" x 17'0". Built 1836 by Isaac Olive of Carleton, near St. John, N.B. Owned by the Mechanics Whalefishing Co. of St. John. Sold to Liverpool in 1846.
  - 2 Ship **Java**. Voyage 1839-1842(?) Built 1839 by William and Richard Wright of St. John, whose yard was located at Courtenay Bay. St. John Register 1839 No. 133. Owned by the Mechanics Whalefishing Co.
  - 3 Ship **Java**. Second and last whaling voyage to the Pacific, 1843-1847. Was possibly in Micronesian waters in 1846 also.
  - 4 Ship **Pacific**. Voyage 1841-1846. Her sole whaling voyage. Built at St. John in 1837 by William and James Lawton. Owned by the Mechanics Co. Size: 102'6" x 23'9" x 17'6". Condemned and sold at Valparaiso in 1846.
  - 5 Barque **Rose**. Built at Brightlingsea in Essex, England, in 1806. Size: 103'6" x 31' x 13'6". Ship-rigged then. Sole owner in 1830s was Samuel Cunard of Halifax, Merchant. She visited Concepcion, Chile, in 1832. Halifax Register 1833 N<sup>o</sup> 171. Re-registered (1842 N<sup>o</sup> 94) when sold to Captain John Duffus of Halifax and four other equal partners, also of Halifax. Was rigged as a barque and re-registered (1842 N<sup>o</sup> 179) when sold to new owners: Enos Collins, William Anderson Black and Mather Byles Alman and others, all of Halifax, said to be "Merchants and Trustees of the Whaling Company". They sent the **Rose** on a whaling voyage to the Pacific, 1843-1846. Sold to the firm of Fairbanks and Allison three weeks after she returned (Halifax Register 1846 N<sup>o</sup> 53). Chief Mate Coughlan was made Master and sent to London where the **Rose** was sold and re-registered there on 12 August 1846. There exists a Journal of the 1843-1846 voyage kept by the 17-year-old nominal captain, Thomas C. Creighton of Dartmouth; a transcript of this journal is kept in the Killam Library of Dalhousie University in Halifax. The real captain was a U. S. citizen by the name of Thomas F. Wood.

Voyage N°	Year(s) of visit	Name of the vessel	Home Port	Tons	Rig	Captain
6	1844	<b>James Stewart</b> <sup>1</sup>	St. John	386	Ship	Jackson
7	1847-48	<b>James Stewart</b> <sup>2</sup>	St. John	386	Ship	J. G. Kenney
8	1847-48	<b>Athol</b> <sup>3</sup>	St. John	398	Ship	J. D. Coffin
9	1850 & earlier	<b>Canmore</b>	St. John	292	Barque	Courtenay or Jackson

- 
- 1 Ship **James Stewart** . Built 1833 in St. John by George Thompson for Charles Coles Stewart, St. John merchant, who sold her to four others. Size: 109'5" x 28'3". St. John Register 1833 N° 43. Her figurehead was a man's bust. She completed 5 whaling voyages in 12 years, bringing home a total of 14,000 barrels of whale oil. At least 5 of those whaling voyages were to the Pacific: 1833-35, 1837-39, 1839-41, 1842-45, and 1845-49; the latter two included Micronesian waters. During the 1842-45 voyage, she was commanded by Captain Jackson.
  - 2 Ship **James Stewart** . Last whaling voyage under the command of Captain Joseph Godfrey Kenney of St. John, who narrated the voyage in his Memoirs. Such memoirs are mentioned by F. W. Wallace on page 9 of his book entitled *In the Wake of the Wind-Ships* (Toronto, Musson, 1927) but their present location is unknown. At the end of the 1845-49 voyage, Captain Kenney delivered the oil to London. The **James Stewart** was to be sold there but, finding no buyer, she was brought to St. John, loaded with lumber for San Francisco and sold there in 1851.
  - 3 Ship **Athol**. Built 1845 at Lamehead (St. John), by William and James Lawton. Owned mostly by Charles C. Stewart (60 out of 64 shares) and by Captain Coffin (4/64). Size: 107' x 25' x 18'. St. John Register 1845 N° 40. Her 1845-1850 voyage was her sole whaling voyage under Canadian ownership. The **Athol** took her oil to London and was sold there in 1850. The new owners sent her immediately on another whaling voyage to Micronesia. She was reported as visiting Guam in January 1853 by Governor Perez (see Doc. 1853A) after her crew mutinied. There exists a Journal of the 1845-49 voyage by her Captain, James Doane Coffin; it is located in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. There is also a journal, published in 1987, which was kept by a young sailor aboard, Benjamin Doane.

## The whaling fleet from St. John

The "St. John Telegraph" of January 8, 1884 carried a story about what was already then an "almost forgotten St. John industry".<sup>1</sup> Here is the story that the reporter was then able to piece together.

*"The Mechanics' Whale Fishing Co., of which the late Thomas Nisbet<sup>2</sup> was president, had a fleet of four vessels: the **Java**, built by W. & R. Wright, whose yard was Courtenay Bay; the **Mechanic**, built by Isaac Olive, of Carleton; the **Royal William**, which was purchased in England,<sup>3</sup> and the **Peruvian**, which was also built by Mr. Olive. These vessels registered about 400 tons each, and carried crews of 30 to 35 men. It should be understood that the registry of 50 years ago was widely different from that of the present day, as vessels that then registered 400 tons would now be placed at 550 to 700 tons.*

*Capt. Quick, one of the portwardens of St. John, was a stockholder in the Mechanics' Whale Fishing Co., and was Ship's Husband for the fleet. The vessels were all fitted out under his supervision, and on their return from a voyage were at once placed in his charge. Under the laws existing half a century ago, it was necessary for these vessels to discharge their cargoes here, which they did, all along between the Custom House and Market Slip, placing the same again on board and sailing for Liverpool, where the oil was disposed of, it being required that the cargo should be cleared from a British port. In those days, Water Street, below Duke Street, was not regarded as a public thoroughfare, and not unfrequently it was lined on each side with casks of whale oil, so that through its entire length there was barely room for the passage of a single cart. These vessels were mostly under the command of English or United States captains, but their crews were made up, in a large measure, from natives of the Province.*

*The voyages of these ships occupied from two to three years, and one can readily fancy the excitement occasioned in St. John of the olden time by their return. What crowds gathered about the wharves as they came sailing up the bay! How eager the members of the company to learn the results of the voyage! How anxious were parents,*

1 There were 5 other Canadian whaling ships that made voyages to the Pacific Ocean, though there are no reports of their having been in Micronesian waters. They were: the **Margaret Rait**, a 308-ton ship of St. John; the **Mary**, another St. John ship; the **Peruvian**, a 373-ton ship of St. John; the **Royal William**, a 276-ton barque of St. John; and the **Samuel Cunard**, a 206-ton barque of Halifax. Captain Coffin, then in command of the **Margaret Rait**, noted that the **Peruvian** was with him in Hawaii in November 1843, in addition to the **Pacific** and the **James Stewart** — See p. 77 of Marion Robertson (ed.), *Journal of the Margaret Rait, 1840-1844, Captain James Doane Coffin* (Lancelot Press, Hantsport, N.S., 1984). The **Peruvian**, Capt. Taylor, was also in Honolulu in September 1846, according to the missionary newspaper *The Friend*.

2 He was well known as a cabinet maker.

3 The "Royal William" was in fact built at St. Stephen, N. B. in 1836.

*brothers, sisters and sweethearts to catch a glimpse of those most dear to them, who had so long been exposed to the mysterious terrors of an almost unknown sea!*

*From Australia and New Zealand and the islands of the southern sea these adventurers brought strange birds, and shells, and corals, the like of which had never been dreamed of, and around the fireside of home and in the streets they told tales which Munchausen<sup>1</sup> had hardly surpassed. It is natural that this was so: the love of the marvellous is inherent in our nature, and we are grateful to the man who tells us tales that excite wide-eyed wonder, while to the man whose recitals are common-place and tame we look with feelings akin to contempt.*

*The vessels of the Mechanics' Whale Fishing Co. were square-rigged, and, for the time, were quite creditable in appointments. They left St. John well provisioned and fully stocked with all the appliances requisite for the prosecution of the fishery. Each carried its supply of casks for the reception of the oil, in staves, or set up and filled with water, which served as ballast, and it is through no large stretch of fancy that we see them sailing away past the island and out into the bay on their adventurous errands. St. John of 50 years ago was by no means the St. John of today, and the departure of a crew of 30 or 40 men on a cruise of two or three years was an event in which every resident felt a lively interest, as well as in their return. Up to the time of the great fire [of 1877]."*

## The First Canadian whale-ship in Micronesia (1840)

The first Canadian whale-ship reported in Micronesian waters was the **Mechanic** of St. John in 1840. She had previously returned from New Zealand waters, in July 1838, with Captain Fisher in command.<sup>2</sup>

The Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, owns pencil drawings made at Pohnpei in 1840 by a man whose initials were T.T. One of the drawings portrays the ship **Mechanic**, Captain Allen, in company of the **Barque Brixton** of London, Captain Elbourne. The two ships are riding at anchor in Ronkiti Harbour.<sup>3</sup> Ponape was then commonly called Ascension Island.

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- 1 The name attached to a famous collection of tall tales published in London in 1875. The title of the collection was "Baron Munchausen's Narrative of His Marvelous Travels and Campaigns in Russia."
  - 2 Esther Clark Wright, *Saint John Ships and their Builders* (Wolfville, N. S., 1976), p. 43. However, A. G. E. Jones, in his *Ships Employed in the South Seas Trade* (Canberra, Roebuck, 1986), says on p. 121 that it was Captain Cudlip who was at the helm when the ship reached St. John on 31 August of that year.
  - 3 The artistic journal from which these drawings originate has been lost (see Doc. 1840L).



Other illustrations indicate that the two above-mentioned captains went by native canoe to visit the ruins of Nanmatol where they investigated "a large tomb, supposed to have been of Spanish origin, owing to the discovery of a gold crucifix and silver-handled dirk, with some parts of skeletons, etc." What could have become of those artifacts?<sup>1</sup>

The **Mechanic** is known to have returned to the North Pacific during her next voyage (1842-46); it is therefore quite possible for her to have visited Micronesia once again. In August 1843, she was reported at Madagascar.<sup>2</sup> In June 1844, she was recorded at the Galapagos.<sup>3</sup> In February 1846, after 45 (or 49) months at sea and having circled the Pacific a few times, the **Mechanic** brought back a disappointing 1,250 barrels of whale oil and 450 of sperm. She was then sold to Liverpool.

### Sightings of the Java, 1840-41

The next Canadian ship to be seen in Micronesia was the **Java**, which had left St. John in approximately October 1839. On 15 June 1840, the ship **Sapphire** of Salem, Captain Alexander Cartwright, spoke the **Java** when both were east of the Gilbert Islands.<sup>4</sup>

In February 1841, she was seen at the Bay of Islands in New Zealand.<sup>5</sup> A few months later, she had returned to Micronesia and was sailing in company with the whaling ship **Gideon Howland** of New Bedford, Captain M. Baker,<sup>6</sup> from Nauru to Pohnpei. The first meeting is reported as follows:

*"Tuesday 20th [July 1841]... At 1 p.m., saw a sail off the lee. At 2 p.m., saw the land [Nauru] two points before the lee beam. At 4, spoke the Java of St. Johns [sic], Capt. Price, 21 months out, 1000 bbls. Lat. 00°13' N., Long. 167°11' E."*

Both ships arrived at Pohnpei on Sunday 22nd of August 1841 and stayed in Ronkiti Harbour for one week. They left Pohnpei together, but by the time the **Gideon Howland** reached Ngatik, the **Java** was no longer in company. As the **Gideon Howland** went back south to the Line, it may be assumed that the **Java** headed along the more standard clockwise circuit around the North Pacific, toward the Marianas, the Bonins, the Japan Ground and eventually Hawaii.

1 Ed. note: For various European objects found on Pohnpei early in its recorded history, see S. Riesenberg, *The Native Polity of Ponape* (Washington, 1968).

2 See Jones' *Ships*, p. 170.

3 In *Revue Coloniale* 13 (1847): 373.

4 Log 1839S2, kept by John Crowell, Voyage of 1839-41, Salem, Mass., Essex Institute. PMB 209.

5 See Jones' *Ships*, p. 159.

6 Voyage 1838-1842. Logbook kept by Bates and another person. Original in the Providence Public Library, Providence, Rhode Island. PMB 863.

## The Java's last voyage

The **Java's** last whaling voyage to Micronesia was under the command of Captain Allen. She arrived back at St. John in April 1847, 150 days out of Oahu, with 1,050 barrels of black oil and 550 barrels of sperm oil, after a four-year cruise. Although the **Java** was reported in Hawaii the three preceding winters, there exists only one report of her being in Micronesian waters during that voyage. Another Canadian whaler, the **Rose** of Halifax, Captain Wood, was cruising off Nukunau in the Gilberts on July 16, 1844, when "a black man who had been ashore 3 or 4 years brought off a list of the ships that touched here and among them we saw that the **Java** which we have been wishing to see all that cruise as we expect letters in her is cruising here. So now we are more anxious than ever to see her, knowing she is so near."<sup>1</sup>

They were not to meet the **Java** until both ships reached Hawaii a year and a half later. There was mail for them aboard, which means that the St. John and Halifax ship owners kept one another informed about their plans for whaling voyages and collaborated with the families of the crew members. The **Java** was sold out of the whaling business upon her return in 1847.<sup>2</sup>

## The Pacific of St. John, under Captain Rounds

Named after the Pacific Ocean, this ship is now known to have made one previous voyage to the Bay of Islands ground, 1838-39, with Captain Miller.<sup>3</sup> However, she made only one long voyage to Micronesia with Captain Rounds: 4 years and 9 months (1841-1846). Unfortunately, the **Pacific** was destined to remain in the Pacific and never see her home port again. She was condemned and sold at Valparaiso in 1846 and part of the cargo was transshipped and sent home to St. John.

The **Pacific** recruited at Kosrae in the Eastern Carolines from January to April 1843, as reported at the time.<sup>4</sup> She may have stopped by Pohnpei in April of that year, as other ships in port at that time reported from 7 to 9 ships lying there that month,<sup>5</sup> but the **Pacific** was not specifically mentioned. The ship must have circled the North Pa-

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1 Diary of T.C. Creighton kept on board the Barque **Rose**, 1843-1846. Typescript in the Archives of the Dalhousie University Library, Halifax. See below for excerpt from this journal.

2 F. W. Wallace, *In the Wake of the Wind-Ships* (Toronto, Musson, 1927).

3 See Jones' *Ships*, pp. 127-129.

4 R. G. Ward (ed.), "American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790-1870" (Ridgewood, N.J., Gregg Press, 1967), vol. 3, pp. 559-560, 568-72.

5 For instance, the **Fortune** and the **Potomac**.

cific as it is known that she recruited in Hawaii in November 1843 and also at the end of 1844.<sup>1</sup>

### The story of the *Rose* of Halifax, 1843-45

The barque *Rose* was a 37-year-old vessel when she left Halifax for her whaling voyage to Micronesia. She was, however, no stranger to the Pacific. In May 1835, she was reported at the Bay of Islands, after a cruise from the Hawaiian Islands, with Captain Hall in command.<sup>2</sup> She was still near New Zealand in 1838.<sup>3</sup> Captain Hall took her on at least one more voyage to the South Seas in 1840-42, by way of the Indian Ocean.<sup>4</sup>

The Whaling Company, formed in Halifax in 1842 by Captain John Duffus and four other Haligonians, bought the *Rose* from Samuel Cunard in December 1842 and fitted her out for a whaling voyage of their own. Her rig had just been modified from a ship to a barque. She had a standing bowsprit, was square-sterned and carvel-built like most other Canadian wooden ships of the period. Her galleries had been removed but not her imposing figurehead, a woman's bust representing Rose, the unknown woman who had inspired her builder.

There exists a journal of this whaling voyage made by the *Rose* to Micronesia. The 17-year-old Tom Creighton, a descendant of James Creighton, one of the founders of Halifax, was cadet officer on board the *Rose* and he kept the most extensive diary of any Canadian whaling voyage that can be found.<sup>5</sup>

In summary, the barque left Halifax on 15 January 1843, arrived in Micronesian waters the following July, cruised there until May 1845, and arrived back in Halifax in March 1846. The route taken to the Pacific was by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Australia. Most of the voyage was spent cruising around the Gilberts, with visits to

- 1 The *Friend*, in its November 1854 issue, reported that the 1st Mate then was a Mr. Baker, and the 2nd Mate a Mr. Cudlip.
- 2 Jones says, on pages 106, 109 & 110 of his *Ships*, that she "had been on shore and repaired at Sandwich Islands", and that she returned to the fishery in June.
- 3 See Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 122.
- 4 See Jones, *op. cit.*, pages 159 & 165.
- 5 See excerpt below.

Pohnpei and Apia to recruit. On 20 January 1844 they spoke the **James Stewart**, whose mail they were carrying, and were able to send letters back in her. After the second Christmas at sea, spent in the Gilberts, they went to Sydney to recruit, and thence to Maui and Oahu, where they were joined by the **Java**. Thence, with 1,400 barrels of sperm and 900 barrels of whale oil and about 5,000 lbs of whale bone, they headed for home, being almost wrecked at Christmas Island on the way, and reaching Halifax on Sunday 8 March 1846. They were surprised to see that during their absence a bridge had been built across the harbor.

The following are a few of the more interesting passages from the Creighton journal.<sup>1</sup>

...

*"Saturday 8th July [1843]*

*We made Hope [Arorae] Island today which is very low and sandy in Lat. 2°52' S., Long. 176°59' E. The ship was soon filled with the natives who paddle off 2 or 3 miles with mats, hats, spears and chickens which they sell for 1/2 a head of tobacco each. They seem very peacable and are perfectly naked. One of the natives gave us a list of the vessels that have been here for some time and they are all wretched, being two years out with 300 or 400 bbls."*

...

*"Tuesday 18th July*

*... We got the whale with Peroat [Beru] bearing NW by N distant 3 leagues. The weather has been very squally. The whale made 53 barrels. This is my [18th] birthday but how very different have I spent it to what I have been accustomed to. Instead of the many congratulations and birthday presents which I have always received and the pleasant evening parties which my affectionate parents have given me, I have spent the day up to my eyes in sperm oil at the mincing horse and the only congratulation I received was from Aunt Eliza in Bogatzley.*

*Lat. 1°30' S., Long. 175°40' E."*

...

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1 Entitled "Journal of a Whaling Voyage Made by the Barque **Rose** of Halifax, That Sailed the 15th January, 1843, Bound to the Pacific for Sperm Whales, Thomas F. Wood, Master, and Returned." The Chief Mate was Augustus A. Coughlan, the Second Mate was a Mr. Crisp, and the Third Mate a Mr. McNelly. In the 1950s, the original journal was still in the hands of the Creighton family of Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. A typed transcript was then made by his great grand-daughter, Miss Isabel Creighton, and deposited in the Killam Memorial Library in Halifax. According to her, Thomas Colton Creighton, author of this journal, was born in Halifax on 18 July 1825. He married Annie Albro on 7 June 1849. He was lost at sea with his 7-year-old son, Frank, when captain of the *Beauty*, in a storm off the coast of Nova Scotia in February 1862. Tom Creighton, who was 17 when he left Halifax for his Pacific adventure, was not the only Creighton to do a similar feat. His ancestor, Jim Creighton, had come from England to found Halifax in 1749 at the age of 16.

*"Wednesday 26 July/43*

*... I have been unwell all day with a pain in my breast and headache and the Doctor<sup>1</sup> gave me a dose which I think has done me good. This evening, ran within 3/4 of a mile of Byron's [Nukunau] Island and scraped the bends. The ship was crowded with natives and there were 70 canoes alongside.*

*Lat. 2°4' S., Long 156°48' E."*

*"Monday 31st July 1843*

*Since I last wrote, the weather has been very fine and almost calm. On Friday, we spoke the ship **Margaret** of London, Courtney, Master, 13 months out, 650 barrels. The Captain went on board and as I belong to his boat, I of course went too. She is a splendid ship and sails very fast which she will have to do to beat us. On Sunday, as we were close together, their Captain dined with us and Mr. Coughlan went on board of her. We ran close past Peroat and as usual had a shipload of natives. There is a nice breeze today and we have beaten the fastest London whaler, the **Margaret**. At 11 a.m., raised whales and at 1 p.m., lowered the four boats. After sailing and paddling for 3/4 of an hour, Mr. Coughlan got fast and killed one which we finished cutting in at dark...*

*Lat. 0°55' S., Long. 176°12' E."*

*"Wednesday 2nd August 1843*

*At 3 a.m., finished boiling and have turned up 25 bbls. In the Middle Watch last night, we had a blowout on biscuit boiled in the oil and eaten with teskimimi [te kamui-mui] which is molasses made from the coconut which we get from the natives. Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island in sight this afternoon, its Lat. 1°12' S., Long. 176°22' E."*

*...  
"Saturday 5th [August]/43*

*... Yesterday, we crossed the [Equatorial] Line in Long. 175°20' E. ... We are now in the North Pacific which is the fifth ocean we have been in. In the last six months and during a five-month stay in the Southern Hemisphere, we have passed over 89 degrees of Lat. and 197 of Long. ..."*

*"Friday 11th August/43*

*Last Saturday afternoon, we raised whales and lowered and the Third Mate got one which made 16 barrels and on Sunday about 9 a.m., lowered again with the Second Mate. Struck a large whale which knocked his boat out of water and stove four planks. The Mate then fastened but no better success for he had the bottom of his boat knocked in and the whale was just making off when the Third Mate pulled up just in time to kill him. The Captain says it is the largest fish he has ever seen. In the meantime, the starboard boat to which I belong and the Doctor Heeds sailed away to leeward after a school and fastened about five miles from the ship and the rest of the boats. This was*

---

1 Doctor Heeds was to desert at Pohnpei where he switched to Captain Cheyne's **Naiad**.

*the first whale we had been fast to and by way of making us remember it he came up within three feet of the boat with his mouth open and seizing my oar, bit a piece out of it. We have been employed ever since trying out and have turned up 164 barrels. The large whale made 108 barrels... We got the whale to the southward of Simpson [Abema-ma] Island distant 12 miles."*

...

*"Saturday 26th [August 1843]*

*... It is now three weeks since we have seen a sperm whale spout. The other day, spoke the **Emily Morgan**, Prince Ewer, Master, of New Bedford, 16 months out with 700 barrels sperm oil<sup>1</sup> ...*

*Lat. 1°20' S., Long. 17\_ [sic]"*

*"Wednesday 30th [August 1843]*

*... At 5 a.m., I was awoke by a rumbling noise which I thought was thunder but I soon found out my mistake by the Mate singing out "The ship is ashore", so I bungled out and sprang on deck. It was just light enough to see we were on a reef to the SW of Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island but the sea was very smooth and not much wind, and by hauling everything aback, she soon payed off into deep water without any injury..."*

...

*"Saturday 23rd September 1843*

*Last night, finished trying out a whale which Mr. Coughlan killed Thursday in company with the **Emily Morgan** and the Brig **Tigress** of Sydney, [blank], Master, 4 months out, 120 bbls, which we spoke the day before. Our whale made 35 barrels, so we can now hail "400, 8 months out" which is better than most ships which we have spoken as there are 5 months of that to take off for our passage out."*

[...]<sup>2</sup>

*"Wednesday 15th Nov. 1843*

*... As we have seen no whales for so long, the Captain has determined to go into port to recruit and we are now bound to Strong's [Kosrae] Island..."*

...

*"Wednesday 22nd*

*Yesterday made Strong's Island at daylight bearing NNW distant 25 miles and sailed around it during the day in search of the harbor [Lele] which looked as though if once in we would never get out again, so the Captain determined to go on to Ascension [Pohnpei]. Strong Island is very high and rugged and lies in Lat. 5°12' N., Long. 162°58' E. The natives are not very friendly and it is dangerous for a ship to go there alone." ...*

- 
- 1 The exact date was the 21st of August and the meeting is reported in the logbook of the **Emily Morgan** curtly thus: "At 5 p.m., spoke the **Rose** of Halifax". The meeting took place near Nonouti. The two ships met again one month later and again in Gilbertese waters one year later.
  - 2 The **Rose** cruised off Banaba in October and got 50 barrels of water from that island. She spoke the **Australian** of Sydney (4-1/2 months out with 400 barrels), and also the **Berdmondsey** of London (26 months out with just 400 barrels).

*“Saturday 25th [November 1843]*

*It has been blowing a gale of wind since Thursday so that we could not get in till 9 this morning though we got a pilot yesterday. We came to in 15 fathoms in a narrow channel but where the water is very smooth. The land is high and well wooded and the natives seem friendly.” ...*

*“Sunday 26*

*At 9 a.m., got in a canoe and went ashore on liberty and strolled about the woods till 3 when I came aboard and found no-one there but the Second Mate, all hands being ashore. The land is very rough for walking, there being nothing but narrow footpaths. The natives are civil but not generous.”*

*“Saturday 16th December 1843*

*Once more at sea... We are now 11 months from home, bound on another cruise about the Kingsmill [Gilbert] Group...*

*The Brig **Naiad** of Macao, Captain Cheyne, who was trading for [blank<sup>1</sup>] was lying at anchor when we went in and came out the same morning we did.*

*The first thing we did was to stow down all the oil that was on deck and then get our casks ready for water and make agreements for wood, yams, pigs, fowls, etc. then set up the rigging... In the meantime, the Doctor stayed two or three days on board the Brig without leave which much annoyed our Captain, and he eventually left us in a very shabby manner to join the Brig for which he forfeited his reputation and his wages.*

*On the 30th ult., Captain Post,<sup>2</sup> Capt. Wood and myself took a boat and went with the Pilot to see the ruins of an ancient city [Nanmatol] about five and twenty miles from the ships [at Ronkiti]. Two of our boys ran away last Sunday and though the Captain offered a reward to the natives, they could not be found, but we shipped three hands in their place.*

*On the 14th inst., about 7 a.m., Capt. Cheyne [came] to ask Capt. Wood for two or three of our boats to help him get under weigh who sent two & I was one of the number...”*

...

*“Monday 18th*

*... I have amused myself this afternoon cleaning [tortoise] shells which is without exception the worst job I have ever been at.” ...*

*“Sunday 24th*

*... Being Christmas Eve, all hands had a glass of grog and a piece of plum cake. Pleasant [Nauru] Island just in sight to the Southward”...*

---

1 The word left blank in the transcript is probably *bêche-de-mer* (trepan) or tortoise shells. Captain Cheyne was then 26 years old.

2 Captain of the **Hydaspe** of New Bedford.

*Christmas Day, Monday, 25 Dec. 1843*

... Dined at 12 on roast duck, roast fowl and as good a plum duff as I ever tasted, drank their health at home and greasy luck to whalers. At 2 p.m., canoes came off from Pleasant Island with men, women, coconuts, pigs & shells to trade for tobacco. At sunset, the island bore SE distant 5 miles. Afternoon, fine. Two sails in sight all day."

"Tuesday 26th

... 4 p.m., spoke the Barque **Nelson** of Sydney, 7 months [out], 300 barrels."

...

"Monday 1st January 1844

'Tis New Year's Day... I feel happy and thank God who the last year enabled me to support myself and clear nearly 30 pounds [sterling]..."

...

"Saturday 20th

Spoke the **Australian** yesterday and got a bottle of wine for Mulick who is still very weak... 4 p.m., spoke the ship **James Stewart** of St. John, N. B., Jackson, Master, 2 years out, 500 [barrels of] sperm and 1,200 of whale oil. The Captain came on board and got the letters we had for his officers and crew."

"Monday 22nd Jan. 1844

Yesterday calm all day. I wrote my fourth letter to my Father and one to Mr. Liddell to send in the **James Stewart** which will sail for home in about six months. The Captain was on board of her all day and Mr. Thomas the Mate was on board of us. The ships were not more than 1/4 of a mile apart... At 3, went on board the **J. Stewart** and met the Captain of the **Australian**"...

...

"Wednesday 24th Jan. 1844

Boiling all day in company with the **J. Stewart** who got two whales yesterday"...

...

"Sunday 31st [March 1844]

... Yesterday at 2 p.m., made Ocean [Banaba] Island... [Today at] 2 p.m., sent 3 casks ashore for water to be filled by tomorrow morning. 4 p.m., stood off shore with half the ship's company drunk, headed SE."

"Monday 1st April 1844

... Several of the ship's company asked for their discharge this morning but were refused and many of them are ill from the bad effects of yesterday's liquor..."

...

"Wednesday 10th

... Expecting to make the land every moment as the Islands of the Radack Chain [Marshalls] are not laid down correctly in the charts and we have run over several without seeing them... At 11 a.m., raised land which proved to be Baring's [Namorik] Is-



*land which is in Lat. 5°40' N., Long. 168°35' E. At 4 p.m., the canoes came off. The natives seem a quiet friendly set, though a few years ago, they tried to take a ship but did not succeed though they killed the Captain and officers and 17 hands.<sup>1</sup> They are not naked like the Kingsmill Group natives but wear a tappa round their waist. The Island is surrounded by a reef and though well wooded is not fruitful. It is very low and sandy."*

*"Tuesday 16th April 1844*

*Since the 10th, we have been trying to beat to the eastward against wind, and tide, and made but little progress. The weather has been very squally. On the 12th, made Covel [Ebon] Island, one of the Radack Chain, which consists of a number of small, low, sandy islands surrounded by a coral reef. The natives came off in immense canoes, and are a savage-looking set, but are not in a state of nudity, as those of the Kingsmill Group. Their canoes are better, and better rigged than any I have yet seen. The Island is by our Chro[nometer] in Lat. 4°40' N., Long. 169°18' E..."*

*"Saturday 20th*

*... Last evening, as it was calm, Mr. Coughlan & I took a bath."*

*"Sunday 21st*

*At daylight, made Touching [Makin] Island... Last night, had an increase of stock by the addition of 8 little pigs. The weather is beautifully fine. The island is very low, not above six feet above the water. Two canoes came off, but were afraid to come near the ship. Afternoon, the canoes came off from Pitts [Butaritari] Island which lies to the SE of Touching Island about 7 leagues distance in Lat. 2°58' N., Long. 173°25' E. It is also very low. The natives are fine looking men, and brought off plenty of coconuts which they sold for old iron hoop. Lat. 3°16' N., Long. 173°20' E."*

*"Tuesday April 23/44*

*This morning made Matthews [Marakei] Island... It is low and sandy. The natives did not venture off..."*

*...*

*"May 1st, Wednesday, 1844*

*... Last night, as usual, had a long talk with the Old Man, about home, and the Owners, abusing them for not having the ship better sound, but hoping to see them well in 18 months<sup>2</sup>... Now we are on the Line under a burning sun and the ocean as smooth as a mill pond. If they only have such a lovely day as this at home, how many sunny faces will ramble in the woods behind Dear old Brooklands (ever dear to me) in search*

---

1 This refers to the **Awashonks** Incident of 1835.

2 It actually took them 22 months.

*of the sweet little emblem of my Native land<sup>1</sup> while I am rolling on the mighty deep far, far away, but still my greatest comfort is that duty calls me here.*

*Lat. 1°10' S., Long. 171°57' E."*

[The **Rose** went to Apia to recruit and squared away once again for the Gilberts in early June. Young Tom Creighton was able to step ashore at Banaba].

*"Friday 13th [September 1844]*

*... In company with the **Nimrod** of Sydney, S \_\_\_\_\_<sup>2</sup>, Master, who we spoke yesterday afternoon. He is 7 weeks out with 15 bbls whale [oil]"...*

...

*"Friday 29th Nov./44*

*Very fine [weather] throughout. At 6 a.m., made Roaches [Tamana] Island to the northward and by 9 were about 1/4 mile off shore to the eastward where we hauled aback to trade for fowls for Christmas dinner, as this is the only island in the Group except Ocean Island where they can be got. We lay aback for 2 hours in which time we got 4-1/2 doz. fowls (for a small whale tooth & a head of tobacco a piece), a number of coconuts and a few mats & shells, then hard up and stood SW bidding (I believe) good-bye to the Kingsmill Group for this voyage. This and Hope [Arorae] Island are the only two of the Group where the Ladies do not condescend to call on poor Jack"<sup>3</sup>...*

The **Rose** went to Sydney to recruit. Young Creighton, who was listed as Master while in Australia, because Captain Wood was a New Englander, makes interesting comments about life in Sydney in 1844. When the **Rose** left Sydney in February 1845, she headed in the direction of the Hawaiian Islands sighting Ebon Island along the way. She reached Maui on September 20, 1845. Some 40 ships were said to be at Oahu then. Several crew members, hired at Sydney, were discharged at Lahaina. The **Rose** fired 6 or 7 guns upon leaving Lahaina; so, she was well armed. Creighton wrote that "*when they left Maui, there were upwards of 50 whalers lying there but not a **Java** among them all nor is there one here [at Oahu]."*

...

*"Wednesday 8th Oct./45*

*... After our dinner on board, I went on deck and saw a ship coming in which from her build I thought was an Englishman, for her colors did not blow enough to tell. As she neared us, however, the Second Mate read on her headboards the longed-wished-for name: **Java**. That was quite enough for us. We soon had the waist boat cleared away and pulled for her, and in a short time I received from Capt. Allen a packet of letters that in size far surpassed my most sanguine expectations. Poor Mr. Crisp [the Second Mate] got none. Capt. Allen is very much altered and is quite gray-headed caused I suppose by anxiety of which he has had his share this voyage. When I first went on board,*

1 Brooklands was the name of the Creighton property in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, which province uses the mayflower as its floral emblem.

2 The name of this captain was Sullivan (See Jones' *Ships*, p. 172).

3 A reference to native women usually spending the night on board.

*he did not know me. He said I had grown very much, though I really cannot see it myself."*

*"We now returned on board the **Rose** where I had indeed a joyous feast as my Dear old Father called it but mine was ninefold more so than his as I had nine letters from home and he had only one poor solitary one from me..."*

*"Capt. Allen kept Captain Wood all night, but as it was calm we lost nothing by that. And I must confess that I gained a great deal by the Boat's crews getting drunk which detained the ship, together with the calms afterwards, long enough to see the **Java**."*

*"This morning, the Captain came on board with Big Jack [a boatsteerer] (who was in the Fort <sup>1</sup>)... We weighed anchor about 11:30 a.m. (for the last time I trust for this voyage). **HOMEWARD BOUND**... We have taken about 1,400 bbls. sperm and 900 of the whale oil and about 5,000 lbs. whale bone, which is more than an average of all the ships..."<sup>2</sup>*

## The James Stewart under Captain Jackson

This Canadian ship was probably in Micronesian waters in 1843 but there does not seem to be any report of her presence there.<sup>3</sup> As previously mentioned, however, it is known that the **James Stewart** was cruising near Nauru at the end of January 1844.

The **Wilmington & Liverpool Packet** of New Bedford, Captain Gilbert J. Place, met the **James Stewart** at Kosrae in February 1844. Her logbook<sup>4</sup> says:

*"[Sunday] February the 25 [1844]*

*... At 6 a.m., took our anchor for the 5th time and headed out of the harbor and made sail steering by the wind to the ESE. Left the **James Stewart** in the harbor."*

The following ships had arrived at Kosrae with the **W & L Packet** on February 4th of that year: (1) the **Offley** of Sydney, 7-8 months out; and (2) the **Leonidas** of Bristol (U.S.A.), Captain Waldron. Therefore, those two ships must have left Kosrae before

1 The Honolulu jail.

2 On the way home, the **Rose** was almost shipwrecked at Christmas Island one night when young Creighton was at the wheel, but he heard the sound of the pounding surf just in time. They were off Cape Horn in December 1845 and reached Halifax on Sunday, March 8th, 1846. This voyage was not the last adventure of Tom Creighton. He kept his love affair with the sea and was eventually lost at sea when Captain of the **Beauty** in February 1862.

3 She was in Tasmania in 1842 (See Jones' *Ships*, p. 168).

4 "Logbook of the Whale Ship **Wilmington & Liverpool Packet** of New Bedford, Captain Gilbert J. Place, Voyage 1841- 45." Log kept by Williams W. Weeks, after February 1843. The original logbook is deposited in the Providence Public Library. PMB 899.

the 25th. I have been unable to find any logbooks for these ships. However, there is a report by a Dr. L. A. Baker of London, England, who arrived at Kosrae on February 22nd. He seems therefore to have been aboard the **James Stewart**<sup>1</sup>. Here is Dr. Baker's report about Kosrae.<sup>2</sup>

***“Strong’s Island. February 22, 1844.— This morning at daylight we rose the highlands of Oualan, or Strong’s Island, and stood towards it, purposing to go in for refreshments. We run in for the weather [i.e. Lele] harbour, which is easy of access, as ships have commonly a free wind to go in with, but the same circumstances render it difficult, and often for many days together, impossible to get out as the passage is so narrow that ships can only go through with a leading wind, and from the depth of the water and other circumstances, warping is rendered difficult.”***

*“The harbour is formed by a long and shallow indentation in the shore of the main Island, along the front of which lies a much smaller Island [i.e. Lele], the space included between the two being the harbour which is safe (except from the treachery of the natives) and very tolerably commodious; wood and water can be obtained abundantly, and plenty of bread-fruit, but very little else.”*

*“The natives of this Island bear a very indifferent character; as many as four or five ships having at various times been cut off here, and all hands massacred.<sup>3</sup> Our own intercourse with them was passable and quiet all the time we lay there, and certainly their personal appearance and expression of countenance does not indicate anything like ferocity or treachery.”*

*“The people generally, except the aged members of the community, have obtained a very extensive knowledge of the English language, enough to make themselves pretty well understood, in all the customary intercourse, with shipping. But here, as everywhere else where there are no missionaries, that intercourse has been productive of evil only; the name of God is unknown to them, except in the way of blasphemy; chastity is a virtue unknown to them before their intercourse with Europeans, and remains equally unknown and unpractised now, and the evil spirit of rum has been introduced, and found its willing worshippers. Such are the fruits of civilisation, as introduced at this Island.”*

*“The government of Oualan is in the hands of a despotic chief, assisted by many others of a subordinate rank, and the homage paid by the lower to the superior ranks is very deep and respectful. None will presume to stand in the presence of a chief, nor a chief in the presence of the king. In approaching a superior they walk erect to within*

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1 Unless there was another ship that came in on the 22nd and left before the 25th. This is highly unlikely in view of the time taken by Dr. Baker to gather detailed information about the island and its inhabitants.

2 It was published in the Honolulu newspaper “The Friend” on May 1, 1845, and reproduced under Kusaie 18 in Ward’s “American Activities in the Central Pacific”.

3 This statement may be exaggerated as there are only three cases on record: those of the **Honduras** and the **Waverly** in 1835, and that of the **Harriet** in 1842.

*a few paces of him, and then drop on their knees, the further advance being made by a peculiar sidelong movement, not very easy to be described; but if merely passing a chief, they content themselves by stooping low and passing at a respectful distance; if a chief passes an inferior he immediately sits down till the great man has gone by. Similar deference is also paid to the female chiefs."*

*"Their manners and customs are simple, and their wants few and easily supplied by the abounding fertility of the Island. Religious worship they have none, though there seems to be some idea of a superior power whom they fear, not however in any great degree; they consider him as the author of the rain certainly, and probably therefore of all the other phenomena of nature. This being is named Snute,<sup>1</sup> or more commonly when speaking to Europeans, Blueskin, a name certainly as themselves declare, borrowed from their English visitors, but how it came to be thus applied, I could not learn. The chiefs profess to have a certain degree of influence, though not very extensive with Snute in regard to the weather, though they cannot always obtain just what they wish, in which case they affirm that Snute is sulky with them, but nevertheless they take no pains to propitiate his favor. The belief in apparitions of the dead is universal among them; their ideas of a future state are so faint and indistinct that they can hardly be said to possess it at all."*

*"The dress of the people consists of a narrow band of four or six inches in width, and about a yard and a half long, which is wrapped around the loins and just serves as an apology for a covering. It is very neatly and ingeniously wove of the fibres of the stem of the banana plant, and worked in different colors, and often in very tasteful patterns at one or sometimes both extremities, the centre part being generally all black. The material is of a silky gloss, but rather a coarse texture; it is nevertheless capable, I think, of being applied successfully to various manufactures."*

*"The smaller Island [Lele] on which the King and principal chiefs reside is in many places intersected by walls built of rough unhewn stones, some of them of enormous size; they vary much in height and in regularity of construction. Some are long continuous walls, between which runs a narrow lane or footway; others simply surround a house or houses; the principal singularity about them is the size of many of the stones, and the ignorance of the natives as to the time or purpose of their erection, which was evidently in a very remote period, as they are in many parts overgrown with vines and shrubs, and in some places, stately trees of a century's growth reeve their contorted roots through the fine interstices of the stones, or are in others seated upon their fallen ruins. The smaller walls are kept in repair by the present generation, but they have not the skill or mechanical power to raise the heavy stones to the elevation which many of them at present occupy in the large walls should any of these give way."*

*"A few days before leaving Strong's Island, a number of men whom we found residing on shore, made application to be taken off the Island, stating that the natives had of late often threatened their lives, and they feared that these threats would probably*

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1 Ed. note: Rather "Inut."

*be put into execution as soon as they felt themselves unrestrained by the presence of the ship. After various enquiries we found there might be a reason to believe their statements, and accordingly consented to give them a passage to the neighbouring Island of Ascension [Pohnpei]. The reason of the sudden change in the conduct of the natives towards these men (for they had before treated them with much kindness) was the discovery that they were acquainted with the circumstances of the taking of the English whale ship **Harriet**. Concerning the capture of this vessel [in 1842] the king professes to be entirely innocent; and that he was even very angry with the people who were concerned in it, and had punished eighteen of them with death. The principal leader in the affair, however, was his own brother, and he is now living next in authority to the king himself; so what degree of credit is to be given to the king's statement may perhaps be rather questionable."*

The **James Stewart** must therefore have carried a few beachcombers from Kosrae to Pohnpei in March 1844. After one final whaling circuit of the North Pacific, she left Hawaii, in November 1844, for home, ahead of the **Peruvian**, another ship from the same home port.<sup>1</sup> According to F. W. Wallace,<sup>2</sup> the **James Stewart** had just then completed her fifth whaling voyage in a period of twelve years, bringing home "2,000 barrels black oil, 400 barrels sperm and 10 tons of whale bone, besides which she sold during the voyage 200 barrels sperm, 200 barrels black oil and 2 tons of bone."

### The James Stewart under Captain Kenney

The 1845-1849 voyage of the **James Stewart** was her last whaling voyage. It was also the last whaling voyage of her new captain. In his memoirs, summarized by F. W. Wallace,<sup>3</sup> Captain Joseph Kenney recounts his adventures in Micronesia. After rounding the Horn and having sailed up to the Galapagos, down to the Marquesas, the ship went to Sydney for repairs.<sup>4</sup>

***The Renegade Spaniard.**—In the course of time they came to Sydenham [Nonouti] Island, in the Kingsmill Group, and while Captain Kenney had an extraordinary adventure with a renegade Spaniard. This man was a beachcomber and had been landed on Sydenham Island by a French whaler. In the old whaling days men would ship on whalers at the islands for short cruises, on the understanding that they be paid off and put ashore at the next point of call. The Spaniard had elected to be landed on Sydenham Island, and the Frenchman paid him off with an old whale-boat, some cutlasses, a double-barrelled fowling-piece and some tobacco.*

1 The **James Stewart** arrived at St. John on June 3rd, 1845.

2 *Op. cit.*, page 5.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-25.

4 Jones says, on p. 175, that in January 1847 "she put into Lee Bay, pre-6 July to repair, having been on shore, lost rudder, etc." and refreshments. As the original crew had given him trouble, a practically new crew was signed on and the ship left for the Gilberts in February 1847.



*The Spaniard boarded the **James Stewart** while she was whaling off the island. He came out in a whale-boat accompanied by an Irishman and five natives, and when asked what he wanted, replied that he had knocked a hole in his boat and wanted something to stop the leak. Captain Kenney was busy at the time keeping an eye on his four boats, which were out after whales, and did not pay much attention to the visitor until his cook came aloft to him and expressed his suspicions of the stranger's business aboard.*

*Kenney was ever a man of action. He came down from the crow's nest and asked the Spaniard what he wanted. In reply, the man begged for various small stores. Kenney declared that he had nothing to spare. The other became impudent, and the Nova Scotian had him seized and searched for arms, but nothing was found. Then the Irishman of the Spaniard's party suddenly appealed to Captain Kenney for protection, stating that his life was in danger from the Spaniard, and asking to be retained aboard the ship.*

*His suspicions aroused, Captain Kenney sent a man down into the Spaniard's boat to overhaul it, and stowed away under the stern-sheets were six cutlasses, a fowling-piece, a spear and spy-glass. "I took them all," he says, "and told the fellow to clear out. He did so, leaving the five natives on my deck, and I had to use a rope's end on their bare backs to drive them over the side." The Irishman was permitted to remain aboard.*

*Meanwhile, two whales had been killed and the **James Stewart** proceeded to where they were and got them alongside. While doing so, half-a-dozen canoes full of natives appeared nearby. "There was no doubt," said Captain Kenney, "but had I gone off in my own boat and had four boats away, this Spaniard would have captured the ship, as there would only have been six men aboard, and one of them aloft."*

***Queer Doings at Sydenham Island.**—Three or four weeks later, the **James Stewart** came to Sydenham Island again and was favoured with another visit from the Spaniard. He came off through the reef in a native canoe which was flying a flag. "I gave orders to secure the canoe as it came alongside, which my men did. I took the flag and found the skull and cross-bones worked on it—a regular pirate's flag."*

*The renegade came aboard and Captain Kenney took him into the cabin, "intending to give him a severe thrashing and send him about his business." After asking him why he dared board the ship again, the fellow replied that he only wanted to trade. After trading, he wanted to come away in the ship and leave the island.*

*Asked as to what he had to trade, the other answered that he had chains, anchors and many other things, besides 100 barrels of oil and some whalebone which he had salvaged from the wreck of an American whaler.<sup>1</sup> "This changed my intentions," admits Kenney, who, no doubt, was a keen business man. But when he came to put the Spaniard ashore, he found that the natives had shoved off in their canoes. It was now dark, so sail was made on the **James Stewart** and she stood off.*

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<sup>1</sup> This ship must have been the **Columbia** of New London, Captain Kelly, that had been shipwrecked at Nonouti three years before.

*During the next two or three weeks the skipper was too busy to think of his visitor, as whales had been killed and they had taken 200 barrels of oil. Then he determined to go back to the island and have a look at the stuff. "We anchored in 20 fathoms at 10 p.m. and a number of natives scrambled aboard, but not liking the appearance of them, I ordered them off. We could have tackled them, as the try-works were going and we had any amount of boiling oil, which would have been the best thing to clear the decks of naked natives."*

*In those days, it must be remembered, the natives on many of the Pacific islands were savage cannibals. Others nursed a fierce hatred for whalers by reason of the brutal way they had been treated by some whale-ship crews, and, while outwardly friendly, they would not hesitate to murder a whole ship's company should opportunity present itself. Thus, in dealing with the natives for necessary supplies, the whalers kept their weather eyes lifting.*

*Next morning, Kenney called for volunteers to go ashore and examine the Spaniard's cache of oil and bone. The Spaniard, the chief mate, third and fourth mates and threhref the crew went ashore. Before leaving, the captain gave the mate a pair of pistols and warned him to come right back to the ship should he have any suspicion of foul play.*

*During the morning, Captain Kenney anxiously scanned the shore. As time passed, he became convinced that all was not right, as no sign of life was to be seen on the beach and the whaleboat remained just where his crew had left it. Then, about 2 p.m., a small canoe, manned by natives, came off, and one of them scrambled aboard with a message scrawled with lead—not lead pencil—on the fly-leaf of a Bible. Though difficult to decipher, it advised Kenney that his men were prisoners and in danger. Shortly after the note was delivered, the mate came off in another canoe with two natives.*

*He carried a note from the Spaniard ordering Captain Kenney to send the Irishman and a French seaman ashore. He also demanded a ransom of \$300. The mate stated that, after he landed, he told the Spaniard to lead the way to the hidden stuff. Pretending to do so, the fellow led them among the coconuts to another part of the shore, where the astonished whalers found themselves in a sort of fort which the renegade had constructed and in which two guns belonging to the wrecked whale-ship had been mounted. He also had the ship's mizzen-topmast and topgallant-mast erected and stayed up, from which a flag was flown. Three or four huts were built around the fort, and out of these came a "bodyguard" of twenty natives, each armed with a rude knife.*

*As soon as the whalers entered the fort, the natives surrounded them and they were marched down to a large hut, or council chamber,<sup>1</sup> in which a number of native chiefs were assembled. A great palaver among the natives followed, and when the mate asked the Spaniard what all the talk was about, the man replied that the islanders wished to make the whalers prisoners.*

*Captain Kenney's account is not quite as lucid as one might wish. His narrative is terse and leaves much to the imagination. But one gathers the impression that the Span-*

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1 Called "maneaba" in the native language.



*ish renegade was either insane or else a fool, albeit a dangerous one. It is evident that he did not have the support of the native chiefs in his schemes, even though they did nothing to help the whalers. His permitting the mate to go off to the ship may have been because he knew the officer was armed. On the other hand, one wonders why the mate, possessing two pistols, did not make an effort to rescue his shipmates.<sup>1</sup>*

*Captain Kenney prepared to repel boarders in the event of the Spaniard and the natives making an attack during the night, but nothing happened. Next morning, he sent the mate and a boat's crew, well armed, ashore to get the other men. They were to remain just off the beach. The result was that another of the captured men, a native of Manila, guarded by three natives, came down and got aboard the waiting boat. This man had been bound and kept captive all night. The Spaniard came to him while he was tied up and stated that he planned to capture the ship. His scheme was to get another boat's crew on shore after the first, and he would then muster a gang of natives and board the ship and take possession of her. All of the crew who would join him would share in the spoils; the others, including the captain, would be "polished off".*

*"That day passed without any further move," says Captain Kenney, "but on the third day, seeing no prospect of getting my boat and the remaining men, I determined to make hostages of as many natives as I could capture." It will thus be seen that Kenney was a Bluenose seaman of resource and daring. The natives must have been somewhat guileless, since they paddled around the ship and were seduced aboard without much trouble. "I seduced them first on deck and then into the forecabin with beef and bread. They were so anxious for a good feed that there was no trouble in getting them aboard."*

*But the fun commenced when the **Stewart's** crew started to secure them. Down in the dark and crowded fo'c'sle, the men threw themselves on the frightened islanders, and when they bore them to the deck they tried to bind their wrists with pieces of manila whale line. Several were lashed up and apparently subdued, but with their sharp teeth they soon bit through the lashings, and by the time the last of the crowd were fast, the first captives were loose and fighting again. "The next move was to tie their hands behind their backs," says the narrator, "but the most difficult thing to do was to hold them at all, as they were naked and greased with coconut oil, so the only grip we could get on them was by means of their long straight hair. They were so lithe and jointless that they drew their bodies through their arms, and bringing their wrists to their mouths again they bit through the cords as if they were cotton thread."*

*"The next move was iron handcuffs. They could not bite through these. With the natives ironed, the panting and perspiring crew, after wrestling for more than one hour in the cramped forecabin, fancied they had them secure. But even handcuffs would not hold them, for, slipping their hands through, they were loose once more. Eventually they were handcuffed with their hands behind them, then passed into the 'tween decks, where they were lashed to the stanchions. These natives were fine big strapping fellows."*

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1 The Mate had probably been disarmed.

*The hostage-hunting went on. One of the canoes around the ship contained a chief. Kenney wanted him, but he would not venture aboard the whaler. A man was sent down to him pretending that he wanted to buy some shells, and this man carried a lance-warp fashioned into a running bowline. But as soon as the chief saw the scheme, he jumped out of his canoe and started to swim. Captain Kenney, determined to catch him, lowered a boat. When the chief saw the boat coming, he got into a canoe and paddled like mad for the shore, and when the whalemens got near, he jumped into the water again. The chase went on for some time until one of the whalemens caught the swimmer with the boat-hook. He was hauled aboard the boat and submitted quietly to being secured. When night came on, Kenney had captured thirteen men, one woman and a boy. The chief, the woman and the boy were confined in the sail-room."*

*Nothing happened during the night. The whalemens were prepared for action with a four-pounder gun, eighteen muskets, and a deadly assortment of keen-edged cutting-spades, lances and boarding-knives. At daylight a large canoe manned by fifteen natives appeared near the ship, watching her closely. Captain Kenney then called the Irishman, who could speak a few words of the native language, and told him to inform the natives that if they did not bring back the crew and boat before the sun was overhead, the captives would be hung at the yardarm. On hearing this ultimatum, they immediately paddled back to the reef, some of them jumping overboard and swimming ashore in their anxiety to carry the message.*

*After breakfast, Captain Kenney decided to get under way, as he knew that a move, one way or the other, was impending. Then a canoe came off, manned by three natives, and containing another of the captive whalemens. He told of a great commotion among the natives, during which the Spaniard had cleared out. But the islanders had taken the whaleboat and had it triced up under the coconut trees, forty feet from the ground.*

*"I then hove short," says Captain Kenney, "hoisted the topsail-yards, loosed the yard-arm gaskets and made ready for a start. As I was doing this, a great fleet of canoes came showing up inside the reef and I made out my whale-boat among them, manned by natives, and my three men in canoes. I kept the ship steady, main-yards aback, and soon the boat came near enough for me to heave a line and hook into it and bring it alongside. As soon as I did this, the natives in her jumped overboard, and I hoisted the boat up and shortly afterwards got the last of my men from the canoes."*

*"By this time the ship was surrounded and much yelling going on. My crew got excited and had taken up the muskets and lances, and I was afraid mischief might happen. As soon as possible, I released my captives and they were overboard like a shot. I had allowed the boy to swim ashore earlier in the morning, and he must have made a favourable report, for nothing happened except the yelling in the swarming canoes, but it was exciting."*

*The **James Stewart** got away to sea and continued her cruise, but they had not heard the last of the Spanish renegade. Some time later,<sup>1</sup> they touched at Sydenham Island*

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1 A few months later, still in 1847.

*again, and from the natives who came off they learned that the man had been killed. A whale-ship, the **Triton**, Captain Spencer of New Bedford, had come in shortly after the **Stewart** left, and from two of the natives who had been former members of the crew, and who could speak some English, they learned that the Spaniard had had an encounter with the **Triton's** company and had been killed by them.”<sup>1</sup>*

Some time after leaving the Gilberts, the **James Stewart** must have circled the Pacific and may have touched at Kosrae or Pohnpei as was the custom, then northwest towards the Marianas, north to the Japan Sea. She did go to the Okhotsk Sea where she cruised until September 15th, 1848. Upon arrival at the Hawaiian Islands, the news about the gold fever in California reached the whalers and most of them left the **James Stewart**. Captain Kenney sailed for London to sell his cargo and his ship,<sup>2</sup> and take a passage home to St. John. As it turned out, Captain Kenney later bought the **James Stewart** himself and, after having loaded her up with lumber, he took her to San Francisco where he eventually had to sell everything at a loss.

### **The Athol was Canada's last ship built for whaling**

At the time the **James Stewart** was in Micronesia, another Canadian whaling ship was also making the rounds. She was the **Athol** of St. John, a 400-ton ship under the command of Captain James Doane Coffin of Barrington, Nova Scotia, a man well acquainted with whaling. The **Athol** was a brand-new ship owned by Charles Coles Ste-

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- 1 The so-called Spaniard was probably of Portuguese nationality. In the book entitled: "The Ship Ann Alexander of New Bedford, 1805-1851" by Clement Cleveland Sawtell of the Marine Historical Association, Mystic, Connecticut, this renegade, mentioned in the logbook under 1848, is reported to have been "some Portugues" by an unnamed white man who came on board from the island. If so, the renegade was probably a native of the Azores.
  - 2 He reached London in May 1849, according to Jones (p. 177).

wart but Captain Coffin had a minor interest in her (4 out of 64 shares). She had been built at Lamehead (near St. John) in early 1845 by William and James Lawton.

The 1845-1849 whaling voyage of the **Athol** to the Pacific was to be her first and last voyage out of St. John. Captain Coffin brought his wife and young son along. He also kept a private journal of the voyage.<sup>1</sup> Here are a few excerpts from Captain Coffin's journal.

***"Journal of Another Whaling Voyage to the Pacific Ocean by J. D. C. on Board Ship Athol."***<sup>2</sup>

*"July 22nd 1845.— Well, I have commenced another, long voyage, one that I hope may prove, at least, as satisfactory as my former ones. This is my 5th voyage. I began in 1834, when I was about 20 years of age. I was then fired with love and ambition. A good reputation was my aim. To make my fair one happy and to know that she thought much of me was my delight. It is now [18]45. Eleven years, eventful years have flown. I can not say but I have attained and enjoyed as much as I could reasonably expect, and I have now embarked on another voyage which has, for its only novelty, my having my wife and child with me, and my having rather a superior ship. We have, I think, good officers,<sup>3</sup> but an inferior crew; however, we must make the best of them."*

During 1846, the **Athol** cruised for whales near the Galapagos. In March 1847, the **Athol** reached Oahu. In April, she was sailing westward directly from Hawaii to the Bonin Islands. Captain Coffin's remarks and the ancient island names he used indicate that he had obsolete charts on board. After a cruise in the Japan Sea, the captain de-

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1 This being a private journal, Captain Coffin must have taken it home to Nova Scotia. It was thus preserved and avoided the fate of the ship's logbook which was probably destroyed in the 1877 St. John fire. A copy of this journal is now kept in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia. There is also a journal kept by a young sailor aboard, Benjamin Doane. The latter journal has recently been published: Heather M. Doane Atkinson (ed.), *Following the Sea* (Nimbus Publishing & Nova Scotia Museum, 1987), pp. 148-157.

2 Capt. Coffin was born in Barrington, Nova Scotia, on 12 March 1814. He was of a long line of seamen who had emigrated from Cape Cod in 1761. He was 21 years old when he sailed on his first whaling voyage to the Indian Ocean. In 1836, he was in command of the barque **Margaret Rait** on a cruise for whales in the South Pacific. This voyage was repeated in 1838. Upon his return to Barrington in 1840, he married Mary Doane. It was to her that he dedicated his third whaling journal when he set out from St. John in 1840 for short cruises off the west coast of South America. He returned in 1844. A year later, as master of the new whaling ship **Athol** of St. John, he sailed with his wife and baby daughter, Mary Esther. this 5-year voyage took place all over the Pacific and included Micronesian waters. Grief came in Sydney, Australia, when his daughter died of a brain fever. His wife was to die at home in 1853. In 1885, Capt. Coffin himself died at Port Clyde, Nova Scotia, where he had operated a shipyard with his brother Thomas since 1854.

3 The mate was Joseph Taylor, the second mate Thomas Thomas, the third mate Amzi Daunton, and the fourth mate John Shields.

cided to go to Sydney for repairs. The ship went by way of Pohnpei (20 October) and Kosrae (30 October).

*"Near Ascension. October 20th [1847]. Yesterday we made Ascension at noon, had a fine day. The wind headed us, could not fetch the island; today squally, got within about 10 miles of the land. The way in which it saluted our olfactories was not to be mistaken."*

*"October 21st. Wind light, with an occasional heavy squall of wind and rain. Got within about 6 miles of the land."*

*"22nd. During the night got currented 15 miles from the island, but about 10 a.m. the canoes from the island boarded us, about 6 or 8 but did not bring a particle of vegetables, except a few cocoanuts; this was a disappointment, for we have been so long without vegetables that the scurvy is making its appearance. All our endeavours, through the day, to get nearer the land, were vain. The natives were loath to leave for the land, at so great a distance, but about 4 p.m. they started and got in about at two in the morning. The old King and his retinue stayed with us. During the day, in a squall, they lost a canoe from alongside. In every canoe was a white man, runagades [sic], who have left ships and manage to stay here, to the disgrace of themselves, the injury of the natives and to the disadvantage [of] those who visit the island for any of its productions, which, however are few, consisting only of yams, cocoanuts, bananas, tortoise shell, "Beach la mare" [trepang] and wood, water, and spars. The natives bring no yams to a ship while lying off. The first white man that got on board, said: "I wish to engage to get your yams, the natives are not allowed to bring them; the custom of the island is 5 lbs tobacco for 100 yams, or 5 fathoms of cloth, or 5 lbs of powder. The white men must have a part in advance, to buy from the natives with, and when the articles for which we bargain, are on board, they take the remainder, which is about 3/4th to pay themselves; and with this purchase their food from the natives. The natives, when scarce of tobacco will give a good fowl for a pipeful. The fowls run wild in the bush, and have to be shot, or caught when wanted. The natives eat very few of them..."*

*"The white men here are a despicable lot and a lawless set. They have persuaded the natives not to have much dealing with ships, but to leave it to them, that they may get the value of their articles, and they do get the value three fourths of which they secure to themselves. The whites, I believe, dress in the same manner as the natives when there is no ship about the island. Their dress consists of a sort [of] grass mat which fastens round the waist, and falls near to the knees. The women wear two yards of cloth, about their nether half; a square of cloth, with a hole in the center for the head, covers their shoulders; altogether, quite a graceful dress. The men keep as many wives as they are able to support. The old chief has nine; one of the whites has three, one about 30 years of age, another about 16."*

*"A white man who wishes to reside on the island must get the protection of a chief; there is then no danger of the natives robbing them. The natives, urged and assisted by*

*the whites, will sometimes rob a ship, an instance of this occurred about six months ago...*"

[...]<sup>1</sup>

*"Friday October 29th. Fine weather, with a gentle breeze from the South. Standing to the ESE making very slow progress, and the worst is we are short of water."*

*"Long. by Chron. 160.50*

*By lunar [obs.] 161.40 odd [?]"*

*"Saturday 30 [October 1847].— On the morning saw Strongs Island, and being short of water, and having the prospect of a long passage to Sydney, I determined to try this island for water; got within 6 miles of it tonight, but the weather looks squally and not to be depended on."*

*"31st.— Light airs and variable. Sent a boat on board the **Volga**<sup>2</sup> of Fairhaven, got information respecting the island, and at 5 p.m., started a raft of casks for the shore which was distant about 6 miles."*

*"We got a little to the south of the island during the night, and the winds continuing light, we could not get near the harbour till dark, when the wind had increased to a strong breeze from the NNE. Squally during the night. Tuesday morning at 7 a.m., a heavy squall from the ENE, weather looking bad. Stood in towards the harbour and to my surprise saw the boats towing the raft off. Ran in as near as possible, and got the water on deck just in good time, for the wind was getting light, and the ship was only a mile from the reef, the sea heaving on."*

*"Ascension<sup>3</sup> is a small island, its number of inhabitants they do not know themselves. It was formerly under divided among a number of chiefs who were continually at enmity, but one having subdued the rest, he became king and so remains. He seems to be loved, feared, and revered by all, and is a sensible man. No spirits made on the island while he reigns. He is very desirous of getting a missionary to instruct them."<sup>4</sup>*

[...]<sup>5</sup>

*"11th [April 1848].— Strong breeze at NE and clear. At 7 a.m., made Ascension W by S 25 m[iles]. Ran into the land and tried to get yams but, finding we could not procure a sufficient quantity, I determined not to stop, but to go to Guam, one of the Ladrões [Marianas], it being on our track. Accordingly, we squared away, set the fore topmast studdingsail and were dashing along at the rate of about 9 [knots] when about 9 p.m., the cry of "Land ahead" was heard. Hauled the topmast studsail, wore round,*

1 There are unfortunately no entries in the journal for the dates 23-28 October.

2 Captain Luce, voyage 1846-1852. This barque had been formerly from New Bedford, across the harbour from its new home port of Fairhaven, Massachusetts.

3 Error for Strongs, i.e. Kosrae.

4 This king was known as King George. His wish to get a missionary was granted 5 years later when Reverend Benjamin G. Snow of the Boston Missionary Society (ABCFM) arrived at Kosrae.

5 From Sydney, the **Athol** headed once more for the Japan Sea, by way of Pohnpei and Guam. Between Pohnpei and Guam, the ship almost came to grief upon Oroluk on account of the bad charts on board.

*made a board, tacked and weathered the island. This is a low island bearing NW1/2W from Ascension. It is not noticed on the charts. We were near going to it."*

...  
*"Sunday 16th.— Made the island of Guam and stood into the southern anchorage [Umatac]. The Pilot came on board and told me we must go to the town [Agaña] for refreshments such as we could get, but there are no yams. I [was] quite astonished to hear this. I had just left Ascension where we might have got some, but I must come here to get them without any difficulty, but by wasting two days further to be dug, we got 2 tons of sweet potatoes."*

*"Guam is the southernmost island of the Ladrones group. It belongs to Spain, and I should think, must be quite useless to her. What is called the town consists of about 150 rude sort of dwellings, thatched mostly with straw, some tiled. The island I believe to be productive, but the people for the most part are very indolent. They subsist chiefly on vegetable diet and nature, with very little assistance, provided this for them. They had supplied about 40 ships with yams this season. The Ladies' dress consists of a petticoat and a sort of jacket which meets it at the waist, and it is not unusual [to see] their tawny skin shining between them."*

*"I took Mary on shore. She would have had a very pleasant time of it, but for a stout old Scotchman, the only English [sic] resident of any note who that day had made so free with the sap of [the] coconut tree as to become intolerable, and he would insist on showing us the Lions.<sup>1</sup> After exhibiting his family, he took us to the Governor's dwelling, but His Excellency was not at home and his room which was a spacious one was filled with natives from the Caroline Island[s], with but one very small vestige of clothing about them. I turned on my heel and told Mr. John Anderson we should now return to our Hotel. The Mistress of this house is, she told us, 39 years of age, could speak some English, and was an active good natured body. She had a husband, second in rank of society, but he seemed to be a sort [of] cipher who took more pride in showing his cocked hat and military dress than in the efficient performance of any duty.*

*Our little boy was a great Lion, and he enjoyed himself"...<sup>2</sup>*

1 John Anderson, and his children.

2 This is a reference to his two-year-old son James Fernandez Coffin, so named because he was born aboard ship off Juan Fernandez Island. He later became a master mariner and a shipbuilder.



The **Athol** left Guam on April 18th 1848 and went north to the Bonin Islands and the Japan Sea. She probably recruited in Hawaii before sailing for London where she was sold along with her cargo.<sup>1</sup> A London company is said to have sent her on another whaling voyage to unknown parts.<sup>2</sup>

## The **Canmore** could do no more

There was no more whaling out of Canadian ports after 1850. The **Canmore** was no exception.<sup>3</sup> Sent out of St. John in October 1845, she was to perform the longest whaling voyage in Canadian history, exactly five years away from home. During that period, there is only one report of her being in Micronesian waters, in March 1850.<sup>4</sup> This report appears in the logbook of the ship **Olympia** of New Bedford, Captain Woodward.<sup>5</sup>

*"Monday March 4th 1850*

*... First part of the day, stood to the SE [of Banaba]. Spoke Bark **Canmore** of St. Johns [sic]..."*

...

*"Sat. March the 9th*

*... Pleasant [Nauru] Island to windward. Spoke Bark **Canmore**."*

There does not seem to be any report about the **Canmore** having been seen at Kosrae or at Pohnpei in late March of that year. The doings of this last Canadian whaling ship seen in Micronesia remain somewhat of a mystery to this day.<sup>6</sup>

1 This information is from the journal of Benjamin Doane.

2 A. G. E. Jones, in his *Ships Employed in the South Seas Trade* (Canberra, Roebuck, 1986), pp. 177 & 179, has recorded the **Athol** at the Cape of Good Hope in January 1850, and at London in 1850 and 1854.

3 Barque **Canmore**. Built 1843 in St. John by W. & R. Wright for James Malcolm of St. John, Merchant. St. John Register 1845 N° 41. Re-registered as N° 110 soon after when sold to Nehemiah Merritt, Merchant (44/64), Captain John W. Cudlip (13/64), and Benjamin Lawton, Boat Builder, all of St. John.

4 The author has been unable to find any reference to the **Canmore** being in Micronesia in 1846, 1847, 1848 and 1849 but she must have been spotted there by other whalers.

5 Logbook of the Ship **Olympia** of New Bedford, Capt. Warren Woodward. Voyage 1847-51. Log kept by Loring Potter, deposited at the New Bedford Whaling Museum. PMB 273-274.

6 The **Marengo** of New Bedford, Capt. Devoll, was at Pohnpei on March 15th, 1850 and reported 5 ships there, the **Canmore** not being among them (See PMB 346). The **Barclay** of Nantucket was also cruising near Nauru and Banaba in March 1850 but did not report seeing the **Canmore** either (See PMB 727). However, she must have cruised in Micronesian waters in 1846-1849 also because she was in fact reported at the Bonins in 1846 and 1847, and at Sydney in 1848 and 1849. She was at first commanded by Capt. Cudlip, then Courtenay (1849) and finally by Capt. Jackson (1850). Sold to Glasgow 1850.



## Epilogue

The whale fishery of St. John and Halifax passed away with the ships mentioned in this article. After 1845, the whale oil business seemed to have become unprofitable for Canadian owners, perhaps because New Englanders had monopolized the market.

The Canadian whalers fitted out for voyages to last an average of three years. In Micronesia, they would join U.S., English and Australian whalers among the Gilbert Islands, then slowly sweep up along a clockwise circular route around the North Pacific marked by the following islands: Banaba, Nauru, Kosrae and/or Pohnpei, the Marianas and the Bonins. Refitting would take place in Hawaii but, when major repairs were in order, the ships would go to Sydney.

It is unfortunate that the great fire of 1877 that destroyed St. John wiped out a great part of the history of this short-lived Canadian business. However, one third of the voyages to Micronesia have left a record of sort, three journals and the memoirs of Captain Kenney, the most experienced St. John whaler with five whaling voyages and nearly sixteen years of whaling to his credit.

This article has endeavoured to show that the Canadian record sufficiently covers most aspects of the whaling business, the life aboard whale-ships, and contacts with the inhabitants of major island groups within Micronesia. Basically, it is not different from the U. S. record of their whaling activities in the Pacific. Whalers and beachcombers alike (the latter being mostly deserters from whaling ships) have left their mark on Micronesia; they brought in some vices and diseases previously unknown to the area, but they also introduced the outside world from which there was no escape, the idea of a Supreme Being and the need for missionaries.

From the point of view of the natives, the best reference that can be found to close this chapter of Micronesian history is the narrative of Captain Jurien de la Gravière,<sup>1</sup> who visited Kosrae in 1850 in command of the French Navy corvette **Bayonnaise**. He said the following about the local queen.

*"She seemed moreover to be endowed with the most sociable humor, and her gay babble was pleasant to listen to. "I love whalers," she said. "They always bring me a little gift, pay me compliments, and call me "good belly queen".<sup>2</sup> They give King George whale oil, rum and tobacco. When many months pass without seeing ships, the people and the king are not happy."*

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1 "Voyage en Chine et dans les mers et archipels de cet empire... 1847-1850" (Paris, Charpentier, 1854).

2 The expression "good belly" was local whaler slang for someone who liked to eat, drink and be merry.

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## Document 1841A

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### **Captain T. Beckford Simpson's comments about British Seamen in the Pacific, ca. 1841**

*Source: Nautical Magazine, 1844, pp. 99-103.*

#### **Pacific navigation and British seamen.**

We have been kindly favoured by Captain Simpson with the following extracts from his log, which contain information calculated to be highly useful to persons trading to the East Indies from this port:—

#### **Extracts from the private log of T. Beckford Simpson, commander of the barque Giraffe, during a passage from Sydney to Manilla, by the easter route.**

January 19th, 1843.—Passed close to the position of a shoal on the middle ground, (so termed by the whalers,) saw no indication of it...

...  
From Cape Deliverance to Pleasant [Nauru] Island, which I made on the 1st of February, had for the most part westerly winds, with nearly daily violent squalls from the north-west, gradually veering round to the south-west; they were attended with much rain, and very vivid lightning; they generally commenced about an hour later each succeeding day. During one of these heavy squalls, on the 27th January, when in about latitude 6°9' S., long. 164°15', at 11. 45m. a.m., observed the compass-card to revolve several times without any apparent cause; this phenomenon might probably be occasioned by the effect of electricity on the magnet, the squall being charged at the time with a large quantity of electric fluid. It is worthy of remark, that during these heavy squalls there was no perceptible alteration in the barometer, it showing 29.75. In these latitudes experienced a constant current setting to the eastward, averaging nearly one knot; during the easterly monsoon it changes its direction, and runs strong to the westward; due allowance ought, therefore, to be made by navigators in shaping a course in these seas.

**Pleasant Island.**—At 2 p.m., on the 1st of February, made Pleasant Island. This island was passed by Captain Fearn in the year 1789; upon his authority, Horsburgh

places it in lat.  $0^{\circ}20'$  S., long.  $167^{\circ}10'$  E. Norie gives the same longitude, and five miles more to the southward. I make the latitude of centre  $0^{\circ}35'$  S., which I find agrees with several ships that have sighted it. I had no opportunity of getting observations for the longitude, my dead reckoning from a.m. sight makes it about fifteen miles to the westward of the assigned position. This island is rather low, and could not, I think, be seen more than seven leagues from aloft, two round hummocks some distance apart are first visible, and as it is approached from the south-east, a very remarkable solitary tree, towering above all others, makes its appearance on the eastern extremity of the island. As I neared the land, several canoes came alongside, there were about eight or ten natives in each. They brought with them for sale a few very small fowls, some cocoa-nuts, and two or three straw hats; the latter they had been taught to make by the Europeans, these articles they were exceedingly anxious to barter for trinkets, beads, pipes, and tobacco; the latter were most in demand: they all appeared quite adepts in the art of bargaining. The men are about the middle size, well, but not robustly made, of a dark copper colour, with a very smooth sleek skin; they had no beard, hair black and straight; they have no affinity to the Papuan race, but are evidently, from their high cheek bones and irregular cast of features, of the Malayan descent; and from what I saw of the natives of the island of Ascension [Pohnpei], one of the Carolines, North Pacific, I am of an opinion they are both sprung from the same origin. Four of the women came alongside, and if they were a sample, they may be considered rather good-looking, having a very fine expression, black eyes shaded by a beautiful long dark lash, features regular, figure good, rather inclined to be stout; they appeared naturally graceful and easy in their manner; their dress consisted of a piece of native cloth round the waist; the men wore the maro—the usual dress among nearly all the Polynesian Islands—it is made of several tiers of dried grass, about eighteen inches long, strung together, and fastened round their waist.

Both sexes appeared to be very mild and tractable in their manner, but much addicted to pilfering; we detected several in the attempt; when threatened they did not deny the crime, or consider the expected punishment unjust. These natives, unlike their prototypes on the Island of Ascension in this respect, have no tradition of their origin, or the manner their forefathers first came on the island: they have no religion of any kind, neither do they believe in a future state; they appear, however, to have some slight idea of an evil spirit.

They are divided into seven or eight tribes, each tribe governed by a chief and queen, who presides over the whole; it is her duty to decide all disputes which may arise among the chiefs, and from her decision there is no appeal; in her also is vested the sovereign prerogative of making peace or war among the different tribes; and on all these occasions I am told she is implicitly obeyed. From what I could learn there were about 1,100 inhabitants on this island, which is only fourteen miles in circumference, and they are, I believe, rapidly on the increase, and fears are entertained that it will eventually be too small to support them. Their food consists chiefly of cocoa-nuts, the fruit of another description of palm, probably the pandanus, and fish, which are not very numer-

ous. I saw none of the tropical fruits, which are generally very prolific in these islands, neither had they any bread-fruit, which is the principal support of the natives on nearly all the Polynesian Islands. It might, however, be very easily imported from the adjacent islands, and from the climate and soil being well calculated for its growth it would doubtless thrive well.

When hove to off the island, an European came on board, who stated himself to be George Lovett, a deserter from the London whaler **Offley**. He brought off a list of the whalers, with their success, that had recently touched here.

This island, and many others in the Pacific, are infested by Europeans, who are either runaway convicts, ex-convicts, or deserters from whalers, and are for the most part men of the very worst description, who, it appears prefer living a precarious life of indolence and ease with the unenlightened savage, rather than submit to the restraint of the salutary laws of civilised society; they live in a manner easily to be imagined from men of this class, without either law, religion, or education, to control them, with an unlimited quantity of ardent spirits which they obtain from distilling the toddy that exudes from the cocoa-nut tree. This spirit is not very palatable, but it serves, to use their own expression, to tickle the brain; when under the influence of intoxication the most atrocious crimes are committed by these miscreants, who must, both by their pernicious example and advice do much injury to this naturally mild and well-disposed race of men, and will retard considerably the great work of civilisation and Christianity whenever these blessings are offered them by the servants of God. These fiends frequently urge the different tribes to warrant deeds of blood, in order to participate in the spoils of the vanquished.

The following occurrences will tend in some measure to show the brutal manner in which these wretches live. They are in constant dread of each other, and by their deeds even horrify the untutored savage I give them on the authority of the man Lovett, and from the clear and consistent manner in which he relates them, I have no doubt of the truth.

Lovett states that there are at present seven Europeans on Pleasant Island, named as follow:—Frederick Fisher, William Day, both deserters from the brig **Clarence**, of Sydney; William Ross, from the **lady Blackwood**, Sydney; James Ashford, or some such name, from the **Rifleman**, of London; Darby ----, from the **Clarkson**, of Sydney; and the steward of the **William**, of Sydney, name unknown.

Lovett says [that] last evening (January 31, 1843) Fisher and Ashford came to visit Day and myself, and brought with them some of the island spirit to make merry with. Day got drunk and commenced quarrelling with the native woman he was living with, and beat her violently with his fist; Ashford (a lad of eighteen) interfered, and endeavoured to reconcile them, when Day went into an adjoining room, got a musket, took a deliberate aim at Ashford, and fired; fortunately the ball had been previously drawn, but this Day did not know; he acknowledged he thought there was a ball in the gun; the charge of powder entered Ashford's left breast, and injured him severely, the muzzle being within six feet of him. His recovery is at present very doubtful.

It was notorious, more especially amongst the Sydney whalers, who occasionally called at this island, and the fact was, I believe, not unknown to the government authorities in Sydney, that there were several runaway doubly-convicted felons who had cut a whale-boat out, and made their escape from the penal settlement of Norfolk Island, and were living in this place for several years. It appears there were four of these villains at first, two subsequently left in an American whaler, either to carry their pernicious influence to some of the adjacent islands, or proceed to America; the remaining two were well known by the names of Paddy and Jones; the former died of dysentery some time since, and Lovett gives the following account of the latter, who appears to have been a most desperate and depraved character. Lovett obtained his information from the natives who were present at the time, and I have since been confirmed in its truth by the testimony of the master of a whaler, who touched at this island shortly after the event alluded to took place.

It appears that on the 15th of October, 1841, eleven Europeans were deliberately murdered by the monster Jones, in the following manner:—He invited them all to visit him to partake of a feast, and when he had got his victims intoxicated with the island spirit, he gave them food in which he had previously mixed poison. This proved fatal to seven: the remaining four having refused to eat, he watched his opportunity and shot them. Most of these men are supposed to have been deserters from the **Woodlark**, Sydney whaler. The only cause which instigated the monster to this wholesale murder was jealousy, he being fearful that some of these unfortunate men might supersede him in his influence with the natives, over whom he had hitherto unlimited control. To remove suspicion from himself he endeavoured to make it appear that the deed had been perpetrated by some of the natives, which they indignantly denied, and in consequence withdrew their countenance from him, and he was subsequently compelled to leave the island clandestinely, in the American whaler **Gideon Hauling** [sic = Howland], and was again landed by her on a small island three [sic] miles to the eastward of Pleasant Island called Ocean [Banaba] Island, where he remained for eight months, and again returned in the London whaler **Eleanor** to Pleasant Island; but finding from the ill-feeling the natives had towards him, he could not remain with safety, he again left in an American whaler, and has never since visited this place. Captain Stokes, of the whaler **Berdmundsey**, reports having seen him since on Guam, one of the Mariana Islands, a prisoner in chains, and which report has been confirmed by Captain Bunker, of the **Elizabeth**; but whether he has been confined for any fresh crime committed there, or given up by some vessel as a runaway convict, does not appear. It is most likely to be the former, as I do not think the Spanish government would interfere in the latter case.

On any passage down to China, I went on board the ship **William Gillies**, from Macao, and learned from her that Jones had arrived there fromo Guam, and was anxious to ship for England. Jones was personally known to some of the Gillies' crew.

It is to be feared that these horrible scenes of bloodshed and depravity are of frequent occurrence amongst the Polynesian Isles, more especially to the westward, where

no effort has hitherto been made to introduce civilisation and Christianity. Vain and futile will be the attempt, whilst these miscreants are permitted to remain with the natives, corrupting them by their baneful examples and selfish advice, introducing intoxication and disease in its many horrible forms, and teaching these naturally mild and tractable race of men the grossest depravity. In many of these places the Europeans are very numerous; on the island of Ascension, which I visited in 1841, there were upwards of sixty, and will, doubtless, should opportunity offer, cut out any vessel which might be tempted to stop at this island in order to obtain refreshments, as it lies immediately in the track of ships going the eastern route from Sydney to China. Masters of vessels should, therefore, be cautious how they approach—the strictest vigilance is necessary to prevent surprise.

It would be advisable for the government occasionally to send a man-of-war to visit these islands; her presence alone would be very beneficial in keeping these men in check, as there is nothing they dread more than a vessel of that description. They are generally very cautious in not boarding a vessel until they have ascertained her character and force.

Lovett also informed me [that] there was a white man on this island, who had been living there for many years; he is quite a European in appearance, and is thought to be either one of the boys belonging to the **John Bull** or **Prince Charlotte**, both which vessels were supposed to be lost or cut out near this island, and he is thought to be either a lad named Backs or Le Burn. The following is his description:—Apparently about thirty-four years of age, but probably younger; complexion is inclined to fair, whiskers red, hairlight and dispose to curl. He is not permitted by the natives to associate with the whites, nor is he allowed to go on board any vessel. He cannot speak English, but appears to understand it.

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## Documents 1841B

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### The ship Sharon of Fairhaven, Captain Norris

#### B1. Extracts from the logbook kept by Captain Howes Norris

*Sources: Ms. log in Dukes County Historical Society, Edgartown, Mass.; PMB 674; Log Inv. 4338.*

*Notes: This log is written in very clear, and unusual, handwriting, which makes me believe that it is a copy of the original log (also because of some inconsistencies that must have been introduced). It begins with departure from Fairhaven on 25 May 1841 and ends in the Carolines on 29 October 1842, as the remaining pages have been torn off, perhaps because of the mutiny that took place after that date (see B2 below). The first mate was Thomas H. Smith, the second mate was Nathan S. Smith, and the third mate Benjamin Clough; all three were from Martha's Vineyard.*

...

Tuesday May 25th 1841

Fresh breezes from S.W. all these 24 hours[.] at 6 A.M. took our anchor and worked out the river & bay in company with ship **Mercury**. at 12 Merid. Cutterhunk bore S.E. distant 3 miles.

...

Friday Dec 24th 1841

Light breezes from the Eastward and pleasant all these 24 hours. lay up North N by E. and N.N.E. carried all sail. the current set West 15 miles this [sic] 24 hours. nothing more worthy of remark.

Lat. 1°37 North Long. 154°00 East.

Saturday 25th

Fresh breezes from the Eastward with a heavy swell from the Northward. Stood Northward. lay up from North to N.E. carried all sail.

Lat. 2°47 North Long. 154°22 East.

#### [Rare visit to Nukuoro]

Sunday 26th

First part fresh breezes from E.S.Eastward heading NE. Middle part squally. Latter part light variable winds with showers of rain and intervening calms. at daylight saw a Group of small Islands about 12 miles distant, bearing N.E. worked up towards them

and at 10 A.M. they bore N.N.E. 3 miles distant. saw a reef & breakers from the N. W. part stretching off in that direction 2 of 8 miles [sic]. as we could get no nearer to them could not examine them so closely as I had wished but there appears [sic] to be about 8 or 10 in number surrounded by a reef. the whole extent of which I should judge to be about 9 miles N.W. and S.E. the Middle of them by obs. in Lat.  $3^{\circ}13$  N. Long. by Chronometer agreeing with Lunar observations taken a few day[s] previous  $155^{\circ}06$  East. 18 canoes came off having in them from 1 to 12 men, in all about 100. whether these are Monteverdeson [sic] Islands[,] I do not know [sic] but if they are the same they are very erroneously laid down on the Charts. the natives appeared friendly but we could not get any of them to come on board.

Lat.  $3^{\circ}45$  North Long.  $155^{\circ}02$  East.

Monday Dec 27th

First part light breezes from the Northward and rainy. at 4 P.M. the canoes left for the shore. Steered East. Middle and Latter part fresh breezes from the Eastward and squally. at 12 Midnight tacked Northward. at 3 tacked S.E. at 10 tacked Northward. at 11 tacked Eastward. No Observations.

Lat by Account  $3^{\circ}15$  North Long.  $155^{\circ}30$  East.

...

Wednesday 12th [January 1842]

Wind from N.E. Moderate breezes and fair weather. at 8 P.M. tacked to N.N.W. at 10 A.M. made Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing North distant about 30 miles. So ends the day[,] Pleasant N. by E. 25 miles.

...

Sunday 16th

... Pleasant Island S.W. by S. 16 miles ...

Tuesday 18th

Light variable airs and calms all these 24 hours cruising to the North & N.E. of Pleasant Island[,] the natives came off in great numbers bringing fowls, pigs, coconuts, hats & mats which they exchanged for tobacco. saw nothing of the whale kind.

Pleasant Island South 8 miles.

...

Sunday 23rd

Fresh breezes from N.E. and fair weather. Spoke an English Barque 24 months out 900 bbls. employed at boiling.

Lat.  $00^{\circ}12$  South Long.  $168^{\circ}35$  East.

...

Sunday 6th [Feb.]

Moderate breezes from N.E. and pleasant all these 24 hours. at 2 P.M. saw Sperm Whales a long way off[,] could not get up with them. at 11 P.M. tacked Northward. at



8 A.M. saw Pleasant Island bearing W.N.W. tacked Eastward. saw Blackfish and Porpoises.

Lat. 0°46 Long. 167°45 East.

...

Thursday 10th

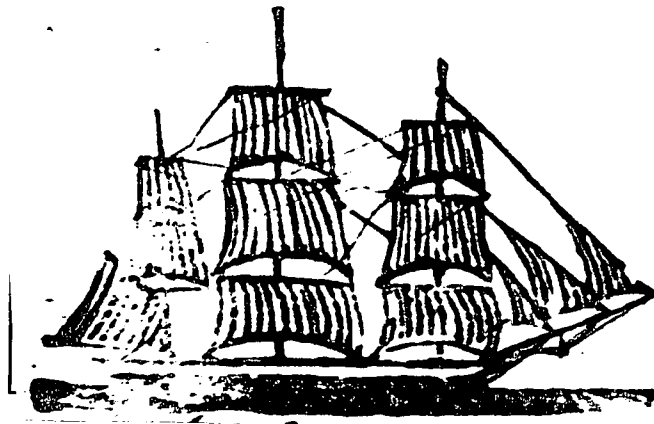
... four ship[s] in sight[,] all Englishmen... Pleasant Island South 10 miles.

...

Sunday 18th

Wind from the Northward moderate breezes, stood Eastward. at 5 P.M. made Ocean [Banaba] Island. at 11 tacked N.W.[,] at 2 tacked East. Ends with fine weather.

Ocean Island East 5 miles.



Monday 14th

All the[se] 24 hours light breezes N.E. and pleasant. Spoke ships **St. George**, Fisher, 30 months out 1800 [bbls,] and **William & Eliza**, Rogers, 27 months out[,] 1800. Middle part headed N.N.W. Latter part steered West. Saw nothing of the whale kind.

Lat. 0°35 South Long. 169°00 East.

...

Thursday 17th

Wind at E.N.E. fresh breezes and fair weather. first and Middle parts stood S.E. by the wind. Latter part, cruised to the Eastward of Pleasant Island. Spoke Ship **John Howland**, Whitfield 28 months out 1500 bbls. sperm oil.

Pleasant Island West 8 miles.

...

Saturday 19th

Moderate breezes from E.N.E. and fair weather all these 24 hours cruising about looking for sperm whales but found none. Spoke Ship **William & Eliza** and Barque **Fawn** of London, Capt. Dunn 22 months out 375 bbls.

Pleasant Island W.S.W. 15 miles.

...

Wednesday 2nd [March 1842]

... at 6 P.M. Pleasant Island North 12 miles ...

...

Friday 4th

Light breezes from the Eastward and pleasant all these 24 hours. at 6 P.M. spoke Ship **Abigail**, Cox 31 months out 1400 [bbls.] at 8 A.M. saw sperm whales. lowered and chased them but caught none. worked to windward under all sail. Strong westerly current.

Lat. 0°21 South Long. 166°12 East.

...

Saturday March 12th 1842

All these 24 hours fresh breezes from the Eastward and pleasant. at 1 P.M. saw sperm whales. lowered but could not strike. at 3 returned on board. at 4 P.M. saw whales again[,] lowered and gave chase but they were very wild[,] could not strike. at 6 spoke Barque **Fortune**, Almy, Plymouth 18 months out 350 Barrels. Latter part saw nothing. Strong current.

Lat. 0°27 South Long. 165°52 East.

...

[The ship was at Rotuma on 7 April, where, according to Purrington,<sup>1</sup> 9 men jumped ship and Capt. Norris had to ship native sailors: 1 from Rotuma itself, 1 from Arorae, and 1 from Banaba. These men subsequently mutinied and murdered Capt. Norris.]

...

Tuesday 10th [May 1842]

Fresh breezes from the Eastward and pleasant. first part stood to the S.E. at 6 P.M. tacked Northward. Sydenham [Nonouti] Island bearing S.E. 6 miles distant. Middle part stood Northward under short sail. Latter part steered W.N.W. at 8 A.M. made Henderville [Aranuka] Island. at 11 saw sperm whales. the S.W. point of the Island bearing W by N. 5 miles distant. lowered and gave chase. 12 Merid. boats off some of them fast. S.W. point W.N.W. 8 miles.

Wednesday May 11th 1842

... About 30 canoes from the different Islands in sight...

The Woodle [Kuria] Islands about 5 miles to the Northward.

Thursday 12th

Moderate breezes from the Eastward and pleasant[,] at 2 P.M. tacked Northward. at 12 Merid. tacked Southward. saw nothing of the whale kind.

Lat. 00°04 North Long. 173°35 East.

---

1 Ed. note: See his article in the American Neptune 27:2 (1967) 98-110.

Friday 13th

Fresh breezes from the Eastward and pleasant all these 24 hours. at 12 Midnight tacked Ship to the Northward. stood in with the Woodle Islands. tacked Southward[.] at 10 A.M. lay by about one hour{s} and made some trade with the natives.

Lat. 00°04 North Long. 173°30 East.

...

Thursday 19th

... at 3:30 P.M. made Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing S.W. by W distant 30 miles... Ocean Island W.N.W. 6 miles.

...

Tuesday 31st

Moderate breezes from the Eastward and pleasant. first and Middle parts stood Northward. Latter part S.E. at 11 A.M. spoke Barque **Samuel Enderby**, William, of London 23 months out 1200 bbls. oil.

Ocean Island S.E. 25 miles.

...

Wednesday 15th [June]

... Pleasant Island S.W. by W. 20 miles.

Thursday 16th

... Pleasant Island S.W. 15 miles.

Friday 17th

All these 24 hours nearly calm. at 6 P.M. finished cutting. Bought 100 fowls of[f] the natives from Pleasant Island. at 8 commenced boiling. a Barque in sight. saw Gram-puses.

Pleasant Island S.S.W. 25 miles.

...

Thursday 23rd

... Pleasant Island S.W. 20 miles.

Friday 24th

... Pleasant Island S.S.W. 25 miles.

...

Friday July 1st 1842

Wind from the Eastward. light breezes and fair weather. first part stood Southward. at 5 P.M. spoke Barque **Lagrange**, Stetson[,] of Fair Haven 12-1/2 months out 700 bbls sperm oil. Middle part headed North. Latter part steered N.W. the above Barque in sight.

Lat. 0°34 South Long. 167°38 East.

...

Wednesday July 6th 1842

All these 24 hours fresh breezes from the Eastward. spoke Barque **Lagrange**, same quantity of oil before. at 10 P.M. tacked Northward. 3 sail in sight.

Pleasant Island N.N.E. 15 miles.

...

Friday Aug 12th 1842

Moderate breezes from the Eastward and pleasant all these 24 hours. Spoke Barque **Fame** of Sidney 7-1/2 months out 600 bbls. run down to Pleasant Island and made some trade with the natives.

P. Island South, 2 miles.

Saturday 13th

... landed John Brown at Pleasant Island.

Lat. 0°35 South Long. 166°00 East.

...

Thursday Sept. 1st

First part steered East. Wind from N.N.E. Middle and Latter parts calm. At 9 a.m., George Babcock died very suddenly—he complained of having the cramp.

Lat. 1°11 South Long. 167°00 East.<sup>1</sup>

...

Sunday Sept. 11th 1842

Moderate breezes from the Eastward and fair weather all these 24 hours. first part headed S.S.E. Middle and Latter parts N.N.E. saw several finbacks and some porpoises but no sperm whales. it is trying to one's patience to come here for a voyage and be so very unfortunate as we have been, but there is no whales here this season, and we cannot make them, so it is no use to grieve.

Lat. 0°20 North Long. 166°00 East.

...

Wednesday, 21st

... Elvina M. Norris, Octavia A.Y. Norris, Alonzo Norris, Mary S. Norris: when shall we get full at this rate?

...

Sunday 25th

... the Larboard Boat fastened to a small whale and the iron drew. 100 bbls lost this day[,] it is my opinion by bad irons. this is the 2nd large whale we have lost by the irons breaking, and a very great many has drawn.

Lat. 00°20 North Long. 162°20 East.

...

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: He was John Babcock, the negro steward who had been beaten savagely by Captain Morris himself, and died of his wounds (See B2 below).

## Wednesday 5th [October]

First part of these 24 hours light breezes from the Northward and pleasant. at 2 P.M. the Boats returned with two whales. at 3 hooked on and finished cutting[.] at 5 Strongs [Kosrae] Island in sight bearing N.W. by N. about 40 miles distant. Middle part wind and weather much the same. Latter part calm. at 12 noon finished boiling. Strong Island in sight bearing W.N.W.

Lat. 4°56 North Long. 163°30 East.

## Thursday 6th Oct. 1842

First and Middle parts wind from S.E. steered Westward. Latter part wind S.S.W. steered West. At Noon observed in Lat. 5°15 N. the West end of Strongs Island bearing North 4 miles, which will make the centre in 5°23 N. and Long. by Chronometer 163°10 East.

## Friday 7th

First part wind from S.W. and pleasant. run round the Island and at 5 P.M. got abreast of the harbour but not in time to go on shore see whether it is a suitable place to anchor and recruit a ship. several natives came off with messages from the King stating that the harbour was good and plenty of refreshments to be obtained, but there is no trusting them. at 6 P.M. hauled by the wind to the W.N.W. Middle and Latter parts fresh breezes from the Southward steered W. by North. Stowed down our oil.

Lat. 5°55 North Long. 162°00 East.

## Saturday 8th

First and Middle parts fresh breezes from the Southward and squally, steered West by W by N [sic]. Latter part light breezes.

[Note in margin: Saw land Lat. 6°35 N. Long 161°45 E.]

Lat. 6°35 North Long. 161°10 East.

## Sunday 9th

First part light breezes from the Southward. stood Westward. at 6 P.M. had a squall from W.N.W. tacked to the S.W. at 12 Midnight wind hauled to West. headed S.S.W. at 12 noon nearly calm. at 9 A.M. saw land probably the Islands that are placed on the Charts as Mac Askils [Pingelap] but very erroneously for we were nearly on the spot they were in and the [islands] in sight but just discernable from the T.G. masthead.

Lat. 6°07 North Long. 161°02 East.

...

## Tuesday 11th

First part wind from S.E. to North and squally. steered West. at 3 P.M. made Mac-Askills Islands bearing West about 30 miles distant. Middle part close in with the Islands, the wind light from the Southward and variable[.] at 7 A.M. passed withing two miles of the Islands. saw many natives on the beach. steered W.N.W. at 11:30 A.M. saw

sperm whales[,] lowered the Boats and gave chase. I make the Islands in 6°20 North Lat, and Long. 160°40 East.

MacAskills Islands E. by S. 15 miles.

Wednesday 12th

First part pleasant breezes from S.S.E. at 4 P.M. the Boats returned unsuccessful. Middle part squally. at 3:30 A.M. made Wellingtons [Mokil] Islands. Latter part pleasant. at 7 several canoes came off with coconuts[,] bananas and women all for sale for a small bit of iron hoop. Make the Islands in Lat. 6°42 North Long. 159°34 East.

...

Friday 14th

First part light breezes from North. at 2 P.M. made Ascension [Pohnpei] bearing West. steered towards it. Middle and latter parts light airs and calms. at 11 A.M. took a Pilot, the body of the Island{s} bearing N.W. 15 miles.

Saturday 15th Oct. 1842

First and Middle parts light breezes and rainy working towards the harbour. Latter part pleasant with light breezes from the South. at 10 A.M. came to anchor in the west harbour of the Island of Ascension. Took in our wood and water, vegetable, fruit, some pigs, fowls &c and sailed again the 27th having lost [blank] men by desertion which we could not get back again. <sup>1</sup> consequently we are very short handed and shall have to touch at the different Islands to see if we can find any, if not we shall have to go at the Bay of Islands and perhaps Sydney for a crew. Ascension would be a good place for a ship to recruit[,] were it not for the white men that live{s} there, but they are the greatest pack of rogues I ever met with which causes a great deal of trouble and even makes it dangerous for a ship to anchor. at 10 A.M. of Thursday got outside the reef. at 11 discharged the Pilot or person that called himself one and once more found ourselves at sea and clear of the vagabonds that live{s} on the Island. at 12 Noon 4 miles outside the reef.

Friday 28th

All these 24 hours light breezes from N.W. steered S.E. at Noon the Island N.W. about 40 miles distant.

Saturday 29th

First part very light airs from N.W. steered S.E. Middle and Latter parts calm[,] Ascension still in sight bearing about N.W. nothing more worthy of remark.

Lat. 6°07 North Long. 158°50 East.

...

---

1 Ed. note: A total of 11 men deserted at Pohnpei.

[At least 7 sheets were ripped off at this point, by Captain Norris' son, it is said, as he wished to suppress the story of the murder of his father on 5 November 1842. Most of the crew was out chasing whales and the captain was alone on board with three natives who took advantage of the captain being half drunk at the time to attack him with cutting spades. The story of this murder has been narrated by the author of the anonymous account below, and by Benjamin Clough, third mate; the latter's account was published in *The New Bedford Mercury* on 27 February 1845.]

...

## **B2. Anonymous narrative, attributed to the cooper Andrew White**

*Sources: Ms. log in the Providence Public Library; Log Inv. 4339; a seven-page extract of which was published by Paul C. Nicholson (ref. Prov. Public Lib., book #R910.4 A164f).*

...

[Nukuoro]

December 26, 1841.—

These 24 hours first part strong breezes, latter part calm and variable from the ESE, steering on the wind. About 6 a.m. raised one of the Caroline Islands. There were about 120 Kanakas came off to us. The Captain ordered the guns to be got and loaded and cutlasses. Capt. Norris did not know what they might do but they came alongside to trade, they had coconuts, fish-line and small ropes which we bought off them. About 3 p.m., they left us and put for the shore. They were very good-natured. Lat. 3°45' N., Long. 155°12' E.

...

[Nauru]

Tuesday, January 18, 1842.—

These 24 hours pleasant breezes from N.E. About 9 miles from Pleasant Island, there were about 15 boats come off to trade. They brought three hogs, bought 100 chickens, a large quantity of shells, hats, coconuts, fish, mats, other things too numerous to mention. So ends these 24 hours.

...

February 9, 1842.—

These 24 hours pleasant breezes from N by E, cruising near Pleasant Island. There was about 10 boats came from the Island to trade with coconuts and hats for tobacco and some chickens and one hog.

...

February 20, 1842.—

These 24 hours light breezes, cruising on the ground for sperm whales. Nothing in sight. The Captain came on deck and asked me if I got enough to eat last night. He says that he understood that I would have enough once. I asked him if he begrudged me what I eat. He said no, but that I must shut up my head and if I did not, he would knock

me to hell and [“] take your things and go in the fore-castle, or go to hell.[”] He did not care where I went into the fore-castle.

...  
April 20, 1842.—

... At 9 a.m., the waist boat went ashore and brought off 200 yams... Shipped 7 men. At 5 p.m., put away from Rotumah for the line.

...  
[Nikunau]

May 5, 1842.—

... Raised Byrons Island. At 7.m. about 50 boats came off to trade, brought off coconuts and mats. We took one boat in tow a good ways from the land, supposed they had lost sight of land. There was about 30 in the boat, men and women and children. Lat. 1°29' S., Long. 176°30' E.

...  
[Banaba]

May 31, 1842.—

... At 11 a.m. raised Ocean Island. The ship [Samuel] **Enderby** of London, 23 months out, 1200 bbls. Canoes came off to trade with coconuts and chickens for tobacco.

...  
June 30.—

... At 8 a.m., raised the Bark **Lagrange** of Fairhaven, Capt. Stetson, 13 months out, 700 bbls. of sperm oil. Had lost his second mate, fell overboard and did not see him afterwards.

...  
August 25, 1842.—

... At 7 p.m. all hands lifting the blacksmith's anvil and I lifted it with my teeth and let the rope slip through my teeth and took out 4 [teeth]. The anvil weighed 135 lbs.

...  
[The murder of John Babcock]

September the 1, 1842.—

These 24 hours light breezes, steering to the E. Nothing in sight. The Captain turned out and came on deck about half past 6 a.m. when a man by the name of Jack Baker went aft to the Captain with two small pieces of meat about 4 mouthfuls and told the Captain that he found it where John Babcock ate his supper, supposed he left it there. The Captain told Jack Baker to put it on the hen-coop that stood aft. In a few minutes, the Captain went and looked at it and commenced cussing and swearing at Babcock and called the Steward and told him to pass up his Piece of Rope which was about four feet 6 inches in length with three strands and 14 yarns in a strand and told John Babcock to keep to work oiling his gun that stood aft by the mizzen-mast, then the Captain commenced flogging him with this piece of whale-line. He gave him about 3 dozen, I should think, I did not count them. The Captain then went and got his breakfast and came on deck and told Babcock to trip his foot which he had scalded some time before



this. The Captain commenced dressing it and kicked him about the face and temples whilst he was sitting on deck after he got his foot dressed. He told him to go and draw water and fill up that tub which stood in the waist. It held about 100 gallons while he stood over him with his piece of whale-line in his hand at the same time putting it across his back as hard as he could and telling him to hurry which he did hurry as fast as he could.

After he had got the tub full, the Captain told him to go and wash the bulwarks aft. He started to go and fell down two or three times whilst the Captain did follow him and swearing at him to an awful rate at the same time putting the piece of whale-line across his back with all his might, then he started to go forward to get some sand. The Captain followed him with the rope still putting it on to him as hard as he could, still swearing to an awful rate. He fell down by the side of the try-works on the larboard side, there to rise no more. The Captain told him to get up. Babcock said that he could not stand up, then the Captain took him by the arm and hauled him up and told him to shut up, then Captain Norris let go of him and he straightened himself out on deck. The Captain spoke to the second mate and told him that he believed the nigger was a-dying. He came there. The Captain told him to raise him up. The Captain then spoke to him 2 or 3 times but he was so far gone, he could not speak. The crew stood and saw him breathe his last in a few minutes.

The Captain asked some of them if he had a blanket. The answer was that he had one. Captain told him to get it. He was put into it and sewed up, then he was put on to a plank and laid on the hen-coop that stood aft. There he laid till 6 p.m., then we hauled up our courses and hauled back our head yards. John Babcock, a colored man, was taken to the waist and launched overboard without a word of ceremony or a tear shed to my knowledge. He has gone I hope to rest. He had asked times previous to this, what would become of him if he jumped overboard or cut his throat when Captain Norris had been flogging him. It seemed that he wanted to die but did not want to go to hell, as he had said before. I hope that he has gone home to Glory. May God bless him and I hope this will be a warning to Captain Norris and all the rest of his officers on board. Lat. by Obs. 01°11' S., Long. 167°00' E.

John Babcock breathed his last at 9 a.m.

...

[Pohnpei]

October 15, 1842.—

... At 10 a.m., came to anchor to Ascension about half a mile from the shore. Bought 1 hog, some fish and plenty of Girls for tobacco, and shells for tobacco.

October 16, 1842.—

... Lying at anchor in Ascension. Bought some shells and yams and coconuts.

...

October 19, 1842.—

... and 4 men ran away in the night and had a muster with the foremast hands and put two men in irons, one for refusing to cook, the other for taking up for him.

October 23.

These 24 hours variable winds. Twelve men went ashore on liberty and eight of them ran away.

...

November 5, 1842.—

These 24 hours light breeze from ENE. About 9 a.m. raised whales, lowered boats and put off after them. The larboard boat went on and fastened and killed him and waifed him. The waist boat went on and missed. The Captain and the steward and three natives were on board [the ship] which they run down to the whale and took him alongside the ship, then kept off for the boats as they were still chasing the whales. At three p.m., the three natives tackled to the Captain on the starboard quarter-deck and killed him, the steward being aloft at the time. The Captain hailed the steward to come down. The steward came down part of the way and the natives made for him with [cutting] spades at the same time they had cut the Captain's throat with the spade as we expect for the spade was all a gore of blood when we got aboard. The Steward being alone aloft, he being somewhat alarmed about himself as anyone of us would be placed in that situation for he did not know but they would make aloft for him.

At last the whales milled off towards the ship, we still chasing them up when we got within about a mile of the ship, the steward being at the main top gallant mast-head. He commenced shaking the colors for us to come aboard, this being about 4 o'clock p.m. we started to go aboard. When they discovered that we were making for the ship, they began to make sheer away from us, one of them took the helm and the other two raising the yards and hauling down the main tack and hauling aft the sheet, but the wind being light, we soon got so that the steward told us the facts.

O the feelings that rolled across our breast when this awful sound reached our ears. O 'tis out of the power of me to relate to you the feelings there were in those two boats. There were some that were related to him. Their feelings were different from the rest that we all know if we ever experienced a parting of a friend.

'Tis now about 5 p.m. we came up to the ship. They began to throw billets of wood and belaying pins and shells, clubs, hammers, billets of wood and one axe [that] came in the boat. We found it impossible to get aboard without losing some of our lives. They had got the cutting spades, irons, lances, and placed them aft and waist and bows. We knowed not what to do. We had been without water some time and had not eaten since we ate our breakfast. Finally we concluded to wait till dark, then the boat pulled out ahead of the ship and the third mate got overboard and swam to the ship and got into the cabin's windows. At the same time, one of the boats kept astern of the ship to pick up the third mate if he did not succeed in getting in the window. He loaded three or four muskets and they heard him and one of them rushed down. He shoved a cutlass

in his side but not to do him much injury. He clinched the third mate and the third mate, after quite a tussle with him, he got him down and gouged out one of his eyes and then he got the cutlass and tried to cut off his head. The cutlass being dull, he did not cut it off, it being dark and no light on board the ship, he left him to look out for the other one that stood on deck by the stairs with a spade in his hands and as he got off off him, he clinched the cutlass and made for him and struck him two or three times with it. At last he got a musket and shot the one that stood on deck by the stairs with a spade in his hands. As he shot him, he threw the spade at him and cut the third mate's arm chock to the bone and about 5 inches in length and cut the other hand very bad in the tussle with the other one as the cutlass was between them when they clinched, He is cut in about 12 places, he is not able to use his arms much at present.

The one that was on the Bows looking out for the boat, as he heard the gun, he run aft with a spade in his hand and he could not see no-one but the third mate saw him as he looked down in the cabin. He then went forward and the third mate by the name of Benjamin Clough then hailed the Boats to come aboard as he was cut very bad and had killed two as he thought, then the boats came alongside and mister Clough came on deck all a gore of blood and he said that there was one of them down in the cabin which he expected was dead, for he had not heard him for some time, then the steward struck fire and lit a light and found him up on the transom with a cutlass and a knife in his hands and we went towards him to take him and he punched it towards us, then the mate told us to stand back and he shot him, then the second mate commenced dressing the third mate's wounds. And the rest of us went to look for the other native on deck but did not find him that night.

Then we got a plank and laid the Captain on it and took him aft and laid the plank on a turning lathe aft till the next day. This was about half past ten p.m. The next day, about half past eight in the morning, all hands were called to the waist. The Captain was taken there and a prayer was read by the mate, then he was launched overboard. Shortly after the mate told us that we must turn on and fix the rigging and bend the sails that the steward cut adrift from the yards to stop the ships headway by the orders of the mate. After dinner, he told us to search the ship for the native that hid [himself] the night before.

We went down in the four holds and commenced looking. We found him, we told him to come out, he would not, then we commenced hauling out some rigging and got to him, then he commenced firing wood at us, then we punched him some with an iron pole which he soon came on deck, then we put him in irons. As the reader may perceive, it is not common for us to write two days work together but as I had no time to write the night before and I then thought it best to write it in one. O may God bless the little family that the Captain left at home and all the rest.

We are bound to Bay of Islands but we expect to stop at Rotumah to get some men and to leave two Kanakas that we got there. O may we be blessed with a pleasant time. Lat. by Obs 12°20' N [rather S], Long. 161°15' E. So ends.

...

**Other accounts.**

There is a third account, written by the third mate, Benjamin Clough, a MCF copy of which is in the Providence Public Library. As for the story of the murder of Captain Norris, Clough himself wrote two more accounts for the press; they are presented and discussed in an article by Philip F. Purrington, entitled "Anatomy of a Mutiny" (*American Neptune* 27:2 (1967) 98-110). As far as the identity of the native mutineers is concerned, those who were subsequently killed were from the Gilbert Islands; the surviving mutineer was a native of Banaba Island, who was jailed at Sydney and later set free. To reward Clough for his bravery, which had saved the ship for her owners, the latter rewarded him with the command of the **Sharon** on her next whaling voyage.

Many reports appeared in New England newspapers in the spring of 1843. They are reproduced by Gerard Ward, in his *American Activities in the Central Pacific*, under Ponape.

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## Notes 1841C

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### The early years of Captain Charles W. Gelett

*Source: Captain C. W. Gelett. A Life on the Ocean: Autobiography of Captain Charles Wetherby Gelett (Honolulu, 1917).*

*Notes: In 1841, Capt. Gelett was in charge of the whaler India. Excerpts from this book will be presented in four other places in this series: Doc. 1844N, 1853C, 1860B, and 1873.*

[Figure: C. W. Gelett (frontis)]

#### Summary of his voyages.

Captain Gelett's first voyage was to the Indian Ocean as a cooper aboard the ship **Cicero** of New Bedford, Capt. Hussey, 1833-35.

His second voyage was to the south Atlantic as a boat-steerer aboard the ship **Fenelon**, Capt. R. C. Smith, 1834-37.

His third voyage was to the same ground as 2nd mate of the same ship, 1835-38.

His fourth voyage was to the south Atlantic as 1st mate of the ship **India** of New Bedford, Capt. Wilmot Luce, 1837-38.

His fifth voyage was to the Pacific as master of the same ship, 1840-43 (see note below).

His sixth voyage was to the Pacific as master of the ship **Uncas**, 1843-46, with which he circumnavigated the globe.

His seventh voyage was also to the Pacific with the same ship, 1846-49; Mrs. Gelett was aboard but spent two seasons ashore at Hawaii.

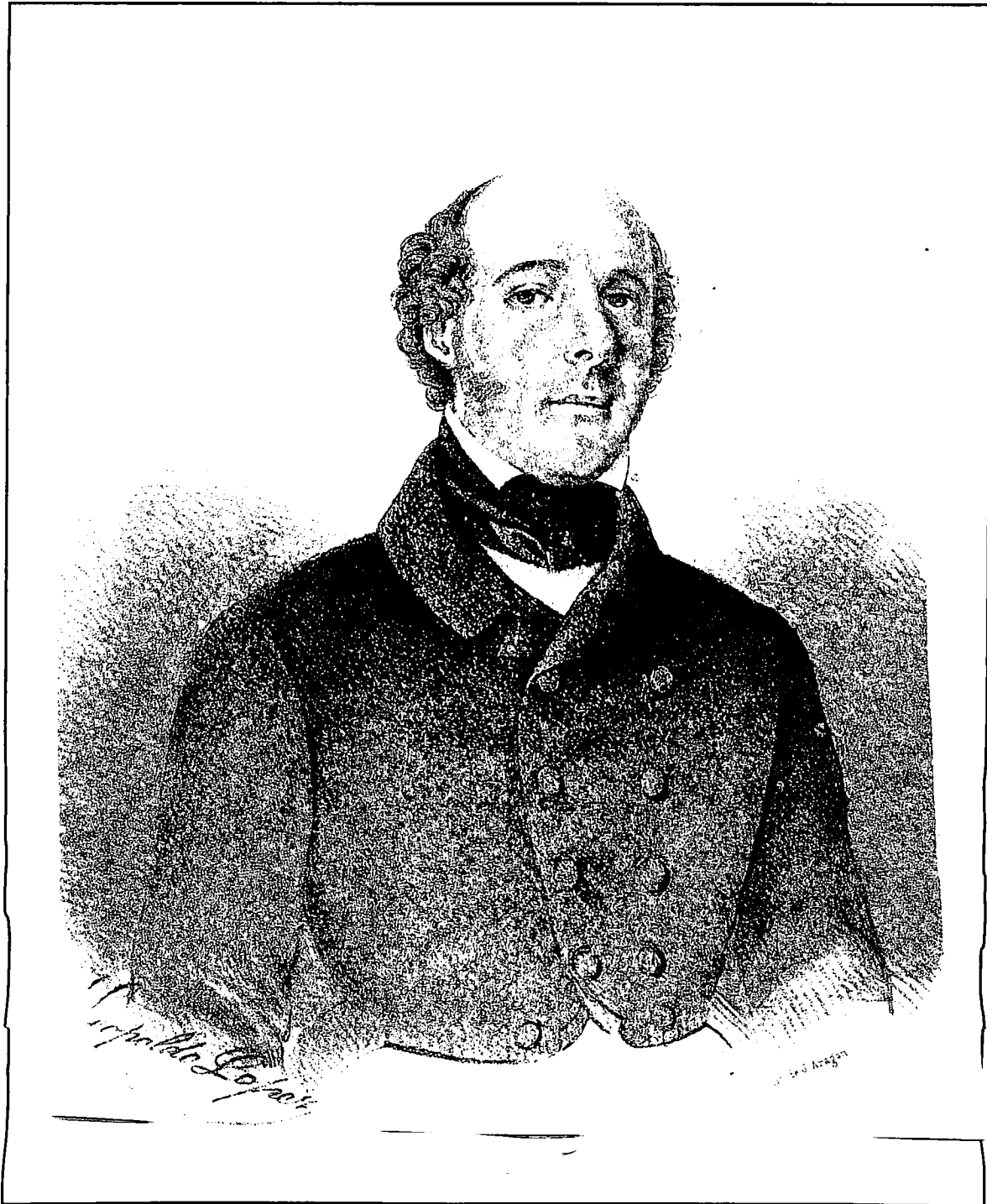
His eighth voyage was to the Arctic as captain of the clipper ship **Arctic**, of Fairhaven, 1840-55.

His later voyages include some as captain of the first missionary ship **Morning Star**, 1860-66, and another voyage with the third **Morning Star** in 1873, before he finally retired in California.

#### To the whaling grounds again

We sailed from Honolulu in the fall of 1841. Going to the equator we steered westerly to longitude 160 degrees; thence going north we touched the Ladrone [Mariana] Islands, where we took on supplies for our voyage north. Returning to our old cruising

ground on the northwest coast, we filled our ship with oil and bone, and returned to the Sandwich Islands, where we recruited for our home voyage.



**Francisco Michelena y Rojas.**

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**Document 1841D**

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## The Venezuelan traveller Francisco Michelena y Rojas

*Sources: Francisco Michelena y Rojas. Viages científicos (Madrid, 1843; reprinted 1851); Saul H. Riesenbergl. "A Pacific Voyager's Hoax" in Ethnohistory 6:3 (1959), pp. 238-264.*

*Note: He claims to have visited Pohnpei aboard the trading ship Rosa, Captain Metcalf (see her previous voyage in Doc. 1839D). He obviously plagiarized the narrative of Dr. Campbell (Doc. 1835R).*

### Introduction.

In his book Michelena narrates his visit to China, India, Arabia, Turkey, parts of Europe, Africa and the Americas. He also spent some months in Hawaii in 1840, where he met Captain Metcalf of the brigantine **Rosa**, recently arrived from the Carolines. He took passage aboard this vessel and visited Tahiti, Rotuma, New South Wales, Banaba, Nauru, Pohnpei, Guam, Manila and Macao. The chapter on Pohnpei at least was mostly plagiarized from a previous narrative by Dr. Campbell; this discovery is due to Riesenbergl. Therefore, this chapter will be juxtaposed to Campbell's narrative to show the minor differences. Therefore, there is doubt about the authenticity of Michelena's descriptions of other islands... Here is an excerpt from the preface of this book in which the author gives his itinerary, as follows:

From Hawaii to Tahiti—22 days;  
From Tahiti to Rotuma—12 days;  
From Rotuma to Viti-Fiji—6 days;  
From Viti to Sydney—10 days;  
From Sydney to Vanikoro—14 days;  
From Vanikoro to Ocean [Banaba] Island—15 days;  
From Ocean to Pleasant [Nauru] Island—3 days;  
From Pleasant to Bonabay [Pohnpei] in the Carolines—5 days;  
From Bonabay to Guaham in the Marianas—6 days;  
From Guaham to Albay, south of Manila—8 days;

...

**SCIENTIFIC  
VOYAGES  
DURING WHICH WAS VISITED  
OCEANIA  
IN ITS THREE NEW GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS:  
MALAYSIA, POLYNESIA AND AUSTRALIA.**

**DEDICATED  
TO THE VENEZUELAN NATION  
BY  
FRANCISCO MICHELENA Y ROJAS.**

**MADRID  
IGNACIO BOIX, PUBLISHER  
1851**



## BOOK 1.—POLYNESIA...

...

### CHAPTER VII.—THE SOUTH SEAS.

*Pleasant [Nauru] or Barbudos Island: Arrival at Pleasant or Barbudos.—Description of the natives.—Discovery.—My embassy ashore.—The Captain also disembarks.—Trade.—Weapons of the natives.—General idea about the island.*

Although from Rotuma we went on to New Holland, nevertheless, to follow the plan of this book, I will again cross the line for the purpose of discovering other Polynesian [sic] islands, later to visit those of Australia when I return, on account of their considerable interest for their importance and their number.

Opposed by the winds and calms, it was necessary, after 45 days of navigation, against the Captain's plans, to call at Pleasant Island, situated at 5° lat. S and 165° long. E. While still three miles off the island, our ship saw itself surrounded by over fifty vessels manned by at least eight men each, all armed, who made us fear, not by their hostile attitude but by their number, a sudden attack against which we were not prepared. Once the ship was hove to, they did not delay in invading it from everywhere with an admirable agility, in spite of the opposition made by the captain against their coming aboard; but neither his vigilance nor the number of his sailors were enough for them. Although our ship was well armed and could fear little from the islanders, nevertheless, in case of an attempt, although we were assured of victory, we could not have avoided a few calamities on account of their darts and arrows. This fear disappeared almost completely after we spotted a few girls who came as a peace offering and were in a festive mood and attractiveness, making a thousand signs to ask for permission to come on deck. They were all peerless Oceanian beauties, on account of their physical and moral superiority, their light color, solid complexion and fine skin, in spite of their going around naked like the men in all those seas. Their bodies shone all over on account of the amount of coconut oil with which they anoint themselves, and their heads and waists were covered with flowers; this gave them an appearance as interesting as it was strange, similar to the sylphs, the nereids and naiads of the poets. Everything, including their manner of walking, was elegant. The coconut-fiber skirt they were covered with was cut off at the top of the calf and worn with a grace and coquetry unknown in women of the other islands. The men too, I can say without fear of making a mistake, are the handsomest in the whole of Polynesia; as much for this quality as for their features and many various customs, they seem different from the Polynesian race. One of those customs, which can be said to be characteristic of that race is that of pulling the beard and hair from the whole body with clam shells used as pliers. Another is for the men to let the hair on their head grow as long as possible. Thirdly, the general use of tattooing. At Pleasant Island, all three customs are the opposite: the beard and hair are grown and reach their natural length; the men wear their hair short, not only like the women, but many cut it near the skull to form random curls; tattoos are unknown. Thus, the solid complexion, the abundant beard of the natives, the lack of tattoos, the use of long

hair by the women, the light color, the unhampered and even haughty appearance, under the same climatic influences, end up by proving an origin different from the Polynesian race or family.

Although the travellers and the best sailing directions of Oceania say nothing about this island and its inhabitants and they only mention its geographical position, the Spanish have nevertheless visited it in their fifth voyage of discovery in the great Ocean. The history of the conquest and colonization of the Philippines by the Spanish says the following:

“During the reign of Philip II, the conquest, pacification and colonization of the Western Islands—named Philippines by Villalobos—were entrusted to the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Luis de Velasco. Consequently, the fifth expedition was prepared. Five ships were made available from various ports and they left the port of Navidad on 21 November 1564, under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, invested with the titles of Lieutenant and Frontier Governor of all the lands that he would conquer and authorized with the widest powers to that effect. On January 9th of the same [sic] year, he discovered an island which he named Barbudos [Island of Bearded Men] on account of the thickness of the beard and the custom of letting it grow, and on the 22th he arrived at the Marianas.”

From November to January 9th, there was just enough time to arrive at Pleasant Island, properly called Barbudos.<sup>1</sup> Leaving this island on the 9th to arrive at Guaham in the Marianas on the 22nd, that is exactly the time it takes nowadays for that crossing. Their being the only islanders who have the said customs, there is no longer any doubt that Pleasant Island was first visited by the Spanish of the Legaspi expedition, and the name of Barbudos that he gave it represents the difference that exists between it and all the other islands in the Great Pacific Ocean.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of our having set aside our fears on board, and having entered into relations with the natives, the captain nevertheless was not thinking the same way about going ashore. In view of the necessity of acquiring food, he begged me, not daring to leave his ship, to go ashore in the canoe of one of them to obtain what we needed. In case I should not return within two hours, he said that would be a sure indication that I was in peril or that I had met with some misfortune; in that case, he would go ashore with all the boats armed. Even though the assistance that the Captain was offering me was not very comforting in case a disaster occurred to me, I did not hesitate one moment to accept the proposal, as I relished adventures of that type. I therefore left, escorted by three more boats, bringing with me a few presents, consisting of glass beads, tobacco and colorful kerchiefs.

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1 Ed. note: Michelena's opinion is pure fancy, of course. See documents under 1565.

2 Ed. note: Nonsense, of course, as Barbudos was Mejit in the Marshalls.



Journal to dib'

Lit. J. Aragon Madria

Pleasant [Nauru], or Barbudos, Island.

ISLA DE PLAISENT

*ò de Barbudos.*

The coral rocks at this island, perhaps more than in any other, form three or four concentric walls, at sea level, around the island, leaving areas of great depths between them. As we were approaching, the pass seemed to me impossible, at least not without risking one's life, but the islanders, without paying attention to my fears and familiar with this type of difficulties, went straight for the first wall and then, letting themselves go with the wave, rowing and shouting with all their strength, we crossed it successfully, and the same with the others.

Upon my landing on the beach, I was assaulted, really assaulted, by over 300 natives of both sexes and of all ages. I had hardly placed one foot on land when the strongest among them took hold of my person and claimed possession, but without mistreating me. According to what I understood by their gestures and actions, they each wanted only to take me to the presence of their chief, either on account of the strangeness of my person or else seduced by the lure of the presents I carried, although paltry in nature. Finally, those with the strongest or most numerous nerves prevailed and took me half a league inland. Even when outwardly I offered to them a smiling appearance and I showed no timorousness, the state of my soul nevertheless was rather anxious on account of so many misfortunes that have befallen European navigators in the Pacific islands, and the increasingly animated character that the dispute about my possession took on. As a precaution against any attempt against me, I decided to make allies of the fair sex, so powerful in those parts with only their wish. To that purpose, I went along the way distributing the trifles that I had brought to the girls, thus succeeding at the end of my journey in having an immediate escort that consisted almost exclusively of them. This gave me as much guarantee as could be wished to be respected by my hosts. I finally arrived at the chief's hut. He received me politely, placing his hand to his mouth. Instantly, one of his servants brought in a mat that he unfolded on the floor where I was invited to sit. The chief did the same, sitting in front of me. The retinue that had accompanied me from the beach, joined by the entire population of the locality, took their place standing around us and so began what can be called the pantomimic audience, because we could not make ourselves understood by anything other than signs and gestures. Going beyond the bounds of the gravity of an ambassador, I soon made myself understood, by imitating as best I could, the grunting of a pig, as I wished to take on board a few of those quadrupeds as the main purpose of my mission. The rest of the things I needed was very easily imparted to them, as there were before us a few vegetables and many chickens. He received the presents to which I added a silk sash that I carried around my waist as he had made much of it. The chief had the word passed to others of the same rank as he and they were brought in one by one, but I could not offer them a sash or strap and this caused jealousies among them and caused a decrease in the quantity of provisions we could have taken on board.

The two hours that the captain had designated to return on board having passed, he came ashore with his people armed, and, as if to intimidate the natives, he arrived shooting in the air. These good peoples, interpreting that as hostilities, fled most of them to the bush. Two more hours passed before they had gotten over their surprise and re-

turned to us. The chief who had given me an audience had, however, kept me company, for which I was as happy as he was, for my own safety, during the interval the captain came up. I briefed him about the occurrence of the disenchantment of the chiefs on account of the inequality of the gifts, and the others having refused to give food, he did not think convenient to remain much time ashore, and with those that my friend the chief had provided, we returned on board.

We remained anchored 24 hours more,<sup>1</sup> during which we got some more trade articles with the natives, which consisted in roots, fruits, chickens, and war implements and armors. The latter articles deserve special mention on account of their rare artistic merit and rarer use in this island. The weapons they use are not any different from others in that part of the world; the dart, the war club, the sword that is like a saw, made with shark teeth or fish spines, and a short weapon made of wood in the shape of a hammer whose tip carried a hard cutting stone that is also used to fashion their boats. Moreover, just like the Polynesians who use the shield, these peoples not only use it too but in addition they have a coat of mail made with a cloth woven with cords from the bark of a tree or coconut fibers, impenetrable to darts and arrows. The armor is divided into two parts: the first is a perfect pair of pantaloons, woven in a kind of very tight mat; and the second is a coat, one-inch thick, made differently and very elegant, that covers from the belly up to more than one-third of the head, and gives the warrior's figure a gigantic and ferocious look, and because of its weight forces him to die fighting, or to fall prisoner in case the battle is lost, because he cannot move away from the site where he placed himself. I cannot admit that this armor could be common to all the combatants, because in that case both belligerent bodies would be inert, unable to act either while attacking or retreating, and also because of the cost that each of them must occasion, given the scarcity and lack of perfection of the tools they have for its construction. This armor is also a skill that incidentally differentiate them from the Polynesians, as it is exclusive to the island of the Bearded Men.<sup>2</sup>

Pleasant is like Rotuma: a forest full of food trees, fertile, healthy and rather populated. Its inhabitants are governed by elected chiefs, each one in their respective tribe. They have no visible religious cult and no idea at all about the future following the life, unlike us who worship anything in sight, even our fellow-men, and who, wishing to know everything, explain the nature of God, of our souls, and we ascribe what will happen to them and to our bodies after this life.

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1 Ed. note: It is not possible to anchor off Nauru. The author is either careless or inventing here. A ship has to remain in the offing.

2 Ed. note: Similar armors were common in the Gilberts, and may have come from there.



J. Abrial in dib

Lit. de J. Aragon Madrid

Bonabay, i.e. Pohnpei, Island.

ISLA DE BONYBAY.

## CHAPTER VIII.—THE CAROLINE ISLANDS

*Ascension or Bonybay [Pohnpei] Island: Situation and physical aspect of the island.—Products.—Natives.—Antiquities.—Theory regarding its origin.—Tortoise shell fishery.—European sailors settled there.—Criminal conduct of ship Captains and crews in the islands of the Pacific Ocean.—Native types.—Manners and customs.—Arts.—Population.—Categories.—“Kavas” or feasts.—Housing.—Religion.—Marriage.—The Caroline Archipelago in general.*

We weighed anchor 48 hours after having anchored at Pleasant Island, carrying away nothing more than the memories of my small adventure and of the beautiful, distinct features of the inhabitants, with respect to the Polynesian race.

### Campbell's text.

The Island of Ascension, or Bonnybay, one of the group of Caroline Islands in the Northern Pacific, situate between the latitudes of 6°50' and 7°12' north latitude, and 158°45' and 158°47' east of Greenwich, has been occasionally visited during the last nine years by the masters of ships engaged in the whale fishery, for the purpose of refreshment, who have been uniformly well treated by the natives.

The island possesses several good harbors—the principal of which is that situate on the southeast side, of easy access, called by the natives Metaleline, which is the name of the tribe inhabiting that district. It is commodious and safe, and capable of containing a considerable fleet, being protected from the sea by a chain of reefs and small islands, one of which, named Nha, is the residence of Whagii [i.e. Wasahi], who, though only second in authority in this tribe, is the most powerful and (though not in appearance) the

### Partly-plagiarized text.

Six days later we found ourselves in the waters of Ascension or Bonybay, one of the Caroline island groups, situated between the latitudes 6°50' and 7°12' North, and between 158°45' and 158°47' longitudes East of Greenwich. It was visited by chance 20 years ago by a whaling ship that, requiring food supplies, came to its coasts and whose seamen were generously well received by the natives.

The physical aspect of the island is interesting: high mountains covered with rich vegetation, numberless islets that form with the main island safe ports for the navigator, many streams which, by increasing the natural wildness of the soil, give it a pleasant climate under the same [tropic] line.

We anchored inside the first among its many excellent ports, situated on the SE side of the island and named Metaleline after the tribe that inhabits that district. It is spacious and safe, capable of containing a few squadrons, protected to seaward by islets and reefs, one of them called Nha, where resides the Whagii, second chief of the tribe and the most powerful and brave in the whole island. His name is respected and feared above all others; in case the modesty of all his actions raises his true merit, he is also the best friend of strangers.



most warlike chief in the whole island; his name is both dreaded and respected, while his modest and unassuming character recommends itself to the particular attention of the stranger.

The scenery around this locality is romantic and beautiful. At the head of the harbour is a remarkable rock, named Tacaieau about two hundred feet high—a twin shaped cone—whose venerable summit overtops the surrounding land, and frowns in majestic grandeur over the waters of the Metaleline, and which from its commanding situation, might easily be rendered a place of great strength, possessing as it does so many natural advantages as to render it even impregnable. Skirting its base and directly behind it is the entrance of a beautiful river of considerable magnitude, though only navigable about one mile; presenting at every turn of its winding course scenes of so sublime and interesting a character as altogether to surpass description. Nature appears in its wildest grandeur; here and there are native settlements, surrounded by groves of the cocoa-nut, bread-fruit and plantain trees; the children ever and anon darting through the forest, the females in native bashfulness, timidly skulking behind the trees, or squatting on the leafy bank; the tastefully but fancifully built canoes gliding along under the shade of the spreading branches of lofty trees of ever varying foliage, on the margin of the peaceful water, while the sound of the distant cascade falls in harmony on the ear.

The romantic scenery offered by this locality is surprising. At the entrance of the port, there is a rock made remarkable by its shape and height, called Facaiseau [sic], about 200 feet above sea level, with a split conical base, whose venerable summit, dominating all surrounding lands is used as a beacon by navigators who come near its beaches, and raises its majestic head above the clear waters of Metaleline; it could be made into an impregnable fortress as it possesses so many natural advantages. A short distance from its base is the mouth of a beautiful river, navigable for more than one mile. It offers at every bend of its winding course sublime sceneries that are so interesting that one cannot adequately describe them. Nature is seen in all its wild splendor. On both sides are settlements surrounded by sumptuous vegetation, consisting of coconut trees, breadfruit trees and delicious banana trees. When the child can hardly walk and wander through the woods, the shy beauty rests in the shade of her home on piles of fresh leaves, or walking ceaselessly along the banks of her poetic river; she hears the declaration of her lover, makes another happy, or seeks advice from the silvery waters, tormented by some fickleness or by the loss of some possession.

The elegant canoes, painted red and white, ply the waters softly, under the shade of the branches of its thick trees with variegated foliage, at the margins of calm wa-



The other harbour, situate on the southwest side of the island, named Kitti, from the tribe of Rhonakittie, is of more difficult access, but safe enough, and protected from the sea in the same way as the first. A small island at the entrance is sometimes made the residence of a chief, of equal rank with the one already noticed. It is rather unpleasant to land here, on the main land, at low water, there being about two miles of reef to walk over, but when it is high water, the river at this place can be entered a considerable distance, and forms a beautiful sheet of fresh water; landing on the right bank of which, and ascending the hill side, the path leads along, but high above, the bed of the river, which is almost hid from the view. The scenery from this place is very imposing; on the left an extensive valley stretched along for several miles to the neighboring settlement of Rhonakittie; in front, the course of the river may be traced, winding through the country, till lost in the distant mountains, which present one interminable forest of evergreen.

On the right a considerable tract of arable land, on which, however, there is a good deal of timber, a village, and the residence of a chief, the third in authority in this tribe, named Naniken Labandelier.

There are two or three other harbours of minor importance on the northern side of the island, around which are scattered the different settlements of the tribes of

ters, meanwhile the muffled sound of its distinct cataracts transmits harmonious cadences to our ears.

Another port, no less interesting than the first, situated on the SW side of the island, is that of Kitti which takes its name from the Rhona-kitti tribe. Although it is smaller and of more difficult access on account of the narrowness of the mouth or entrance of the bay, it is as safe as the first, and protected from the winds for the same reasons. At low tide, it is very unpleasant to land because of the disadvantage offered by a space of over one mile of coral reefs that must be crossed in the water. However, when the tide is at its peak, landing is easy on all points of the bay and even as far as three miles from the sea up the Rhona-kitti [River]. There is no difference between this site and the former, the same natural charms, the same interest. However, as one lands upon the right bank and climbs the mountain, the scenery becomes more imposing and of greater importance. At 1,500 to 2,000 feet in elevation, the same as in Hawaii, extensive plains covered with the richest vegetation can be found. They contain the main settlements of the island and, continuing thus for a few miles, until one reaches the main settlement of Rhona-Kitti. On the left, one can cross the river, cross the whole country and lose oneself as far as the faraway mountains that offer primeval forests of unfading greenery.

The first house we found was that of one of the island chiefs, called Naniken Labandelier, about whom I will have the opportunity to talk later regarding his Chinese-like features and the fine gifts he made to us.

Whannica Pietack, and Whannica Poite, these two tribes generally join in war against the two former.

The natives pay little attention to cultivation, though the soil is good, seldom clearing any part of the land for that purpose. They plant their yams, etc. wherever they can find space enough with the least trouble. The productions of the island are therefore few, consisting of cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, plantains, sugar cane, yams, and sweet potatoes; hogs and fowls are found in the forest, and numerous birds, particularly pigeons; the shores and rivers abounding with a variety of excellent fish, which are easily taken. The wood of which their canoes are built is solid, and well adapted for that purpose, it may be found from six to nine feet in circumference. There is a great variety in the species of indigenous timber.

The inhabitants are an interesting and friendly people, of the middle stature, to which, however, there are exceptions. They are copper coloured; their females, from being less exposed to a burning sun are very light; their features, animated and expressive, often resemble those of Europeans.

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From that place onward the cultivated fields begin; they differ from the other Polynesian places, except those of Sandwich and Tahiti, because there can be found together in the same field sugarcane, banana trees, yams in all its species, sweet potatoes, etc. Chickens and pigs are found in abundance in the woods, specially chickens that wander near the houses. A precious species of doves abounds on the island, in such numbers that during our 8-day stay they were our main food and that of the crew. The quantity, quality and variety of fish and the ease of catching them is another blessing from heaven with which these islanders are favored, to such a degree that they have found it to their benefit to prepare them by salting in order to sell them to the ships that come to replenish themselves with fresh food and then found a rather profitable article of trade.

The natives have regular shapes and heights; their color is copper-toned, and the women, as they are preserved from the sun, are almost white. Their features are as interesting and perfect as the European or Caucasian race can be. With regards to the features of the natives, I can say that I met many families that differ noticeably from the general type for the island; this was the type typical in China, with a small and flat nose, hair long and straight, the eyes a little oblique and a yellow color. Among those was the chief Naniken Labandelieur and his large family. It could be that in times past, about which the present generation has lost all memories, Chinese, Koreans or Japanese had colonized there as a result of fortuitous accidents. What is for sure is that

they have a few arts carried to perfection whose origin is unknown; however, they must have been imported by strangers.

Their language, when spoken by themselves, is harmonious, but as many words end in consonants, when spoken by Europeans it is harsh and unpleasant. They are honourable in their attachments, fearless and courageous in war, before going to which they consult their priest, who having performed some incantations, and invoked the favour of the Honney, (the name of the principal god,) tells them whether they are likely to be successful. They fight with savage ferocity, and seldom yield until cut to pieces. In their last war a man was shot, and pierced with spears, till his bowels protruded through; not being able to stand, he sat down, using every mode of defiance, and lashed the water into foam all around him to prevent his enemy being a witness of his end. Even when undergoing the most harsh operations, which are often necessary to extract the poisoned spears, they hold it dishonourable to utter a groan. He that has the greatest number of scars being entitled to most honour, and the favour of the fair—he that is a coward in the field not only being despised but discarded. Their weapons are the spear and sling. The former is not very neat; on the point is fastened the bone of the bill-fish, which is always poisoned. They are not, however, so expert in the use of the spear as the natives of New South Wales. With the sling they throw round stones larger than an apple with great precision.

On the southern side of the island, and within one mile of the harbour of Metaline, are extensive ruins, boasting perhaps an antiquity as great as that of the Pyramids of Egypt; being, beyond a

There also exist large ruins, remains of some other people advanced in civilization, about whose existence even the memory has been lost. On the south side of the island, at

doubt, the work of a race of men far surpassing the present generation, over whose memory many ages have rolled, and whose history oblivion has shaded forever, whose greatness and whose power can only now be traced from the scattered remains of the structures they have reared, which now wave with evergreens over the ashes of their departed glory, leaving to posterity the pleasures of speculation and conjecture.

The site of the buildings alluded to and to the eastward of it, is a flat reef some miles in extent, covered with sand grass and near the main with young mangroves, over which at high water canoes can pass from the main to several small islands situate on the outer edge of the reef. These, like the rest of the islands, are covered with trees; two are inhabited, one is the residence of the priest, the other, that of the Whagii; several small islands lie between the former and the main; some, more or less sixty yards in diameter, are surrounded with a breast-work or parapet of hewn stone. At ebb tide much of this is dry and may be traversed on foot.

The principal building is a triple quadrangular structure; that is, there are three buildings [i.e. walls] one inside the other, occupying an area of about one hundred yards square, surrounded by a parapet from four to five feet high and fifteen broad—the extreme elevation of the walls may therefore be from thirty to thirty five feet. The parapet is so overgrown with trees, shrubs and vines, as to render it impassable, and on two sides or ends of the building by mangroves; there

one mile from Metaleline Harbor, there exist considerable ruins with a perfected and gigantic architecture that demonstrate by all its circumstances a fabulous antiquity. There is no doubt that such works are the handiwork of a race of men far superior to the present generation. Its memory has been obscured by many eras and lost forever but its greatness and power can still be seen today in the mutilated and shapeless remains of the buildings that they had raised and that now lie within the thick forests, buried in the dust of their former glory, leaving nothing to posterity but the pleasure of speculations and conjectures.

The site where the above-mentioned buildings are located is a flat reef, a few miles in extent, covered with sand, grasses and near the center with a forest of mangrove trees, upon which at high tide one can pass in canoes to all the small islands located at the end of the reef. The latter, as the whole of the main island, are covered with trees. One of them is the residence of the Whagii, and the rest are uninhabited. Many others are 40 to 50 yards in length, are situated in front of the former and enclosed by hewn stones in the form of a parapet.

The main building has a triple rectangle as a structure, that is, there are three concentric buildings, covering an area of 150 square yards, enclosed by a wall four to five feet in height, and fourteen to fifteen in width. The part of the walls that is highest could be thirty-five feet in height. The whole proximity of the wall is so thick with trees, shrubs and gramineous plants that it is impossible to penetrate as far as any one of its ex-

is, however, water enough for a canoe to pass, at all times quite round it.

The stone of which these buildings are constructed is granite, which is the primitive rock of the island, they are all hewn or blocked off square—those composing the wall of the outer building are imperfectly octangular, or more properly hewn square with the corners bevelled off—many being twenty and twenty-five feet long. Some even longer, and twenty inches in diameter.

It would be difficult to tell or even conjecture how the force required to transport, and raise these stones to their present situation, was acquired by the islanders. Round the inside of the wall is another parapet seven feet high, and about ten in breadth, equally impassable as that on the outside. The walls are thirty feet thick at the base, and twenty above the parapet. There is only one entrance to the building, which is on the side opposite to that fronting the sea. This entrance or gateway is about thirty feet wide.

It would be impossible to say whether the buildings have ever been roofed—as there are no means by which this can be ascertained, nor any holes in the upper part of the walls, where beams or rafters may be supposed to have been placed; no mortar or cement has been used in these buildings. Underground, in the interior of the inner building, are many vaults filled with human bones; but whether this has been a place of ancient sepulture, or of more modern date, is a matter of conjecture, as the examination of these remains of mortality did not throw any light on this obscure point.

The present race can give no account of these structures—nor does it appear that there are any conditions extant concerning

them. There is, however, enough water to cover its circumference in canoes.

The stone with which the building is constructed is granite, which is the primitive and basic rock on the island. All of them are hewn into great quadrangular shapes.

Those that form the exterior walls are 20 to 25 feet in length and 20 inches in diameter. It is difficult to conceive what force and skill were necessary to cut, transport and place such enormous masses in their present location and what deep knowledge of mechanics and of various other arts that I did not think this primitive people possessed. Within the first enclosure of this building, there exists another parapet or wall seven feet in height and ten in width, equally impenetrable like the former. There is only one entrance located in the side opposite to the sea-side. This entrance or door is 30 square feet.

It is impossible to say if the building was once roofed over as there exists no trace nor means by which one could tell about such a thing. No mixture nor mortar was used in its construction. Underground, inside the building, there are many vaults full of human bones. However, if they were placed there as part of graves in olden days or if it took place in more recent times is a matter of conjecture and one that is very difficult to resolve, specially given that the examination of these mortal remains does not shed any light on this point.

The actual generation does not have any idea about this stupendous construction

them. The buildings, however, are held sacred; and are supposed to be the residence of a deity whose precincts few of the natives have courage to enter. It is related that some one of the vaults is full of tortoise shell, which is said to have been offered to the deity of the place; but no presents, however costly or much valued by these singular people, would induce them to discover the place of its concealment; giving as their reason, that should any one tell where it was, not only would that individual, but all the inhabitants of the island be destroyed.

Opposite the building on the side fronting the sea, is a small harbour, and on the point of the reef, on the left hand, or to the eastward, and about a quarter of a mile from the land, a strong abutment or break-water is built; inside of which a vessel of considerable size might anchor; on the right hand, and not so far out, is a point of land sweeping in a circular form to the left, many hundred yards in extent, round which a strong abutment is likewise built; that part of which is in front of the building is a wall of amazing strength, fifteen feet high, but in a ruinous state; many of the stones of which it is composed are not less than four tons weight; in the centre of this wall is an original opening, inside of which is another harbour of less extent—then another wall as strong as the former, the opening or gateway of which is more to the left than the above—hence, should the wind blow directly into the harbour, the sea could not possibly injure any part of the inner structures; this last wall is a considerable distance from the parapet encircling the principal building—to the westward of which are many ruins of breast-works,

nor does it appear that there exists the least tradition regarding it. Nevertheless, the islanders look upon it as sacred and they consider it to be the residence of a god and very few of them are brave enough to enter the enclosure. It is said that those vaults are full of tortoise shells that they say have been offered to the local god, but no gift offered by strangers has enough power to induce these good peoples to explore the site where the country's treasures—these shells—are buried. They give as a reason that, if one of them disgracefully dared to say [the location], not only he, but all the inhabitants of the island, would be destroyed.

Opposite to this building there is a small port of one-quarter mile in circumference, built over the reef itself, inside which a ship of many tons could easily anchor. To the right, and not far away, there is a point in a circular shape, a few hundred yards in length, the whole of which is covered with ruins. The part facing the above-mentioned building is a wall of solid construction, about 15-foot high, but in complete ruin; many of the stones composing it would weigh no less than four tons. In the center of this wall, there can be found a natural opening and inside there is another [wall] but not so big, then a third one as strong as the first.

In the western part, there are many other ruins of imposing size, with buildings simi-

and various other buildings, and one enclosing a small pond or well, many fathoms deep, the water of which is, however, salt, but above the level of the sea—the whole forming the labour of an age itself, in contemplating which, the mind is lifted with astonishment and wrapped in conjecture.

Tortoise shell is the only article of commerce, besides refreshments such as fowls, hogs, and vegetables to be had at this island. Of the first, numbers are sometimes taken, and are now caught in nets for that purpose, but it is only within the last two years, that this has formed an article of trade. During that period there has always been some vessel lying in either of the harbours collecting, as it has been caught by the natives, whose friendly disposition and indolent life has influenced many foreigners either to leave or run away from their ships and settle among them.

A short time ago there were forty of these foreigners.

Several of these, tired of idleness, had joined vessels trading among the islands. At the time of my visit there were twenty-five on the island. These live with the different chiefs, who generally bestow their daughters on the white friends, who are expected to take part in their wars; the conduct of many of these Europeans is, however, anything but praiseworthy, and will doubtless at some time lead to the destruction of the whole.

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lar to the first, one of them having a small wall or pit many fathoms in depth, the whole forming an incomplete circular work. When contemplating all of this, the imagination is filled with admiration and becomes lost through a maze of conjectures.

Tortoise shells are the only trade article for exportation, in addition to the food items mentioned earlier. From time immemorial tortoise shells have been used on this island for adornments, offerings to the dead and other household uses, on account of their abundance and the ease of hunting such a precious amphibian. However, it has been only during the past eight years that they have been made a trade article for export. Since that time, there has always been a few ships that from time to time go from port to port to collect the tortoise shells obtained by the natives or by Europeans established there.

In 1841, there were from forty to fifty of the latter, most of them deserters from ships, and others expressly left there by captains for the purpose of hunting shells for their account. Some of them, after becoming bored with the idle and vagabond life, return to ships that frequently visit those parts. All of them live with different chiefs and the generally marry their daughters. They thus become obligated to take part in their wars. They also serve them as interpreters and trade agents when they go and sell merchandise on board European ships. From the last class in the civilized world, these men without any education whatever, averse to work, arrive only by intelligence and industry, or most often by superiority of our destructive arts, to the first social rank in the world. The simple natives admire them and ascribe to



them supernatural faculties. From criminals that they were in their native land, they have been received and made welcome as beneficial divinities. The daughters of the kings and chiefs fight among themselves for a chance to marry them. Harems are created to please them. They vie with one another to possess them, and the veneration they have for them goes increasing everywhere on account of the marvellous narratives that they relate about the wonders of European civilization.

In spite of the imperfect civilization of these new missionaries, nevertheless they cannot but make some positive good to the islanders, either by teaching them the arts that they know, or the manners and customs of learned peoples, or finally the English language, the language that has become universal, at least in the parts of the world where European commerce and civilization have penetrated. They are not less important to navigators either, when shipwrecked, storm damaged or in need of food, the latter arrive at their beaches and meet countrymen who, if in other times were disgraced, pursued by justice, there, however, their luck having changed for the better, are powerful lords, forced to serve them with their persons, with their influence, with everything they can muster.

The same thing does not occur with the captains and crews of ships that visit the islands of the Pacific. It seems that once there they no longer behave like men, or that the duties that nature and religion impose upon one's fellow-men, can be disposed of with impunity. Such are the horrors that most of the whaling ships commit. It is no wonder that for this reason catastrophes sometimes have happened and the natives have assassinated whole crews and destroyed the ships when they have been able to. Some times without



any permission whatever the sailors destroy the woods and fruit trees, either to make firewood for the ship or to take the fruit which is usually the coconut. Others, abusing the excessive generosity of the natives who offer their daughters, take them away and then leave them at the first island, perhaps forever, and they take others to do the same thing a few days later. However, what irritates them the most, and with ample reason, is that they commit a thousand acts of violence ashore, even with the very wives of the chiefs when they like them.

In 1839, two years before my visit to Ascension, there occurred a lamentable event, due to the lack of restraint on the part of the captain of an English whaling ship, the most disastrous perhaps from among all those that have taken place in the great Pacific Ocean.

The natives, as I have already said, have the custom of coming immediately on board a ship to trade sea shells, fruits and island specialties and in addition they bring aboard or offer ashore their daughters or others from among the important youths to the strangers. On this occasion, the main chief or king of the Metaleline District invited the captain to choose from among his daughters the one who would please him the most, but the chief having recently taken as his eighth wife a pretty and young woman, the latter became enamoured of that one only and, in spite of his opposition, took her for himself and was making ready to take her along on a cruise. The native had perhaps renounced vengeance on account of the impossibility to carry it out, but a few days later the best opportunity that he could hope for presented itself. The day for departure of the ship having arrived, with what indignation would the chief see leave the coasts the man who had

robbed him of his treasure, his repose, his darling, never to see her again! Well then, in one minute, in one moment everything changed and contentment and indignation produced a tremendous effect on the soul of that man. According to the description I have made of the island ports, they are surrounded, like this one, by shoals, reefs and a multitude of islets that make entering and leaving them dangerous for ships. The ship in question then, in tacking to get out of the port, the wind suddenly failed and she went to pieces on one of these reefs. The chief having observed this, gathered a few boats under the pretext of assisting, went aboard and, without offending anyone else among the crew, assassinated the captain and thus rescued his wife.

The scene did not end here. Two ships that happened to be in other ports of the island, after they had learned of the incident, swore the death of the assassin and they put into action against the whole island the most barbaric and inhuman means to achieve it, in order to force them to deliver the criminal. They armed a raft with two cannon and visited the neighborhood of the villages bringing death and devastation. They burned many hamlets and after so many atrocious hostilities against an innocent and defenceless population in which over 200 persons of all sexes and ages perished, they succeeded in having the unlucky chief delivered to them; he was hanged from the yardarm. Those two whaling captains, true Pacific pirates, made king the subordinate chief of the island who had delivered him. They then took the crew to Guaham in the Marianas and they divided between themselves the 800 oil barrels that the shipwrecked vessel had on board.

The sailors and fugitives from the Sydney prisons who live on Bonybay, in spite of their being dependants of various chiefs, have con-

stituted themselves independent of them in everything touching criminal matters among themselves and they reserve for themselves alone the right and authority to act as judges and executors of the sentences they pronounce. The tribunal that they form in such cases is a grand jury composed of all the strangers residing in the island, and they decide by an absolute majority of votes. A few days before our arrival, they had judged and sentenced to death one of their companions, for homicide, and the execution was entrusted to one of them. This execution was carried out in a peculiar and simple manner, but not worthy of imitation: the judgment having been verbal, the sentence was also verbal, but it was neither communicated to the criminal nor was he heard in his own defence. The executioner of the sentence then was only charged with waiting for the best opportunity to shoot him with his rifle, which he soon was able to do. This step toward a social order, although it suffers from noteworthy informalities, is nevertheless the result of particular circumstances in which they still find themselves. However, it represents a basis upon which a few years from now will be built a foreign society that must civilize that whole archipelago.

Books could be written about the excesses of the Europeans in those seas and many other points around the world where they always appear as dominators by force of intelligence but not by the morality of their actions; thus they boast about professing a pure morality, issued from the sole religion revealed by God himself, but in reality it is infinitely inferior to that possessed and practiced by the stupid savage of Australia.

The natives do not allow hair to grow on any part of the body but the head, of which they are very proud, allowing it to grow long and bestowing much care on its preservation. It is generally lank, but they often curl it; and it is never cut till the death of some relative when it is the only mark of mourning they assume, and they often regret the loss of the hair more than that of the individual.

Both sexes are tattooed from about three inches above the pubes to the ankle in front, and from a little under the haunch behind, as well as on the back of the hand and forearm. This operation is always performed by females.

The dress of the males consists of a petticoat, or as they call it, a *caul*, prepared from the young leaf of the cocoa-nut tree, before it is expanded. It is sometimes dyed red, but more generally it is of the natural straw colour, with a handsome band of surprisingly fine texture woven in a loom. This is worn round the middle, the *caul* reaching to the middle of the thigh. When exposed to the sun, one of these is put round the shoulders, and a wreath of flowers round the head, their long black hair hanging in graceful ringlets round the neck; sparkling jet black eyes, and teeth of ivory, complete a figure, both dignified and pleasing. The dress of the females is less elegant, consisting of a piece of prepared bark, about a yard and a half long, and half a yard broad, which is wrapped

Here also the natives do not let hair grow on their body except on the head where a great part of their beauty is based. They take care of their hair with extreme pride and it is only at the death of a very close relative or of a very dear person that they shave it close as a sign of deep sorrow.

Tattooing on both sexes has few figures but it is elegant and does not keep away from the most secret places of the body either; its operation is always done by women, gradually, a little every year. The European who wishes to obtain a dignity among them must tattoo himself. This is like his baptism, like his initiation, without which he is not considered linked with the interests of the country. In reality, they are right because, after marking his face, hands and legs, would the stranger return to settle among the educated peoples of Europe and America?

The men's clothing consists of the same apron of the islanders already described, or as they call it, a "caul", prepared and made more elegantly than those of the latter with the tender leaves of the coconut tree before they are fully developed, and dried in the shade. Sometimes, after it has dried, they dye it red, but usually they wear two, one of that color, the other natural, with a beautiful band of exquisite texture and coloring, made on a small loom completely similar to those of Europe and Asia for similar tasks. They make use of the bark off the trunk of the banana tree which they weave with a consistency and brilliance of colors which are difficult to give an idea of by simple narrative. This art being an essential part of the education of the beautiful sex,

close round the body, having the appearance of coarse flannel.

as one cannot find a woman there wo does not know it, they are thus very abundant in the trade, so that five or six of the best can be had for a twist of tobacco or for other similar trifles.

This advanced industry, unique in the whole of Polynesia, encompassing by itself many elements of other arts, is one of the most powerful reasons in existence to assert that, in former times, many centuries ago, there existed another population advanced in civilization from which there has only come down to us through the centuries this precious remnant of their manufacturing industry, which has escaped the destructive hand of time and the physical, moral and political revolutions that continuously agitate the Earth.

When the girls walk in the sun, either to preserve themselves from it or simply for more elegance, they wear the woven band on the shoulder. This, plus the flower wreath they usually wear in their long, wavy and black hair hanging in gracious curls either floating over the perfect cones of their breasts or covering without any pretention some rear part of their bodies, and the scintillating black eyes, the teeth of the whitest ivory, complete the most interesting figure in a completely savage nature.

Naturally active, they are not devoid of intelligence, and are capable of high improvement, moral and intellectual. Although they recognise a creating and superintending power, they say that their God cannot be the same as the God of the white man, (for whose attainments they have the highest respect,) who so far surpasses them in knowledge; whose understanding is so superior to theirs, and who can do so many wonderful things. Then they will sometimes add, when they get serious on the subject, that their fa-

The natives are endowed with great intelligence, capable, like the best species or race of men, of a superior category of moral and intellectual perfection. They recognize a natural and supernatural superiority of Europeans over them. Thus they say that their God is different and cannot be the same as that of the white men who are so superior to them in their knowledge, who do so many admirable things and who inspire so much respect in them. When they discourse seriously on the subject, they mention that their

thers have told them that good men will come to their island at some future period to teach and instruct them, adding, but I may not live to see it.

They have been told of the improvement of the natives of the Sandwich and other islands, at which they are much surprised. One solitary individual of their number, who had been there, and is now returned, having been farther than any of them from his native shore, thinks himself entitled to be called a white man, or *roach*. "Me no black man." "Me go Hawaii." They likewise say, (though they have no idea of the distance of England) how great that king must be, where all the people are chiefs—the white man never work; (the ships that visit their island from time to time having generally black men to do everything in the shape of drudgery work.)

parents have told them that in time a good race of men would come to their island to teach them, to train them and make them more knowledgeable than they were then, adding that they themselves would not live to see that. All the prophecies are exactly like this one; as soon as a remarkable event takes place, it so happens, according to impostors, that it had been predicted, and revealed by someone. Domination was never imposed upon some population that has not preserved, as part of their history such gross hoaxes which only serve to console the future generations for the loss of their independence or the lack of representation at which they have arrived. Greece, Carthago and Rome saw it announced in succession by their oracles that their dominance was to disappear from the earth, vanquished by other nations. In more modern times, Mexico and Peru, at the time of the discovery of the New World, give us in the history of the conquest the same omens, the same prophecies and now even the inhabitants of Oceania pretend to have their own!

The natives are impressed with the progress that those of Sandwich and Tahiti have made under the influence of Europeans, which causes them a great surprise. When one of them has been carried to those islands by some whaler, he returns and he then believes himself to be white, or *ruche*, saying to that effect in bastard English: "Me no black man, me go Hawaii." They also say about the sovereign of Great Britain: "How great and powerful must be that king, in a place where all the people are chiefs; the white men never work; the ships that visit our islands from time to time usually bring with them colored people who do everything for them; and whom they pay in order to serve them." Such is

They appear happy, and like the natives of most islands in the Pacific, who having no cares for the present, are alike indifferent as to the future. Nature, all bountiful Nature, supplying every want with little exertion to themselves; while at the same time, a certain superstitious dread of the anger of supposed deities imparts to their character a degree of listlessness. Some will not eat fowls, others will not eat pigeons, because they suppose the spirit of some departed relative may have assumed that shape.

the idea that those islanders have about Europeans and their chiefs, as they call them.

These people seem as happy as is possible here in this cold world, so that most of the inhabitants of the Pacific islands who, not having any care in the present, are just as indifferent about the future. Nature, providential nature, supplies them abundantly without any or very meaningful work, as much as they need to spend a soft and peaceful life. At the same time, the superstitious ideas that inspire them the belief in bad spirits make them sad and impress upon their character something melancholic: some do not eat chickens, others do not eat doves, because they suppose them to be the spirits of some dead relatives or friends who have taken that form. The savages devoid of any light are not the only ones under the influence of such fatalistic beliefs. The same ignorance in which man lives with regards to his origin, and what will happen to him after this life, is no doubt whatsoever the exclusive cause of all the delirium that torments him. Asia, as well as Africa, educated Europe and her daughter America and also wild Oceania, more or less believe in the existence of evil spirits under different names and distinct functions, giving hours in which to exercise them, and even respective positions they occupy in space. Whatever the state of complete ignorance of a wild people, with difficulty it could exceed Europe in inventing these spirits and their attributes, and although it is certain that with their first social institutions they also received from Asia, part of their religious beliefs, nevertheless, with the passage of time, they were modified by the addition of inventions of their own. In these reforms, they have worsened rather than improved such absurd beliefs, because the priests are interested in domination through trickery and imposture;

this has been the most efficient means they have found all over the world to impose upon reason and to enchain it solidly, in order that it may never try to emancipate itself from their power. The devils, the demons, the good angels and the bad ones; here are the powerful enemies and friends of man; the priests or *gerofantes*, and the offerings, here are the only means to placate them and to keep them propitious. Fertile source of power and wealth, this invention alone assumes them of a universal domination, shared between the ministers of the manifold religions that man recognizes and worships the first principle and whose existence, beginning with the first society ever formed, still lasts after so many thousands of centuries and will continue for a limitless period, as long as most of mankind remains in stupid ignorance, or better said, as long as this ignorance forms part of the sad apanage that it received as an endowment from the Creator at birth.

The island contains a population of from five to six thousand inhabitants, comprising four tribes, viz. Metaleline, Whannica Pietack, Whannica Poite and Kittie—the two first and last have each a superior chief, named Ishiepow or Nana Morigii, who is sometimes called king, possessing absolute power; those who follow in rank and succeed him are Whagii, and Naniken, with several inferior chiefs who never rise higher in rank; the chief-ship is not hereditary, nor do the sons of the highest possess any authority at the demise of the father, unless it should happen that their mother was a chief woman, (as they are called) but their laws do not permit one chief to marry the daughter of another—hence, a chief-ship descends through the female line, and one

The island contains a population of 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, divided into eight [sic] tribes, as follows: Metaleline, Whannica-Pietack, Whannica-Porte and Kittie. The first two and the last one are governed by paramount chiefs, called Nana-Morigii—sometimes they are also called kings—exercising limitless power. Those who follow in rank are: Whagii and Naniken, with many other lower chiefs. The office of principal chief is elective. If it reverts to some women, chiefess or invested with the rank of chief, her daughters cannot marry anyone of the same rank.



chief succeeds another in rank. Ishiepow, Whagii, Naniken, etc., being titles of rank, and not the names of the individuals—their common names never being mentined so soon as they succeed to the office of chief-tainship.

So sacred are their common names held, or so deeply are they buried in oblivion, that no native will tell what has been the former name of his chief. The inferior chiefs succeed each other in their respective rank but can never become Naniken, etc. **All canoes passing the residence of a chief, must lower their sail, and no one can pass a chief in his canoe without doing the same, or stop paddling till permitted to pass on: they are jealous of honour—and always ready to resent any indignity offered.**

The new name that the chief takes upon occupying this office is so sacred that it is as if he had never had another; the previous name remains buried in memory and no native would dare mention it by calling him by his earlier name, without incurring grave punishments. The lower chiefs in rank succeed one another in their respective ranks, but they can never arrive at or be Naniken, etc. Among the honors that they do to a chief is that of lowering the sails on any boat that passes in front of their houses, and none overtaking a boat aboard which he is, without doing the same ceremony and to pause in its course until it is permitted to pass. About this, as well as many other honors, they are very particular about insisting on compliance.

Among the entertainments that they partake most frequently are the "kavas"; for this kind of ceremonies, they have houses expressly built in all the settlements that are very spacious and circular. The roof is supported by wooden columns without any sort of wall or partition. In the center there is a hole which is a sort of oven to cook the food or make the *guhao*. The seats are around the circle in the shape of an amphitheater, made of thin canes. I found myself in one of these feasts by chance, and I participated somewhat in its innocent fun as well as in the "guhao." The feast comes down to some singing, eating and drinking, which, on account of the crowd consisting only of men, results in some excesses in the drinking, although it

rarely degenerates into fights. All the men of the tribe without distinction attend these feasts, but it is indispensable that at least one chief or Naniken attends. This social institution, in general use throughout Polynesia, provides us a matter for rather exact reflection, and that is: as the same climatic influences produce the same beings, each species of such beings obey the same laws, have completely similar tendencies, and the only accidental difference between its animal individuals comes from the departure point where civilization began. It is not strange, therefore, that Polynesians, in the manner of the learned peoples of the world, have their clubs where, following the irresistible tendency of the species for social life, they enjoy this first benefit of life.

To each village a large house is attached, in the upper part of which their war canoes are kept. These are from forty to fifty feet long, and about two feet deep, formed from the hollow trunk of a tree, exhibiting their most fanciful workmanship, and variously adorned according to the taste of the party for whose use it is constructed. All the various fastenings of the outrigger, etc., being made with partly colored twine, disposed in the most intricate manner—neat and uniform, to which some devote their whole attention. In the lower part of this house the food for all the inhabitants of the village is cooked in common; it is then brought to the residence of the chief, who, having pronounced a blessing of a few words over it—takes sufficient for the demands of his own family, and distributes what remains to the different families of the settlement; but should the chief be absent at the time it is brought, no one, not even the members of his own fam-

Each settlement has a large shed, perhaps the biggest in the whole place, destined exclusively to keep the canoes belonging to the community of the inhabitants of the place. The canoes are forty feet or more [in length], built from a single piece of wood. Although they are exquisitely and elegantly crafted, well painted white and red, they are without any doubt very inferior to the double canoes of Rotuma. Most of the ordinary canoes are built with various pieces fastened together by means of lashings and fitted in addition by putty introduced in all of them. In the lower part of the house food is prepared for all the inhabitants of the place in common; it is then taken in green baskets made of coconut palm to the chief's house and he, after pronouncing a few short words by way of a blessing, takes what is necessary for his family and the rest he distributes or orders to be distributed among the others. However, if the chief is temporarily absent at the

ily, dare touch any part thereof till his return.

They devote certain seasons to particular purposes, such as building canoes, houses, etc., when the former are finished, they are brought either to the first or second chief, who gives them to those who are in want of them, receiving some present in return. From their construction, and the immense size of the sail they carry, these canoes sail amazingly fast, but require great care in the management, being easily upset; the natives, however, are very expert in managing them, and keep the outrigger always to windward, shifting the sail from end to end when they have occasion to beat to windward. Notwithstanding their vessels cost them so much labour and time in constructing them, a handsome canoe and sail may be purchased for a few heads of tobacco.

When engaged in building their houses, the chiefs often assist in person. These are neat and comfortable; the walls being constructed entirely of small bamboo, and are raised two or three feet from the ground on a solid platform of stone, built without cement; the interior might answer the description of a bird cage; the various beams and uprights being fastened, (like the canoes,) with partly coloured twine made from the bark of the cocoa-nut. The floor, composed of bamboo, is as soft as a carpet; though they do not cook anything in their houses, a square place is left in the centre of the floor, where they generally have a fire, round which may often be seen the old and infirm, and torpid, helpless beings, without fingers and toes. They sleep on mats, which are called *loatch*, and have a blanket made

time the food is brought, no person, not even a member of his family, can touch the food as long as he does not return. This practice does not seem general except in certain cases.

The time is divided into different occupations in common, such as the construction of houses or canoes, and for the women the making of mats and the above-mentioned waist bands. When the houses are finished, the chief gives them to whom-ever he wants; in general, it is either to old people or to newlyweds. The chief himself attends these occupations and even directs the works. The houses are pleasant in appearance and comfortable; their walls and partitions are all built with cane, and the floor is raised two to three feet above the surface. The inside is very similar to a bird cage and everybody sleeps on the hard ground on top of mats. The place where each family prepares food is separated from the main room; an adjacent room serves as a kitchen and in its center there is a hole with a permanent fire, and all around a cane structure that serves as beds where they spend the whole day. They sleep on mats, as I have said, and they use, instead of blankets the bark of a tree intertwined with the fibers of other plants; nevertheless, in spite of the great ease in which they can get this type of blanket that also fulfills its purpose, they choose to make whatever sacrifices to obtain a European blanket.

of bark interwoven with a soft fibrous filament, the same as that of the women; they are fond of an English blanket, and would sacrifice everything to possess one that is dyed red.

The diseases common to the island are chiefly cutaneous *lepra* [i.e. leprosy], in the various forms of scaly and tubercular, which prevail to a great extent, and women often expire in giving birth to their progeny. Europeans are afflicted with hepatitis, and seem to be obnoxious to *lepra vulgaris*. Syphilis is an exotic.

The disease that is prevalent in the Carolines and in many other parts of Polynesia is leprosy in all its forms which comes from the use of raw fish freshly taken or when, in addition, they dry it in the sun before eating it. One of the nights when a few girls came to visit our sailors on board—a large few I must say—the following morning, after they had gone back ashore, out of four beautiful fishes freshly salted that had been hung in the air, there were only the bones left.

Out of all the objects for trade or barter that Europeans bring to the Pacific Ocean, none is solicited with more avidity by the savages than tobacco. It is a foolish passion, a frenzy that overpowers them when they smell tobacco smoke; women, children, old people, all smoke. As they do not have any in the islands or they do not know how to cultivate it, they immediately make sacrifices to procure it from the stranger who arrives on their coasts. In exchange for this drug, a savage gives the most precious object that he owns, even preferring it to the gun or powder; as far as a wench is concerned, she grants the favor most sought after by man which in the whole world is sold very dearly or is obtained by caprice. One Manilla cigar or a two-inch ream of Virginia tobacco suffice to the most tarred of our sailors to be happy all night at the side of an Oceanian beauty; so much so that the daughters of chiefs, hoping of course for better and ampler rewards from us, courted the

honor of pleasing us and deserving our exclusive predilection. Travellers say nothing about the antiquity of the use of tobacco in Oceania, if it was introduced by the first European discoverers or if they did find it there already, if the plant is indigenous to those regions as in America or if the seed was brought in, and finally if in Asia, where its consumption is extraordinary, they made use of tobacco before Europeans had transported it from America and introduced it by commerce. The solution of this economic-industrial question, related like all those of its nature with commerce and the links it establishes among the societies of nations, could very well by itself throw sufficient light to clarify somewhat the origin or provenance of a great part of the inhabitants of Oceania; and also that of the many and different American types or races. What I do know for sure is that in some islands of Polynesia, in Manilla, and in Macao in China, I have seen this forest plant in the gardens, in the plantations, in the cracks in the walls of buildings and surrounding houses.

So far as I could learn, they have no religious ceremonies; they however say when it thunders, that Nan Jabba (the Atua of other islands) is angry, on which occasions they are wont to prepare *cava* for him.

This is another of the many Pacific islands that does not have any apparent cult, although they believe, like all men, in a superior cause who created all that they see and admire. Thus they say when it thunders that their God is angry; to placate him they prepare kava, but tired of waiting for him, they drink it themselves. Thus, it is then a sort of sacrifice that pleases the body and comforts the soul. There does not exist any building dedicated to their "Atua", nor images that represent him, nor priests and therefore no sacrifices.

The only ceremony of marriage, is that the house being built and the parties having washed themselves, anoint their persons all over with scented cocoa-nut oil,

The indispensable prerequisites in this and other Caroline islands for marriage are very simple and they only consist in having the groom tell it to the chief and ask him for

then besmear themselves with turmeric when they retire to their new habitation.

Although plurality of wives is allowed, conjugal fidelity is respected, and the male party infringing on the rights is punished by the spear of the husband. One chief at the time of my visit had nine wives, and another in prospect but as the damsel would not allow herself to be tattooed, he would not take her home till she had submitted to this indispensable requisite; the last rib he had taken was said to be the 'Venus' of the Island, of her he was so jealous that he kept her in a cage, permitting no one on pain of being speared through, to see the Beauty in the Trap. It is not considered of any consequence how many liaisons the fair elect may have had before marriage, and should these have been with a white man, they are considered the best recommendation to a husband.

a house if he does not have one. When the wedding day has arrived, both contracting parties take a bath and anoint their body with coconut oil. In a full gathering at the bride's house they rub each other's face and body with turmeric, after which the whole society arises and leads them in triumph to the new house of the husband, where they finally leave them to enjoy in peace the well-being they sought.

Polygamy is allowed, and marriage is rather respected, but before entering into this legal commitment, the women may grant their favors to whomever they wish without any consequence; it is even an advantage for them in finding a husband if they have had relations with a white man.

The Caroline archipelago, divided into groups with a multitude of islands is huge, little known, and its inhabitants are among the most advanced in ideas, industry and in small arts indispensable to life. Among the islands that make it up, Walan [Kosrae] is the first or best known on account of the frequent visits to it by the scientific expeditions of discovery in the last twenty years, specially those of the French Captains Freycinet, Duperrey, d'Urville, etc. whose scientific descriptions have given it an interest that the others lack. However,

I have good reasons to believe that later on, when Ascension or Bonybay will be equally well known, its importance will increase above that [of Kosrae]; what makes this most probable is the abundant exportation of tortoise shells, as I have said before, that in the last few years has become a regular business, the fertility of its soil, and the noble race which lives there. The inhabitants of this archipelago have from times immemorial made distant voyages to the Gilbert and Marshall Islands. At the beginning of the last century they began to communicate with the Marianas, but nowadays the existing relations between these two archipelagos by means of Carolinian canoes are so frequent that sometimes, for lack of Manilla ships, the Spanish Governor of the Marianas in Guaham has used them with very good success.

## CHAPTER IX.—MARIANA OR LADRONES ISLANDS.

*Discovery and colonization.—Missionaries.—Present condition of the inhabitants.—Contrast with the rest of the Polynesian Islands.—Hospitality with which we were received.—Products and commerce.*

After five days of beautiful navigation from Bonybay, we sighted the island of Guahan, and a few hours later we anchored in the port of Agaña, a Spanish possession submitted to its arms at the end of the 17th century in this archipelago. Well, even though Ferdinand Magellan discovered it first in 1521, and Loaysa visited it in 1526, and Legaspi in 1565, the true conquest and colonization did not take place until 1668, after many disasters that had befallen various European ships, from the time of the famous voyage of Magellan around the world until the period when those who had imitated him and followed his steps without noteworthy success, only succeeded in rectifying the points discovered by the immortal Spaniard.

Magellan was the one who gave the name of Ladrones to this archipelago, on account of some thefts committed in his ships, among others, the theft of one of the ships' boats. Father San Victor [sic], Jesuit, named them Marianas in honor of Maria Ana of Austria, wife of Philip IV. It is not strange that this second name has prevailed because this missionary and his companions were the first ones who colonized it properly and who brought to those people, with the protection of the reigning monarch, the few enlightenments that exist today and the general well-being they enjoy, fruit of that same civilization. Although Father San Victor had thrown the basis of the colony, with so many difficulties of all kinds that he had to fight, and endless bloody wars to sustain, finally he himself was victim of his zeal, and the colony and so many sacrifices, at the end of 1669, found themselves on the eve of disappearance. After such a lamentable success, he was succeeded as Governor by Saravia who was convinced that in order to civilize a people, it is not sufficient to bring to it Christianity in triumph, but it is indispensable that it be accompanied by the arts, industry and commerce, that by creating happiness and generating virtues, make evident the advantages of civilization. He undertook his great work by teaching the culture of corn and a few other cereals. He introduced workers and artisans, and instructed them in those that are indispensable to the enjoyment of a more comfortable and pleasurable social life. He taught them to weave clothing, tannery, smithing, masonry, carpentry, etc. Primary education was not forgotten for that, and the fair sex, at the same time as it was taught moral virtues by catechism and example, was taught the duties of a wife and the care of the household. The result was that such a wise magistrate realized successfully the truth that for two centuries already philosophers of both worlds have been proclaiming: "Christianity does not only serve as an initiation to peoples whom it is hoped to introduce to civilization, for the sole reason that it is the religion of learned Europe, but that industry, the arts and commerce are the eloquent missionaries of the civilization that it is meant to bring to them."

This truth is no longer contested except by ignorant fanatics or men of bad faith. For instance, England was first, among modern nations, to put it into practice in dis-



tant regions through a handful of venturesome traders who, in less than one century, dominating by the force of intelligence and the magical power of commerce, subjugated more than one hundred nations and founded in Central Asia the most powerful empire that has ever existed—a system dramatically opposed to that of the Portuguese who, two centuries earlier, instead of traders, industrialists and artisans, brought them friars and Jesuits, the infernal inquisition, instead of the olive branch of the Gospel which they preached, and the temples and costly convents to lodge in luxury those scoundrels of Christianity, instead of spacious ports for commerce, fortresses to secure their domination, and beneficent institutions to make themselves loved even by savage barbarians. This ended forever in Asia the empire founded by Don Sebastian [Vasco da Gama], chased away for its lewd vices, and pushed over later by a more illustrious and humane rival.

Although Saravia had, so to speak, ensured irrevocably the Spanish domination in Guaham, neither he nor his successors saw themselves exempt of continuous rebellions, some of them bloody, all of them caused by the imprudent zeal of the Jesuits and their incontinence, firstly by forcing the natives to receive baptism, above all the children, clandestinely against the will of their parents, and secondly by seducing for other purposes the women and their daughters. Worthy apostles of the religion they proclaimed and better missionaries of civilization! Unfortunately, this is the old history of Christian missions, wherever the spirit of proselytism has been carried, its first fruits have been blood, persecution, devastation and misery. If, after a few centuries of all these calamities, after the disappearance of a few generations by the sword and fire, the neophyte people begins to enjoy the other benefits that were unknown to them in their first condition, as it is happening now in America, it is exclusively due to secondary causes that the religious ignore in civilizing a population: industry, the arts and commerce. If these unique and efficient agents of civilization, eloquent missionaries of the century of enlightenment, had been used instead of Capuchins and Jesuits without doctrine, without morality and besides full of an insatiable avarice for wealth and power, and with a super-intolerant religious spirit, there would have been accomplished, and there would be obtained the just and human objective of easily civilizing the peoples, without so many horrors that have been practiced to get it, after so many centuries, the memory of which still shakes one's heart. How different would the fortune of the Spanish Marianas and Philippines be today, of the Portuguese Timor, Macao and Goa be also. The condition of their inhabitants, after more than three centuries of possession and so many elements of wealth that each of these places possesses, would no doubt be prosperous and of service to their respective sovereigns with inexhaustible fountains of wealth. But the progress of all of them has been slow and insignificant, the condition of their inhabitants miserable, the profit obtained from them by their sovereigns non-existent, and the population decreasing at a surprising rate. When all of this is compared with the increasing wealth, morality and prosperity of the English colonies which have hardly been created, some of them for only the normal life span of a man, and already they

astound the passing traveller who arrives at their ports. What a marked contrast and how healthy a conclusion do they all offer to governments!

When one compares the total population of the 17 [sic] islands that comprise the Mariana archipelago with the one that was found at the time of the conquest, he cannot but be sadly surprised and get untoward ideas regarding the old system of using the Christian religion as the first agent of civilization through erroneous calculations and the best possible faith, with its ministers and governors persecuting those who did not embrace it. They brought division among families and the unfortunate savages were not safe even in the bushes. Without making them participants in the civilizing arts, and making them objects of speculation to enrich themselves, they became truly slaves who sacrificed as many positive possessions that man has in life, without finding any compensation for their sufferings, until fatigue, despair and loss of hope put a term to their existence. Thus disappeared more than two-thirds of the original population of America, as well as that of the Sandwich Islands, Tahiti and Manila, and also all of the Marianas which, according to Mariano Tobias, who was one of their governors, had 50,000 [sic] inhabitants at the time of the conquest, today have hardly 8,000, and most of them concentrated in the islands of Guaham, Tinian and Rota, the others being almost deserted.

The natives at the time of the conquest were found in the same state of ignorance and almost total lack of knowledge of the arts and industry as all other Pacific islands. However, their soil, so rich in spontaneous products of nature, leaving nothing to envy to another in those parts, was such that the few necessities, on the one hand, and the abundance of what is indispensable, on the other hand, did not allow them to miss those same arts so necessary to life in the whole world, and life was soft, without the pressing incentive of necessity and without the constant torment of slavery.

A noteworthy contrast appears at first sight upon arriving at Guaham. After having spent many months among Pacific savages, without seeing anything but nudity, without practicing any language other than sign language, nor enjoying any amenities except those we provided ourselves on board, we found all the inhabitants clothed, imitating European clothes rather well. As for the language, it was inexplicably satisfying for me and I almost thought myself in my native country; everybody speaks the Castilian tongue with more or less purity and naturally inserting many native expressions, but always intelligible, and full of interest for the inhabitant of another world who finds there his language with all the sympathies that it inspires, always soft and rather sonorous so as to make one feel in every sentence a perfect identity with those that have been familiar to one's ears since the day he was born. To judge from the look of the population, as compared with those presented by the civilized world, it would certainly be miserable, but in front of their Polynesian sisters, in that truly new world, they give the general appearance of order and civilization. Women generally wear a tight skirt wrapped from the waist down to the feet, a fine white blouse worn outside, and the feet and head bare. The men wear more clothes in the European fashion, with pants, shirt worn on the outside and a hat made of matting material. On the other hand, the fair

sex of Guaham, with that half-Spanish air and the simplicity of their manners, their diversions, their temples, their bells in the middle of those seas, separated by large distances from the centers of civilization, made me think I had arrived at one of those enchanted cities that the fabulous stories of all the nations tell us about, a perfect European colony with all its amenities: streets well laid out and simple and tidy houses, most of them with thatch roofs, its governor, judges, mayors and clergy. And in order not to lack what is found in excess in big cities, the etiquette, the grade that degenerates excessively in puerile pride, were held in good quantity by everyone of those who carried out some public duty. A stick of uncommon proportion, threatening by its shape, is the sole distinction of authority, although the mayor, when he goes out to stroll through the streets, brings two or more persons as a retinue.

Primary education is so generalized in Guaham that, to judge by Agaña, there would be hardly one-third of the population that does not know how to read and half to write. There is in addition a royal college that, it is said, is dedicated to the study of the humanities but in reality not teaching anything other than what a Latin chair can give. No science is yet, of course, cultivated, as it receives from Manila the judges and the ecclesiastics that it requires. There is a home economics house for young girls and an unoccupied convent for friars, good! as they are very prejudicial, the same ones who fulfill the role of curates and who by this means exercise a limitless power.

When I stepped ashore, the first person we greeted was the Governor of the islands, a junior officer of the Spanish Army who welcomed us and led us to his palace where he manifested the finest show of appreciation and consideration, and offered it to us for lodging which we did not accept except to spend the day, having the custom of sleeping on board. We accepted his invitation to dine with him and, to reciprocate, the captain invited him aboard the **Rosa**, inviting also the prominent persons of Agaña. From that day onward, the frankest, most cordial and friendly relations were established between us and the whole city. The inhabitants came aboard with the same informality as we entered their houses. We received all kinds of hospitable invitations from these good people. The Governor invited us to go to Umata to his own house, which we could not accept either for lack of time.

The village of Mongmong, the only one we visited in the vicinity, is also the most important for agriculture, and the most pleasant place on account of the physical aspect of the countryside. Sugarcane, rice, corn, various sorts of potatoes, cotton to feed their small looms, and a multitude of other rich fruits that grow with careful cultivation, make up its extraordinary vegetation. If the Spanish government only knew its own interests, as I believe is already happening, but its interminable domestic wrangles do not permit it to pay attention to them long enough, what elements of wealth could not be utilized in those virgin lands; in addition to the pecuniary advantages that they could produce; they would make the inhabitants happier, or at least not so miserable. Its products in exported sugar, rice and cotton would by themselves make the country rich. But either because the Spanish government does not care for these islands, or by neglect of that of Manila, from which they depend directly, or on account of a bad

choice of employees, there exists no commerce at all to export the excess of what can be produced, if we do not count the food of all kinds exported at a ridiculous price by the whaling ships that call there very frequently. The result of all this is that, not producing more than for its limited consumption, it is clear that they cannot have what is necessary for them to enjoy a more comfortable life.

Between the Marianas and Manila, there exists no regular communication; sometimes more than one year goes by before the government of the Marianas receives communications of any kind, or that some ship coming from Manila calls there. This way, after more than two centuries of peaceful possession of those precious islands and the first benefits brought by Spanish civilization, they have remained stationary. When the whole world, during the present century has received a great impulse in ideas, as a result of the enlightenment of learned Europe, spread like wild fire over all the points of the Earth, the Marianas seem not to have shared such benefits, ignoring themselves, perhaps fortunately, that a reform has occurred in other parts of the world, which has passed them by.

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**Note 1841E**

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**The shipwreck of the *Isabella*, Captain  
McAusland, in the Carolines**

*Sources: Nautical Magazine, 1842, p. 49; Charles Bateson's Australian Shipwrecks (Sydney, 1982).*

**Short notice in the Nautical Magazine**

“Ship **Isabella** of London, Capt. MAusland [sic = McAusland?], while going from Sydney to Manila, was wrecked in Caroline Islands on 30 January [1841?].”

No other details given, except the cryptic letters “cs” which mean that the crew was saved. The information about the site of the shipwreck having been in 7°21' N, or Oro-luk Atoll, is not mentioned in this notice.

...

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**Document 1841F**

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**The ship William Hamilton, Capt. William Swain**

*Sources: Ms. log in Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Mass.; PMB 819; Log Inv. 4935.*

**Extract from the log kept by J. C. Smith, 1838-42**

**A privet [sic] Journal Kept on board Ship William Hamilton of New Bedford to the Pacific by J. C. Smith.**

...

Monday July the 5th [1841]

Commences with light winds from ENE steering on the wind to the SE[.] at 2 PM saw Clarks [Onotoa] Island[.] middle and latter strong winds.

Latt 2°36 S Long 175°40 E.

Tuesday July the 6th

Commences with strong winds from E steering to the land E on the wind[.] middle and latter [part] the same.

Latt 3°20 S Long [blank]

...

Friday July the 16th

Commences with strong winds from E steering on the wind to the N saw blackfish[.] middle and latter the same[.] at daylight saw Byrons [Nukunau] Islands[.] so ends.

Latt 1°07 S Long 177°05 E.

...

Tuesday July the 27th

Commences with strong winds from E steering to the N[.] at 4 PM saw Byrons Island[.] middle and latter lay off and on[.] took off three boat loads of coconuts.

...

Friday July the 30th

Commences with strong winds from SE steering S by W on the wind[.] Byrons and Perue Island in sight[.] middle and latter light wind steering one way and the other on the wind[.] Islands in sight.

Tuesday Aug the 3rd

Commences with light airs from E steering in the wind[.] saw Killers [i.e. killer whales.] middle and latter calm[.] saw a sail. Hope [Arorae] in sight.

Wednesday Aug the 4th

Commences with a calm[.] middle and latter light wind[.] at 5 AM spoke brig **Thames** of London 16 months out 100 bbls sperm[.] Hope Island in sight.

Thursday Aug the 5th

Commences with light breezes from E steering to the N on the wind[.] at 5 AM saw Byrons Island and three sail[.] so ends.

Friday Aug the 6th

Commences with strong winds from E[.] at 3 PM spoke three barques the **Cussux** [sic = Sussex] 15 months out 450 bbls sperm[.] the **Keried** [sic = Harriet?] 7 months out nothing[.] the **Luiza** [=Louisa] 34 months out 1700 bbls sperm[.] all of London.

...

Thursday Aug the 12th

... at daylight saw Hope Island...

Friday Aug the 13th

...at 9 AM saw Byrons Island...

...

Wednesday Aug the 18th

... at 11 AM saw Hope Island...

...

Thursday Aug the 26th

Commences with strong breezes steering one way and the other on the wind[.] spoke Barque **Thames** [of] London[.] at 8 PM finished boiling[.] middle stood to the SE[.] later to the N[.] saw Byrons Island.

Friday Aug the 27th

Commences with strong winds from ENE stan in and off Byrons Island[.] spoke the Barque **Grasshopper** of London 20 months out 700 bbls sperm, middle and latter the same.

...

Sunday Aug the 29th

... steered in and off B[y]rons island...

...

Wednesday Sept the 8th

Commences with light winds steering to the N[.] at 1 PM spoke barque **Draco** of Fairhaven 24 months out 5 [sic] bbls sperm.

Thursday Sept the 9th

Commences with strong winds from E steering to the N and E on the wind[.] at daylight saw Byrons island[,] **Draco** in company.

Friday Sept the 10th

Commences with strong winds and thick weather steering in and off Byrons island[,] one boat ashore after coconuts[.] at sundown returned[.] middle and latter steered to the S and E on the wind[,] saw finbacks and blackfish.

...

Wednesday Sept the 22nd

Commences with light winds from E steering on the wind with the larboard tacks aboard[.] at 4 PM saw the Island of Eremungs and of the New Hebrides...

Lat 18°10 [S] Long 173°45 E.

...



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**Documents 1841G**

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**Captain Godby's visit to Ngatik in the Clarinda**

*Source: Nautical Magazine, 1845, pp. 421, 505-507.*

**G1. First letter of Captain E. P. Godby****The Raven Islands**

Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle Street.

July 11th, 1845.

Sir,

Having as I believe very narrowly escaped being cut off by savages or pirates, at the Raven Islands, in February, 1841, it appears to me that the "Notes during a run from Port Jackson to Hong-Kong, in H.M.S. Vestal, 1844,"<sup>1</sup> as they appear in a leading article of the Nautical Magazine for the last month, are calculated, unwittingly, to assist in entrapping merchant vessels at those islands, and deeming the thing of sufficient importance, I beg to tender all the information in my power, to enable you to judge of the facts and circumstances; and therefore my log book, for the sake of the remarks made therein at the time, and also a pencil sketch illustrative of the sort of traps and decoys used to entice the ship's company are at your service, or at the service of any one you may be pleased to appoint to meet me at any time.

I am, &c.,

E. P. Godby.

To the Editor, &c.

**G2. Extract from the log of the Clarinda for 15 February 1841**

**Extract from the Log Book of teh Barque Clarinda, E. P. Godby, from Van Diemen Land towards Manila, China, &c.**

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1844J.

**Remarks.—Monday, February 15th, 1841.**—“At 1 p.m. bore away west to avoid the supposed danger of the Raven Islands, the name not being alluded to in Horshburgh’s Directory. Strong breezes; all possible sail set. Employed fitting and fixing temporary waistcloths, &c. At 4h. 45m. long. chron. 158°22’30” E., var. per azm. 9°32’ E.; strong breeze from E.N.E., and fine. Midnight, hauled up a point. At 2 a.m. hauled up a point. At 4 hauled up point. At sunrise made the islands, bearing from N.b.E. to N.1/2W. At 6h. 45m. made another island, bearing N.W., kept away to leeward of the same.

Long. chron. 156°53’ E., var. per azm. 11°0’ E.

Long. by lunar 157°13’ E., and by observation at noon I made the said islands 30’ of long. to westward of the position assigned by Norie,<sup>1</sup> and from 7’ to 10’ of lat. to the northward of him. At noon the Course N.70°W...

...  
“In bearing away so as to pass about 1-1/2 miles to leeward of the island last made, it was seen that nearly all the seven islands were connected by a reef, on which the sea broke heavily; the last island alluded to had a most beauriful appearance, about two miles in length from east to west; the sandy beach being thickly lined by cocoa-nut trees, very beautifully variegated back foliage in some places, but not the least appearance of inhabitants.

“About 8h. 45m. a.m., when steering so as to pass without landing, a catamaran with a well cut Spanish lateen sail was observed making towards us from the easternmost end of the island, and observing that she contained only four persons was induced to back the main yard, more particularly, as at the same time observed directly over the catamaran what appeared to be a vessel dismasted, on the other side of a neck of land. We had no sooner backed the main yard than we discovered others attempting to cut us off from the west end of the island, coming round **outside and to windward** of the reef at that end; which induced us to fill and stand on, but was immediately hailed by the first, in good English, which induced us to back a second time. Finding she would not come alongside until another catamaran, with an English-cut lug sail, and which it was said contained a white man, could come up, we filled a second time. The two then passed each other within hail, and afterwards the last mentioned hung on some signal, and appearing very anxious to speak, we backed a third time, the others having all turned towards the shore.

“At 10 a.m., suffered the white man to board us, being prepared with our small arms, &c.; he was very anxious for us to return, in order, as he said, to supply us with hogs, &c., but from his prevarication, incoherent, and extraordinary statements respecting the islands, we deemed it most prudent to make the best of our way on our course.

“Amongst other statements he made was, that two captains of ships had been murdered at the island, in revenge for which he was of the party who otook the island from the natives; that they slew all the men, but spared the women, about forty of them and

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1 Norie, London Edition, 1839.

some boys; that the first man who hailed us in the first boat was an American black, who had been all his life in the English service, (by-the-by, that fellow said it was a Spanish island,) and had been cook of the vessel; that **he** had brought of **women** in his (the black's) boat, because **he** had no men; whereas he (John Macvie,<sup>1</sup> from Whithhaven, Scotland) had brought off his own **men!** two or three of whom discovered themselves as **women**, to some of the crew; they also wearing very neatly, or rather classically, made garlands of flowers on their heads, and a sort of Scotch kilt made from the filament of the cocoa-nut tree. It was ascertained too that he had a quantity of spirits in his catamaran, and solicited to be allowed to '**give the crew a glass round;**' a bottle of which was allowed to be handed up. He stated that it was of his own distilling, and from a still made from a magazine of copper given him by the captain of the ship; that nothing was wanted on the island, that they had lots of things useful and for defence buried there; he had the morning previously discovered a spade where also **fourteen** men had been murdered and buried; that **H.M.S. Larne**, had been there about fourteen months since, had promised to return in twelve months, but had not done so; that he had a character from **her** commander. On parting he complimented the crew on their fine appearance and expressed a wish to have them on the island.

"He was about fifty years old, 5 ft. 6 in., large gray beard, and the pupil of one eye double the size of the other; he begged only a couple of empty bottles, and a little tobacco, with which he departed, wishing us a pleasant passage, &c., and wishing to be reported to any ships as being prepared to supply them with hogs. A more dangerous, suspicious, or vile character in appearance, I think I never saw; he confessed that he had left his own country for smuggling, and intended to leave his bones on the island."

A true Extract from my Journal as kept by me,

E. P. Godby.

London, Aug. 1845.

### G3. Second letter of Captain Godby

Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle Street, 4th August, 1845.

Sir.—In passing close to leeward of the island, so perfectly beautiful in appearance as it is, independent of other circumstances, the temptation to land was very great, and it was not until it must have been quite evident to the persons on shore that we had no intention to land that the first catamaran made her appearance.

Whilst the first man was dallying with us, for he declined to come alongside, the second made his appearance from some where near the middle of the island. In the meantime my attention was directed by the helmsman to what appeared to him as bodies moving amongst the rocks and breakers; but which were canoes or catamarans, evidently **cutting us off** from the weather side of the point and breakers, and, though not easily distinguishable, might have been alongside nearly as soon as the second catamaran. Our suspicions having been excited from the first appearance and **manoeuvre**

1 Ed. note: Probably McVey, instead.

of the first man, we were upon the alert and **filled**, until we perceived that all were returning to the island except the one we permitted to board us, and who had continued to hold out a **hatt on a stick** as a signal. On his first coming alongside, Macvie denied, more than once or twice, having anything whatever to dispose of, or to barter, and it required a rather close scrutiny to discover the vessel in which he had the spirits concealed and carefully covered with a mat under the sail, but of which he afterwards admitted he had "**plenty to give the crew—two or three glasses round;**" one bottle only I allowed to be hauled up, and brought it home as a curiosity. On finding that I was firmly resolved not to land a boat, he evinced by his language and manners a disposition rather to inflame and incite the crew to resist my authority, than to render useful information. On my intimating to him that probably he would like to join the ship, he seemed better prepared for a leap overboard, so as to be picked up by the catamaran, in which I had observed a tomahawk with a newly fitted handle.

The natives who came alongside were remarkably good looking; after being discovered as women by some of our crew, evidently with the intention to decoy them on shore, and if they had succeeded in smuggling the spirits on board, it is impossible to say what mischief might have ensued; at any rate, no doubt has never existed in my mind as to their evil intentions.

I am, &c.,

E.P. Godby.

To the Editor, &c.

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**Document 1841H**

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**The voyage of the Florentia, Captain Goodwyn, via Guam in March 1840**

*Source: Nautical Magazine, 1841, pp. 448-451.*

**Voyage of the Florentia, W. Goodwyn, Commander.**

Thursday, 12th March.—Having all the crew on board, and received sailing orders, we weighed our anchor and proceeded to sea. At midday, being abreast of Sydney Head, the pilot left us, a smart breeze blowing from N.E., the **Hope**, whaler, in company, standing to eastward.<sup>1</sup>

...  
11th [April]. Noon lat. observed 2°0' N., long. 161°28' E., Ravens [i.e. Ngatik] Island N.W., 320 miles.—

12th and 13th. During the day fine steady breezes from N.E. to E.N.E., but very squally at night. This morning, at one o'clock, had a very severe squall with shifts of wind, very heavy rain, vivid lightning, and sharp loud thunder; it did not clear up till nearly four o'clock: the ship under bare topsails only. The wind first at N.E., then east, then flew around to south, and gradually back to N.E.—

14th. Passed several cocoa-nuts, and a piece of drift-wood. At noon, anxiously looking out for the islands, as we are nearly on the spot in which they are laid down.

Latitude observed 5°38'30" N., longitude 157°39'45" E. At ten minutes past noon saw them from the foreyard right ahead bearing north-west, distant 10 or 12 miles; at six they bore from N.W. by W. to E.N.E.: at eight saw a light on the Western Island; no doubt they are inhabited. They are very low islands, and all covered with trees, which we took for cocoa-nut trees. Sailed past them at about three miles distance. They are marked on the chart as being seen in 1794, and their real position is about ten miles north-west of that marked in the [English] Charts.

15th.—Set in towards night with very dark gloomy weather, squalls and torrents of rain, sail reduced to topsails and foresail; continued till noon the 16th when it cleared up, and we saw the sun. Observed lat. 8°22'N., long. 155°39'E.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The whaler Hope soon separated.

This afternoon the northeast trade set in; strong breeze.

17th, the sun vertical.

18th, ran 205 miles the last 24 hours: Guaham (the Ladrone Islands) distant 395 miles.

20th, saw the island of Guahan or Guam: at noon latitude observed 13° N., longitude 145°13' E. In the [English] charts this island is placed 30 miles west of its true position. Norie gives the longitude 144°56', which is about correct.

Guam is the largest of the Ladrone islands, which name was given them when Sir Francis Drake [sic] touched there in 1579, on account of the thievish practices of the natives.<sup>1</sup>

...

22nd.—Passed over the spot where Ansons Islands are laid on the charts: the horizon very clear, nothing in sight. These islands cannot be in existence...

...

27th.—Saw Cape Espiritu Santo...

...

[The **Florentia** went in through the San Bernardino Strait, up to Manila Bay at the beginning of May.]

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Needless to repeat, like so many times before, that it was Magellan in 1521 who gave them this name. More errors follow, but they are not reproduced here.

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## Documents 1841I

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### The Wilkes' expedition—Introductory chapter

#### Editor's preliminary notes.

U.S. President John Quincy Adams had wished to emulate Spain, France, and Russia in mounting a scientific expedition of his own, but the U.S. Congress refused to allocate any money for it. It was up to the next president, Andrew Jackson, to get the proper approval. When a mere Lieutenant was chosen to lead the expedition, this created intense jealousies among many naval officers who did their best to scuttle his efforts during the 4 years that the expedition lasted, and afterwards when they court-martialed him, for having exercised too much discipline against his crews. Wilkes himself does not mention such difficulties in his five-volume Narrative, published in 1844 and 1845. However, it took him until 1876 to finish editing the 15 other scientific volumes, and the 10 or so atlases that go with the series. He was by no means finished, but Congress refused to allow him more funds... The first of two atlases containing maps and charts came out in 1850, but the second volume did not appear until 1873, although it bears the date 1861. By the way, a fire in the Library of Congress in 1851 destroyed many of the then-available volumes, which explains why a full set is not available there today.

#### II. Captain Fanning's memorial to Congress in 1835

*Sources: Article in the Daily Mercury, New Bedford, 8 January 1835; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Pacific Ocean 11.*

#### News Column

**Exploring Expedition to the South Seas.**—We subjoin an extract from a memorial to Congress by Capt. E. Fanning, praying that a national exploring and surveying expedition be sent out by Government to the South Seas, Pacific Ocean, &c., in aid and to the safety of the mariner, and benefit of navigation, the whale and seal fisheries, commerce, &c. &c. It is thought as the nation is now out of debt, the attention of Congress will be given to this praiseworthy national subject, and that they will deem the measure proper, and, provide for carrying it into effect. We doubt not that the merchants of New Bedford also will interest themselves in favor of the measure.

And yet, further, your petitioners feel sure that they would greatly benefit navigation, by their explorations and surveys, in correcting the situations, and placing them true on the charts, of many islands and dangers, and thereby make the now dangerous hazard much less to the mariner, in our whale, seal, and trading ships and vessels, when traversing those oceans and seas.

Finally, your petitioners cannot refrain from zealously recommending to Congress, to appropriate, authorize, and cause this national discovery and exploring expedition to be sent out as also all will admit that such an expedition, would not only be very beneficial and honorable to our nation, and its government, but would add new enterprise and glory to our gallant navy and scientific citizens, and much to history, science, &c. &c.

## 12. Early results—Letter from Honolulu, dated 19 June 1841

*Sources: Article in the Essex Register, Salem, 17 January 1842; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Samoa 3.*

### Latest from the Sandwich Islands and the Exploring Expedition.

Honolulu, June 19 [1841].

The U.S. Ship **Peacock**, Capt. Hudson, and schooner **Flying Fish**, S. Knox, Commander, arrived during the week after a long and protracted cruise to the south and west; officers and crew in good health.<sup>1</sup> During their cruise they have surveyed most of the small islands directly to the southward of this group and from thence proceeded to the Samoa Archipelago, at one of which after firing round and grape shot to disperse the natives at their settlements, they landed and burned three of their villages in consequence of their refusal to deliver up a chief who had murdered an American some time previously.

From thence they went northward visiting and surveying the numberless islands in that direction, one of which they discovered, the inhabitants never having seen white men before, were exceedingly astonished at their appearance and stood in great awe of them.

At the King's Mills' [Gilbert] Group, one of their men was murdered, and a fight ensued in consequence, in which a number of natives were destroyed. They are described as being far more ferocious than even the Fijians. An unsuccessful search was made for the unfortunate Capt. Dowsett at the Pescadores [Rongelap], very few inhabitants were seen upon them and it is supposed that the party that captured him must have been a fishing party from some other islands. From the Pescadores the vessel came directly here, having been on half allowance of provisions and water for a long while.

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1 Ed. note: The sloop-of-war **Peacock** was built in 1828, had a capacity of 550 tons, carried 10 guns and was manned by a crew of 130 men. The tender **Flying Fish** was a 96-ton schooner with 2 guns and a crew of 15.



The result of this cruise will be of exceeding value particular to whalers, as the charts of this part of the ocean were very incorrect and had been but imperfectly surveyed previous to this cruise. Time and lack of provisions only prevented them from visiting Strong's [Kosrae] Island, Ascension [Pohnpei] and the Caroline group.

June 26,—The U.S. Exploring Squadron, though fitted out as a peaceful expedition and with small armaments, has done more fighting and been engaged in more contests than probably the remainder of the navy for the last ten years. At the Fijis from 70 to 100 men were killed on the part of the natives; at King's Mill group from 12 to 20—and at Samoa several villages were burned. Besides these many petty attacks have been repulsed without any known loss of life.

Many individuals in the United States may be inclined from ignorance of the character of the savages to condemn these acts as cruel and unnecessary. But those acquainted with all the circumstances will consider them proper and called for by the treacherous disposition of the natives themselves.

[The **Peacock** was subsequently wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia River on 18 July 1841. The **Flying Fish** and other vessels joined the flagship **USS Vincennes**, Lieutenant Commanding Charles Wilkes, at San Francisco, whence most ships travelled to Manila via the northern Marianas, except for the **Flying Fish** that visited the Marshall and Caroline Islands, before re-joining the fleet at Manila.]



Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, U.S.N.

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## Documents 1841J

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# The Wilkes' expedition—The narrative of Lieutenant Wilkes

*Editor's note: Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, acting as editor of the five-volume history of the Expedition, plus an atlas, made use of the text prepared by Lieutenant Hudson during his visit to Micronesia, as he himself did not visit those lower archipelagos.*

### Introduction.

The expedition, a narrative of the operations of which is now laid before the public, was the first, and is still the only one fitted out by national munificence for scientific objects, that has ever left our shores.

Whatever others are disposed to think, I am inclined to believe, that the originating, getting up, and getting off a first national expedition, is a work of no small difficulty, and this is much increased by the public thinking, talking of, and interfering too much with it. I felt this myself, although it did not cause me much difficulty. The very state of things that brought the expedition into general disrepute, was of great advantage to me, for I was left to perform my duties unmolested.

In the following narrative, it may perhaps be necessary to state, that although our time was limited to a few days at some of the places we visited, yet the number of officers and gentlemen engaged under my command, enabled me to have every thing worthy of notice examined. The result of our observations, I am satisfied, will give a faithful representation of the countries and islands, during the period of our visit.

I received every facility for obtaining information from our consuls, as well as from missionaries and American residents abroad... I have reason to rejoice that I have been enabled to carry the moral influence of our country to every quarter of the globe where our flag has waved, and I trust that the expedition will compare advantageously with any other that has preceded it, in its moral and correct deportment.

Charles Wilkes.

Washington City, November, 1844.

## Wilkes' narrative of his passage from San Francisco to Manila in December 1841

*Source: Charles Wilkes, U.S.N.—Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 (5 volumes, Philadelphia, 1845).*

### San Francisco to Manilla.

...  
On the afternoon of the 27th November [1841], the squadron being prepared, we took leave of our kind [Hawaiian] friends, and particularly of those belonging to the mission, to whom I feel under many obligations for their uniform kindness to us. We then joined our vessels, and at 8 p.m. took our final leave of the Hawaiian Islands.

At midnight, signal was made to heave-to, in order that I might finish the instructions for the different vessels. Although it was out of my power to visit Japan, I had determined if possible to ascertain the character of the currents off that island. I therefore directed the **Porpoise** and **Oregon** to follow out, and explore the shoals and reefs extending in a west-norhwest direction from the Hawaiian Islands, and proceed until they fell in with the current or stream that is supposed by some to set along the coasts of Japan, and resemble the Gulf Stream off our own coast. This done, they were ordered to proceed through the China Seas, to Singapore, in the Straits of Malacca.

With the **Vincennes** and tender [Flying Fish], it was my intention to proceed to Strong's [Kosrae] and Ascension [Pohnpei] Islands, which the **Peacock** had been unable to reach in her cruise, examining every shoal that might lie in my way, and thence to Manilla. I proposed on leaving that port to explore and survey the Sooloo Archipelago, then proceeding to Singapore to meet the brigs, fill up with provisions, and thence sail for the United States, where it was incumbent on me to arrive by the 31st of May following. This, agreeably to my promise to my crew a year previous, left me just six months to perform the duty, of which at least one hundred and forty days were required for the actual passage.

We parted company from the brigs the next day at noon, and bore away under all sail to the southward and westward. At 4 p.m., the **Flying-Fish** made the signal "in want of assistance;" and on coming within hail, reported that her main-mast was sprung... I determined to give Mr. Knox orders to act by himself, in case I found it necessary to push at once to Manilla and avoid detention, directing him to touch at Strong's and Ascension Islands, and to part company if she proved to be sound in her spars after a few days' trial, which the sea and wind then prevailing would fully prove. As soon as I came to this conclusion, Mr. Knox was sent for, Assistant-Surgeon Whittle, a carpenter, and two extra men ordered to join the tender, and my instructions relative to his proceedings... fully explained to him. On the 30th, we parted company with her...

We continued on the parallel of latitude 15° N. until the 14th [December], when we found ourselves in the longitude of 174°50' E...

Having been thus retarded, the fear I entertained of meeting with light, and in all probability, westerly winds, determined me to forego my visit to Strong's and Ascen-

sion Islands, and haul to the northward, to look for some of the many shoals laid down on the track usually pursued by ships bound to the China Seas.

...

[Wake Island visited]

Wake's Island next claimed my attention. On the 19th we reached its parallel, and hove-to till daylight of the 20th, when we discovered it, bearing west-by-north, about nine miles distant. The wind was light from the north-northeast. After breakfast, several boats were sent to survey the island. Wake's Island is a low coral one, of triangular form, and eight feet above the surface. It has a large lagoon in the centre, which was well filled with fish of a variety of species; among these were some fine mullet. There is no fresh water on the island, and neither pandanus nor cocoa-nut trees. It has upon it the shrubs which are usually found on the low islands of the Pacific, the most abundant of which was the *tournefortia*. Mr. Peale<sup>1</sup> found here the short-tailed albatross, and procured an egg from its nest. The birds were quite tame, although they were not so numerous as we had before met with on uninhabited islands.

The time of low water took place at one o'clock, and the moon entered its last quarter on the same day: the tide was setting along the shore of the island with much strength to the westward; the rise and fall was three feet. From appearances, the island must be at times submerged, or the sea makes a complete breach over it; the appearance of the coral blocks and of all the vegetation leads to this conclusion, for they have a very decided inclination to the eastward, showing also that the violent winds or rush of the water, when the island is covered, are from the westward. The reef around this island is very small in extent.

The position of Wake's Island was found by my observations of equal altitudes on shore to be in longitude 166°31'30" E., and latitude 19°10'54" N.

By four o'clock, p.m., all the boats had returned on board, when we filled away and proceeded on our course to the westward. Although these coral islands resemble one another very strongly, yet they afforded us some recreation for a few hours, and much satisfaction in obtaining series of observations in magnetism. Our visit to Wake's Island gave us an opportunity of adding to our collections in natural history.

In the evening we steered to pass over the position of Halcyon Island,—longitude 163°30' E., latitude 19°13' N.; and on the 27th, we passed immediately over its locality, and had run on its supposed parallel fifty miles on each side of it, but nothing was seen of it. We now felt the current to the southeast twelve miles in the twenty-four hours.

Folger's Island next claimed my attention: it is said to lie in longitude 155°19' E., latitude 18°21' N. This position was passed over, but the inquiry resulted as the others had, in a fruitless search.

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1 Ed. note: Titian Peale (see Doc. 1841L).

[Northern Marianas]

I now bore away for Grigan [Agrigan], the northernmost of the inhabited Ladrones or Marian Islands, which we made on the 29th December, at 7 a.m., bearing south-southwest. As we approached these islands, we had experienced a strong current to the northward and westward; and the wind had also veered to the southward and westward.

At midnight, we discovered the island of Assumption [Asuncion], bearing north-east-by-east.

The island of Grigan appears to be about eight miles in width, seen from the north, and has the form of a dome. Its height, by a very unsatisfactory observation, was two thousand three hundred feet. It was my intention to stop and make it a magnetic station; but the weather appeared so thick as to threaten delay; and this I could ill afford, so I gave up the idea.

There is said to be no other settlement than one small village, on the southwest side of Grigan, where a few individuals dwell, and I understood that they were headed by an American; its shores are almost perpendicular, and it has no coral reefs to form harbours; so that in this respect it is not so much favoured as the southern isles of the same group. The passage between Grigan and Assumption is free from dangers, and I am well satisfied that no shoal exists where Freycinet has laid down the Mangs [Maugs], for we passed directly over the locality, and saw nothing of the kind. The Mangs were seen in their true position, to the northward of Assumption.

The wind was light and variable. On the 1st of January, 1842, it changed to the southwest; with this change of wind we experienced a fall both of the thermometer and barometer, and excessive dampness; we had some lightning, and at midnight a violent squall with rain burst upon us, attended by a shift of wind to the northward and westward, which afterwards hauled to the northward and eastward. A slight current was felt setting to the eastward.

We now steered for the most eastern position assigned to Copper's Island... On the 4th, we ran over the position in longitude  $131^{\circ}54'$  E., and latitude  $20^{\circ}11'$  N. The Abajos [Abrejos?] Shoal of Arrowsmith has no existence; its position was passed over in broad daylight.

On the 5th, we felt a current to the west of fifteen miles. The variations of the compass were now to the westward; much phosphorescence in the water; its temperature was  $75^{\circ}$  [F]. The slight current continued until the 8th, when we made the islands of Sabtang and Batan on the starboard side, and the Richmond Rocks on the larboard, steering a westerly course through the Balingtang Straits.

...  
We had now left the Pacific Ocean, and I could not but rejoice that we had all the results of our cruise up to this time quite safe.

...

The 12th, was also passed in working up for the city of Manilla. For this delay I had something to console me in the arrival of the **Flying-Fish**, which vessel was discovered at 3h30m p.m. beating in. Signal was made for her to join company.

...  
After dark, we anchored about eight miles from the city, in the middle of the broad and beautiful expanse of its bay, which is nearly circular, with an almost uniform depth of water.

...  
[Report of Lieut. Knox]

Mr. Knox reported to me that after his separation, on the 30th of November, he stood for the position of Cornwallis [Johnston] Island, as laid down by Arrowsmith in longitude 169°31' W., latitude 16°50' N., without seeing any indication of land. Twenty-two miles to the south-by-east of this position, he discovered a reef, which surrounded an extensive lagoon, extending northeast and southwest ten miles, and in the opposite direction five miles. On the northwest side of this reef there are two low islets: the one to the westward was covered with bushes, but no trees; the other was no more than a sand-bank. This reef lies deep. The longitude of the westernmost islet was found to be 169°45'36" W., and latitude 16°48' N.

He then bore away for San Pedro of Arrowsmith, in longitude 179°00' W., and latitude 11°17' N., and on the 7th of December sailed over it and on its parallel forty miles both east and west, but saw no indications of land whatever.

The Mulgrave [Mili and Knox] Islands were steered for, and two small islands made on the 16th, in the position of longitude 172°02'33" E., and latitude 5°59'15" N., which corresponds with the chart of Arrowsmith. They are low islets, extending two miles from north to south, and one and a half from east to west. They are connected by a reef, which surrounds a lagoon. They were seen to be inhabited, but no communication was had with them.

Bapham's [Jaluit], a lagoon island, was made on the 17th: it was found to be correctly located; it is also inhabited.

Hunter's [Kili] Island was made the same evening, and was examined the next day: it is one and three quarters of a mile long, north and south, and two-thirds of a mile east and west; it is elevated in the centre, and has no lagoon; its position was ascertained to be in longitude 169°05'46"E., and latitude 5°42'00" N.

Baring's [Namorik] Island was next passed, in 168°26'24" E., latitude 5°34'42" N. The current experienced off these islands was from fifteen to twenty-five miles easterly.

It having been strongly enjoined upon Mr. Knox not to be behind the time designated for his arrival at Manilla, he found, on his reaching the equator, that but twenty-two days of his time remained: having already experienced light winds and calms, he saw that it would be impossible to range through the Caroline Group and visit Ascension [Pohnpei] and Strong's [Kosrae] Islands; he therefore determined to haul again to the northward, and passed several of the groups in a higher latitude.

On the 26th, he passed over the situation ascribed to Faroilip [Faraulep] Island, in latitude  $10^{\circ}45'$  N., longitude  $146^{\circ}27'$  E., without any indications of land. He then sought Feis [Fais] Island, whose position was crossed on the 27th, but saw no land.

The eastern extremity of McKenzie's [Ulithi] Group was made on the 29th, in latitude  $10^{\circ}07'53''$  N., longitude  $139^{\circ}54'58''$  E. To the northward and westward of it, a supposed shoal was passed over, but none was found. McKenzie's Group is of greater extent than is represented on the maps. It is composed of a great many islets, with passages between them, some of them into the lagoon, through one of which the schooner entered, with not less than seven fathoms water on the bar. This group is thickly inhabited, and some of the natives boarded the schooner. They resembled the Caroline Islanders, but had their teeth much discoloured, apparently from the use of the betel-nut. From them some fish and cocoa-nuts were procured. They were seen to be in possession of iron utensils, and appeared to have before had communication with vessels.

Mr. Knox now steered for the Straits of [San] Bernardino, and made Cape Espiritu Santo on the night of the 4th of January. Owing to the want of observations for two days before, he was near being shipwrecked. On the 11th, he had passed through the straits, and anchored under Cape St. Jago, whence he got under way, and reached Manilla, as before stated.



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**Document 1841K**

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**The Wilkes' expedition—The narrative of  
Lieutenant Hudson**

*Sources: Vol. 2 of the original ms. journal of Lieutenant William Levereth Hudson is kept in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (as Log M-1683); edited by Lieut. Wilkes and published by Lee & Blanchard, in Volume 5 of the Narrative.*

*Notes: The text edited and summarized by Wilkes will be followed, but inserts and/or footnotes will be added when there are meaningful variances with the original journal, as written by Hudson.*

**Vol. 5, Chapter II.—Ellice's and Kingsmill Group.**

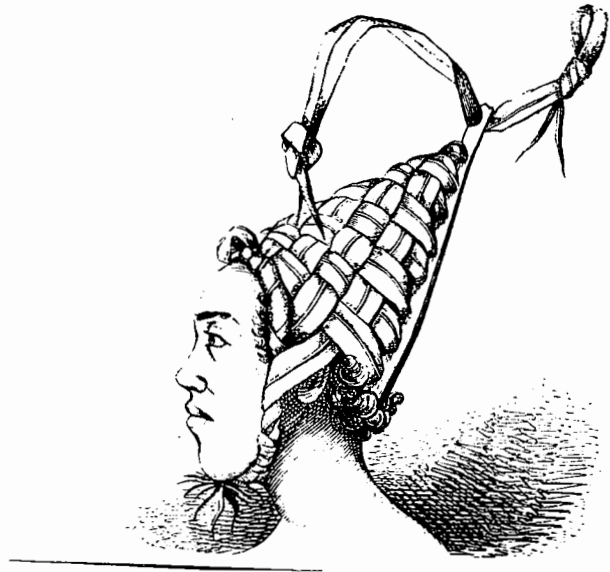
...  
Until the 3d of April [1841] they continued to sail to the northward, without meeting with any islands. On that day they made Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island of the charts, one of the Kingsmill [Gilbert] Group, where they encountered the regular north-east trades. This island is called Taputeouea [sic] by the natives; it is situated in latitude 1°20'00" S., and longitude 174°57'00" E. It is of coral formation, is thirty miles long in a northwest and southeast direction, and varies in width from a half to three quarters of a mile. This, however, only includes the high portions, or that which is above the ocean level a few feet. It is thinly covered with cocoa-nut and pandanus trees, and not a patch of grass is to be seen, or any sort of shrubbery or undergrowth. To the leeward, or on its west side, the reefs and sand-banks extend off some distance, gradually increasing from the northwest point to the southeast, where they are as much as six and a half miles in width. This reef is interrupted in places, and there is good anchorage off the town of Utiroa, towards the northwest end, near a small sand-bank, which is usually bare. The whole shore of the island as they approached it appeared covered with houses, presenting to the view one continuous village. At intervals of a mile there were buildings of huge proportions, far exceeding in size any they had before met with.

As they approached, canoes were seen coming towards them from all parts of the island.<sup>1</sup> They appeared of the middle size, slender, and well proportioned. Their colour was a shade or two darker than that of the Tahitians, and they exhibited a greater variety of face and features, with black glossy hair, finer than in other races. Their features

1 Ed. note: The logbook is more specific; it says 48 canoes, with 4 to 5 persons in each.



**Lieutenant William L. Hudson, U.S.N.**

**Drummond Islander.**

were small, but high and well marked; their eyes large, black, and bright; their nose straight or slightly aquiline, and always somewhat widened at the base; their mouth large, with full lips and small teeth, which were very imperfect from decay, and they are the only natives in the Pacific with this defect.<sup>1</sup> From the projection of the cheek-bones, the eye had in some the appearance of being sunken. They wore mustaches, but their beards were scanty. They evidently set a great value on these as ornaments, priding themselves much upon their appearance. The few officers who had whiskers were very much admired, the natives patting their whiskered cheeks with great marks of admiration. Altogether they were thought to resemble the Malays. Many of them were observed to have the same disease as exists at Ellice's [Tuvalu] Island, disfiguring the body, and giving it the same scurfy and disgusting appearance.<sup>2</sup>

The majority of these islanders go entirely naked, excepting a covering for the head, consisting usually of the bleached pandanus-leaf. Mr. Agate's sketch of one, represented in the wood-cut, will give an idea of this head-dress.

1 Ed. note: Tooth decay was the result of their eating sweet foods, such as the pandanus fruit, as well as the molasses made from coconut toddy.

2 Ed. note: Generally, the logbook has complete nautical observations, as well as information on the number of sick on board, gallons of water remaining, air and water temperatures, etc. I will continue to follow Wilkes' shorter text which excludes this kind of technical information. Suffice to say that they had at least two chronometers and two officers making observations for the determination of their positions.

Although it has been said that the majority go naked, it must not be understood that the rest are clothed, for they wear no more than a sort of girdle, which, however, serves no purposes of decency, only covering the abdomen and lower part of the back.<sup>1</sup> Some few had over their shoulders a strip of matting, with a hole in the centre for the head to pass through, in order to protect their bodies from the sun. A few were tattooed very lightly, and in some it was scarcely distinguishable. Those that were so adorned had it from the breast to the ankles, consisting of short oblique marks, an inch or two in length, drawn parallel a quarter of an inch apart; there was a space both before and behind, of three inches wide, from the neck down, that was uncovered. No tattooing was seen on the face and arms. These natives soon showed that they were familiar and had had frequent intercourse with vessels, for on coming alongside, their first cry was for "rope." They had also a few Polynesian words of the different islands and groups that could be recognised, which they had obtained from the vessels that at different times had visited their island.

Their own language was totally different, and none on board could comprehend it.

When they arrived alongside, they made much clamour and many gesticulations, but refused to leave their canoes. After some enticing, one was induced to venture on board. They evidently comprehended that the vessel was of a different character from what they had been accustomed to see. The one who gained the deck showed much agitation, but when he saw the arm-chest opened and a musket taken out, his fears were too much for him, and he at once sprang over the stern into the water, and swam to his canoe. Others came on board, but they in their turn, were overcome in like manner, and took to their canoes.

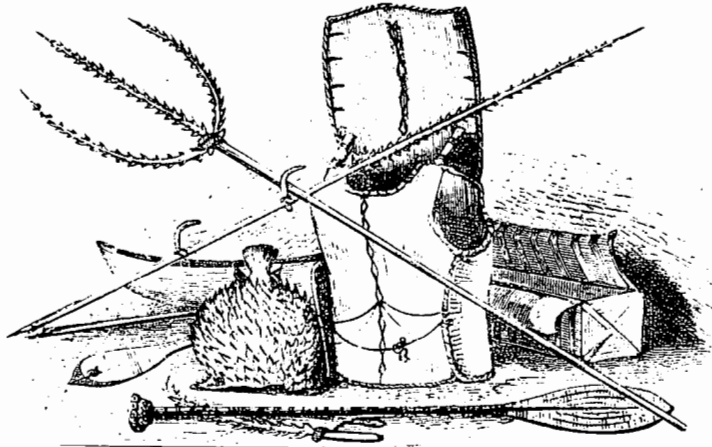
The arms and legs of a large proportion of the natives exhibited many scars, many of which were still unhealed. These had been made with shark's-teeth swords, such as were seen at the Depeyster's [Nukufetau, Tuvalu] Group, weapons which are calculated rather to make severe gashes than dangerous wounds. The spears are equally formidable, and four rows of shark's teeth are inserted in them; some are of the uncommon length of twenty feet, but they are usually about eight or ten feet long, and have prongs projecting from their sides, also armed with teeth. A drawing of these arms is given in the wood-cut [below].

They were evidently in the habit of having severe conflicts with one another, and war seems to be one of the principal employments of this people.

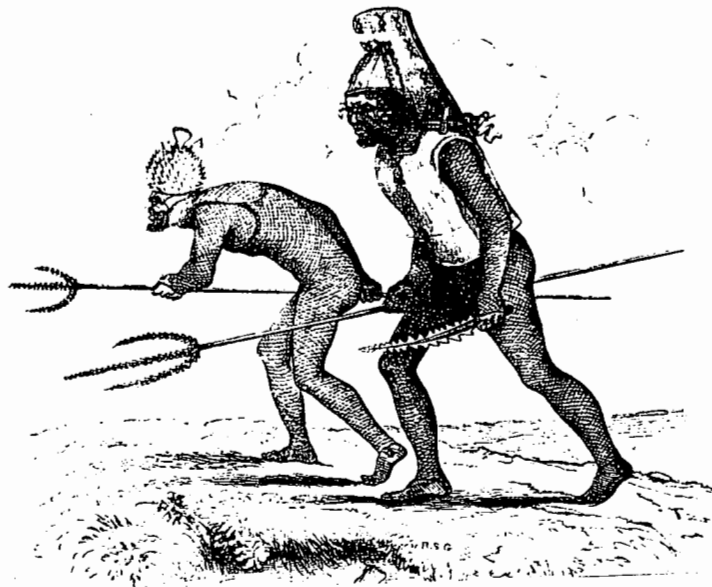
In order to guard against the destructive effect of these arms, they had invented a kind of armour, which was almost an effectual defence against their weapons, and accounted at once for their arms and legs being the only parts where scars were seen. This

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1 Ed. note: The logbook adds the following observations on nudity: "Customs in most cases, however, very soon acquire the sanction of law, and gives a tone to fashion. Consequently, what appears so strange and disgusting to us fastidious creatures of civilization (the intermingling of the sexes in a state of nudity) seems perfectly natural and proper with them, and we want no further evidence of their idea on this subject, than to observe their intercourse with each other, precisely as Dame Nature turned them out of her hands, without the least sense of shame, or impropriety."



**Arms, armour, etc., of the Kingsmill Group.**



**Drummond Island warriors.**

consisted of a sort of cuirass, covering the body as far down as the hips, and rising above the back of the head three or four inches. This, when taken off and set upon the deck, somewhat resembled a high-backed chair. It was made of plaited cocoanut-husk fibres, woven into as solid and compact a mass as if it had been made of board half an inch thick, and was as stiff as a coat of mail. For the legs and arms, they have also a covering of netted sennit of the same material, which they put on. That for the legs resembles a pair of overalls, such as sailmakers use, with straps over the shoulders. The covering for the arms is drawn on in like manner.

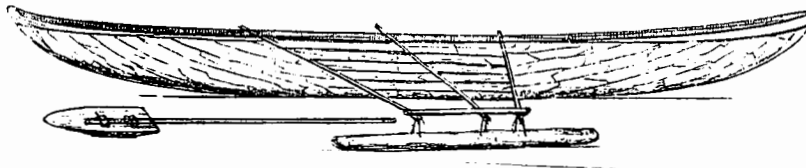
The appearance of the body was as if it were clothed in pantaloons and jacket of a deep brown colour. This they must find a very inconvenient covering for their hot climate. However singular the body-dress is, that of the head is still more so; it consists of the skin of the porcupine-fish, cut open at the head, and stretched sufficiently large to admit the head of a man. It is perfectly round, with the tail sticking upwards, and the two fins acting as a covering and guard for the ears: its colour is perfectly white, and by its toughness and spines affords protection against the native weapons.

The ornaments which the natives wore, were strings of beads and human hair. The beads were strung alternately, black and white, and were made of shell and of cocoanut-wood. The strings of human hair resembled watch-guards, and some of them were of the size of pack-thread. Although the manufacture of this article must have been tedious, yet a great quantity of it was brought off, and bartered for some plugs of tobacco, and a few whales' teeth. Their mats, likewise, constituted an ornament; they were slips of the pandanus braided, and some of these had been bleached, and were of a light straw colour; others were unbleached and brown: these were interwoven together, so as to produce many kinds of figures, in squares, lozenges, and diamonds. They wore these folded twice, so as to form a triple thickness, which they passed over one shoulder as a scarf, or round the body, securing it with a cord of human hair; the folds of this answered the purposes of pockets, for putting away the tobacco and other articles they had obtained by barter. In default of a mat, they used the lining or upper part of their hat or cap. These mats are about three feet wide by six long.

Their chief desire was to obtain tobacco, of which they seem to be extravagantly fond; it was their constant request, and whilst in their canoes alongside, or on deck, the cry was constantly "tebake." It was not begged as a gift; for, what appeared singular enough for South Sea islanders, they seemed to have no idea of receiving any thing as a gratuity, but instantly made a return of something for whatever was given them. So eager were they after it, that when one had put a piece in his mouth, others would seize him, and actually force it out of his mouth with their fingers.

Besides the mats, they had fans, fly-brushes, and baskets of different sizes and shapes, with nets and hooks for fishing. Some had wigs, and others carved images, all of which were readily parted with for tobacco. Another article which was brought off for sale, was a kind of treacle, made from the sap of the cocoa-nut tree, which they had in cocoa-nut shells: into these they frequently thrust their fingers, and drawing them through their mouths, smacked their lips most significantly of its goodness.

The canoes of these natives were different from those of any other islanders: their average length is from twelve to fifteen feet; they are from two to three feet deep, and vary from fifteen inches to two feet in width. Each canoe has six or eight timbers in its construction; they are well modelled, built in frames, and have much sheer. The boards are cut from the cocoa-nut tree, from a few inches to six or eight feet long, and vary from five to seven inches in width. These are arranged as the planking of a vessel, and very neatly put together, being sewed with sennit; for the purpose of making them water-tight, they use a slip of the pandanus-leaf, inserted as our coopers do in flagging a cask. They have evinced much ingenuity in attaching the upright to the flat timbers, which are so secured as to have all the motion of a double joint, which gives them ease and comparative security in a sea-way, and thus renders them capable of withstanding the waves. They use an out-rigger, much smaller than those of other islands, and the staging or platform covers less space. One of the sides is nearly flat, in which respect they resemble the proa of the Ladrões, as figured in Anson's Voyage.



**Kingsmill canoe.**

They are expert at managing their canoes, and seldom use their paddles, which are miserably made, of a piece of cocoa-nut board or tortoise-shell, about six inches square, attached to a round stick; on this account they prefer using their sails. These are triangular, with an inclined or raking mast; they are worked in sailing precisely as those described in the Feejee Islands, keeping the out-rigger always to windward, and tacking in the same way. Their masts are in two or three pieces, as well as the yards, and the whole construction shows that wood is exceedingly scarce, and that it is very difficult to procure enough of it; as a cocoa-nut tree, of which they are made, will yield only two planks, in the mode in which they saw them out. One of the canoes, from the town of Utiroa, which came alongside the first day, was seen to be in part constructed from the bulwarks of a merchant vessel, which had some time before been wrecked; probably of an English ship, as a wreck was reported to have been seen lying on the reef in the beginning of March, 1839.<sup>1</sup>

On the night of the 4th, they were set strongly by the current to the westward, and by morning were fifteen miles to leeward, and out of sight of the island.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: An unidentified English whaler (see Doc. 1839J2).

On the 5th, they succeeded in regaining their position. Many canoes came off, which continued increasing throughout the day, until at one time eighty were counted from the ship, some of which contained from ten to fifteen persons. Many of these ventured on board, and became satisfied of the friendly intentions towards them, though they still seemed to be under some apprehensions from the number of men on board and the size of the ship. The guns fired in the operation for surveying increased their alarm; many jumped overboard at every discharge, and concealed themselves behind their canoes.

In the afternoon, Captain Hudson on sounding found a bank on which he anchored, in fifteen fathoms water, at the distance of four miles from the island.

The next morning, the tender [Flying Fish] was despatched, with two boats, under Lieutenants Emmons and De Haven, to continue the survey.<sup>1</sup>

On the 6th, soon after daylight, they had from thirty to forty canoes alongside with different articles of trade; and ninety-two others were in sight from the deck, with from four to five natives in each.

Early in the day, three boats were despatched for the town of Utiroa, to acquire a knowledge of the place and its inhabitants. In them were thirty men, well armed, which was thought to be a sufficient force to secure the officers and naturalists from any attack. Opposite to the town of Utiroa is a long flat, over which, at ebb tide, a boat will not float; and, as it was low water, it became necessary to walk through the shallow to the beach, which was nearly a quarter of a mile distant.

A very brisk trade was carried on for provisions and articles of curiosity. They had some small fish, which were much esteemed. The fowls offered for sale, as usual among the Polynesian islands, were all cocks, and proved old and tough. These were brought off in neat cages.

Several women were among the crowd, with delicate features and a lively expression of countenance, but remarkably small. Their covering was a girdle, almost altogether of fringe fastened to a string, which was passed round the body. This garment had, at a distance, a more graceful look even than the "titi" of Samoa. This it obtains from being made pliable by steeping it in some peculiar mixture, which was thought by some of the officers to have the odour of tobacco and molasses. The women were much less tattooed than the men; but, as at the other southern islands, in the same style with them.

The same custom was in vogue here that prevails at most of the Polynesian islands, of rubbing noses and exchanging names.

Along the shore of this island, in front of the villages or towns, there are long lines of stone walls, from one to two feet high, serving as fish-weirs or pens. In passing to the

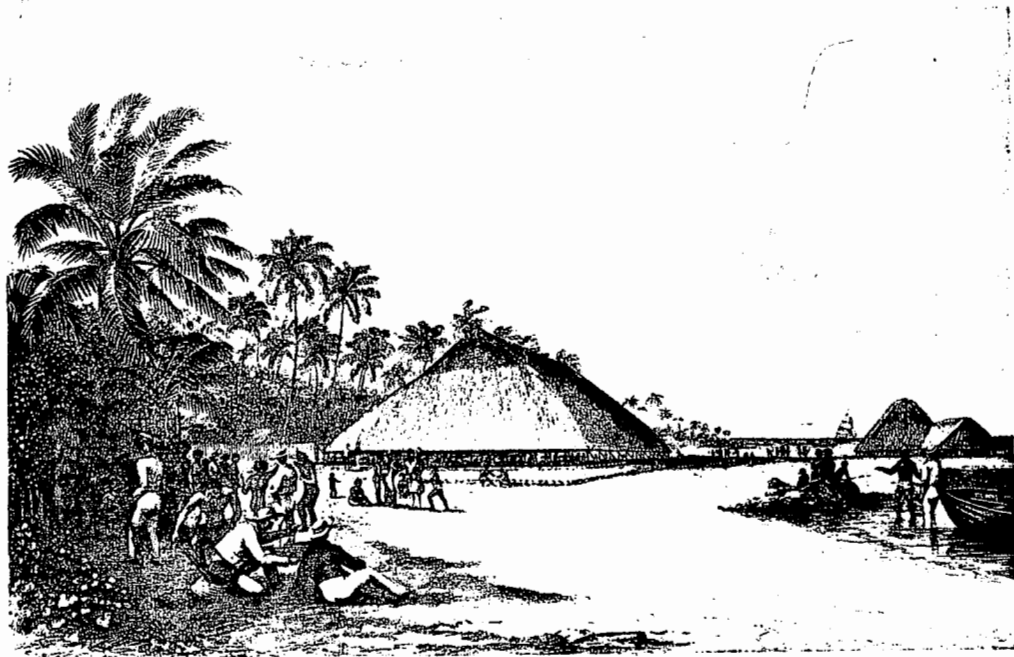
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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Hudson adds an interesting story: "I have heard that the wife of an English captain (who was wrecked on this island and with his crew murdered by the natives) was taken by one of the Chiefs of this Island as his wife. I shall use my best endeavours to ascertain the truth of the story, and if true, and the woman now on the Island, no effort shall be wanting on my part to obtain her immediate release and give her safe and speedy conveyance to her anxious, perhaps despairing, friends (see Doc. 1839J2).





**Woman of Drummond Island.**



**Village of Utiroa, Tabiteuea, Gilbert Islands.**

shore, they saw a party of men and women engaged in driving a school of fish into one of them, with long lines fringed with pandanus-leaves, used like a seine, somewhat resembling that before described at Savaii: these fishers took no notice whatever of our party.

When they had approached within one hundred yards of the beach, the natives came forward to meet them; and within a short distance from the beach they passed a small, old, and dilapidated house, built on piles, about eight feet above the water: this old fabric, as we afterwards found, was made use of for telegraphic signals, in case of desiring assistance from their neighbours.

The party were cordially received, both by the men and women, who did not hesitate to advance; all were uncovered, and the majority were women and children. Some of the women were the prettiest that had been seen in the South Sea islands; slender and gracefully formed. Their complexion was of a clear brown, with full bright eyes, thick and glossy black hair; and they appeared by no means unconscious of their charms.

[Figure: Village of Utiroa, Tabiteuea Island, Gilberts] (between pp. 54 & 55)

The men became at once familiar and rude, seizing their arms and putting their own about the officers' necks, desiring to lead them onward, until they were obliged to use violence to keep them off.

They reached the beach near what the natives termed their "mariapu,"<sup>1</sup> or council-house, one of the large buildings that had been before spoken of as visible from the sea. This stands in front of the town, on a broad wharf, made of coral stones, built out from the beach; its dimensions, as measured, were one hundred and twenty feet long, by forty-five feet wide, and to the ridge-pole forty feet high. The ridge-pole was supported by five large posts, whence the roof sloped on each side and reached within three feet of the ground; the rafters descended to a wall-plate, which rested on large blocks of white coral, and were also supported by smaller posts, ten feet at length, near the sides. At the ends, the roof was perpendicular for eight or ten feet, and then they sloped off in the same manner as the sides. The roof was thatched with pandanus-leaves.

The crowd on the beach rapidly increased, pressing around, shouting, gesticulating, and catching hold of them, to express their joy at the visit; at the same time stealing the tobacco they had brought to barter, which operation was performed very dexterously.

No chiefs, however, came forward to receive them when they advanced towards the mariapu, and entered, by passing under the roof. Many natives were inside, who closed around them, and set up a clamour that was deafening. The heat also was oppressive, and with the rancid oil on their bodies, was almost stifling.

An old man soon made his appearance, whose deportment, and that of the crowd, pointed him out as the chief. He had, apparently, little actual authority, for his presence seemed to have no effect in silencing the natives. He pointed to the palisade around the

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1 Ed. note: Misprint for maniapa, better maneaba.

town, whither he invited them at once to go, and conducted them to his house. Very few of the natives followed. On entering the palisade of slender stakes, the village was found to be divided into lots, containing ten or twelve houses, and enclosed by fences. Each of these enclosures, it was supposed, belonged to a separate family.

The chief led the way to his house, and invited them to enter, which they did, and found its construction altogether different from any before seen in the South Seas. There was nothing remarkable in its exterior; it was of oblong shape, and about sixteen feet wide by twenty feet long. The interior consisted of two stories, of which the lower was not more than three feet high, under the floor of the upper story. It was entered by a square hole at one side. The apartment above was rather a loft or garret, which was high, and contained, apparently, all the valuables and goods of the occupant. The floor was made of small pieces of pandanus-boards, laid on slender beams of cocoanut-wood. It was afterwards understood that this arrangement of apartments was to guard against the inroad of the rats.<sup>1</sup> The lower apartment is used for sleeping, while the upper is entirely for storing their goods and chattels. The wall-plates rest on four beams of cocoanut-wood, which are supported by four posts, one at each corner. These posts are round, and perfectly smooth, so that the rats cannot climb them.<sup>2</sup> The rafters and cross-pieces are mere poles, only an inch or two thick; the thatch is of pandanus-leaf, doubled over a slender stick, and tied down with sennit.

After they were seated, cocoa-nuts, with treacle and water, were brought them to drink. They then requested the chief, whose name was Tama, to show them the fresh-water wells and taro-beds. Under his guidance, they passed through the village, which was situated on a narrow strip of the island, very close to the beach. Beyond it, towards the interior (if the term may be used of that which is but half a mile wide) of the island, was a cocoa-nut grove, extending to the sea. The tall cocoa-nut trees scattered about, with here and there small clumps of pandanus, gave it a cool and refreshing shade, and produced an agreeable impression. Paths wound in every direction, and were quite visible, in consequence of the absence of underbrush. The sandy soil offered only a scanty growth of dry grass (a *Sida*). Around the houses of the natives were found *Cordias*, *Hibiscus*, and *Ficus*; but they were all of small growth. The *Dracæna*, of which the Samoans make the "titi," was also seen. The taro-pits were dug to the depth of eight or ten feet, and were fifty feet long by thirty broad; they were planted with taro and api, in rows; in the centre were a few inches of water, and the whole earth was moist. The taro, however, was small, although the natives gave an account of its growing to the length of two feet. The wells were fifteen feet deep; the water in them was brackish. These excavations have been made at much cost of time and labour.

All the party on shore were much incommoded with the rudeness of the natives, who did all in their power to pilfer from them; and, if their attention were diverted for a mo-

1 Ed. note: The construction seems to have been similar to the ancient *latte* houses of the Chamorros of the Marianas, except for the uprights, or piles.

2 Ed. note: The columns of the Chamorros were topped by semi-spherical stones that served the same purpose.

ment, the hands of a native were felt in their pockets. When detected, they would hold up their hands, with open palms, and laugh. This boldness was more especially confined to a few, and one in particular, a young chief, who was a tall, good-looking person, but had a vain and impudent expression of countenance, which was rendered disgusting by the kind of leprosy before spoken of. It is impossible to give a current idea of the annoyances that our gentlemen were subjected to from the rudeness of some, the excess of civility of others, and the constant watchfulness that became necessary to avoid the pickpockets. An old man was about smearing himself in cocoanut-oil, with a cup full of salve, in which he would dip his fingers, and endeavour to rub them in their faces. This afforded much amusement to the party, while the natives seemed astonished that the attempt was repulsed; for there was little doubt of its being intended as a great compliment thus to anoint their guests.

In many instances they showed a disposition to get the officers into their power for some evil design. Messrs. Peale and Rich, who were both well armed, had crossed the island in search of birds, plants, and shells; on their return, they visited the town next adjoining to Utiroa, and but a short distance from it. On entering the town, their suspicions were somewhat excited by the number of armed men around. Mr. Peale describes the natives as obliging them to sit down by forcing their legs from under them. These things were permitted to a certain extent, the natives all standing around armed; but a promptness of action, and show of using their arms, extricated them from their difficulties.

In front of the maniapa were three or four houses of the common size, one of which was called by the natives *te-o-tabu*, or sacred enclosure, but it was only distinguished by its being supported at the corners on blocks of coral.<sup>1</sup> The natives were unwilling that any one should enter that enclosure.

During the day, the greater part of the large number of natives they had seen, as in the case of those who came on board, were covered with scars, and the scurfy disease, or leprosy. Although the young women were quite pretty, the old were as remarkable for being hideous; of these, a few were seen to be afflicted with ophthalmia and elephantiasis. The maro of the men, although large, was not intended to serve the purposes of decency, but principally for the protection of the abdomen. Their hair was trimmed short in front, but was allowed to grow long behind, where it tapered to a point; in both sexes it was black and fine, with a slight tendency to curl.

After returning to the maniapa, Tama was asked to give them an exhibition of a dance. This he endeavoured to do, but without receiving much attention. At length, the young chief, whom they had found particularly troublesome, came forward, with an insolent and swaggering air, wrapped a mat round his body, from the waist to the knees, and began a dance similar to that of the Polynesian islanders, before described, consist-

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1 Ed. note: All that survives from the ancient Chamorro houses indicates similar columns made of chunks of coral. Here they were probably houses of the priests; there the houses of chiefs (although some Chamorro chiefs were also "macanas," or priests of sort.

ing of movements of the hands and body, but with very little motion of the feet. When the dance was finished, the afternoon was far advanced; the party then returned to the boats, which had now been able to draw near the beach, in consequence of the rise of the tide. On their way to the ship, the tiny canoes of the natives, with their small white triangular sails, were seen in all directions, coming to the shore. On board, it was believed that upwards of a thousand had visited the ship in the course of the day.

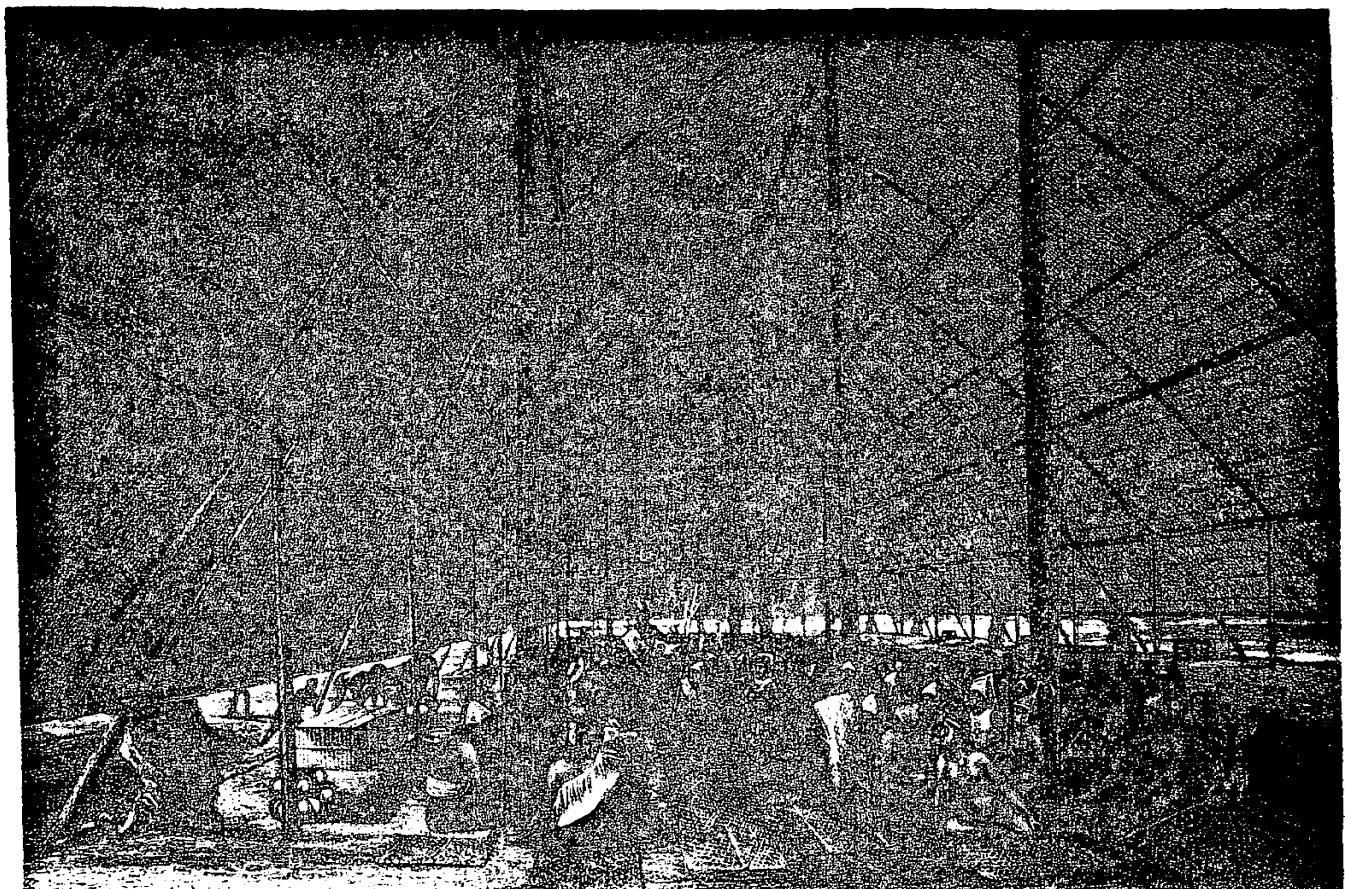
On the afternoon of the 7th, a large party visited the town of Utiroa, equally well armed as the day before, and with the same instructions and cautions that no-one should give cause of offence, and if any thing was offered for sale, to pay liberally for it. These precautions were enjoined, in consequence of the belief that the natives were a treacherous and dangerous set of fellows, and were inclined to believe themselves invulnerable in their armour. An opportunity had been taken, before a large number, to show them that the cuirass, &c., was not proof against our weapons at any distance; for which purpose one of the coats of mail was hoisted up at the yard-arm, and fired at: the holes were then exhibited, but did not seem to produce much effect upon them. They manifested a decided disposition for warlike pursuits, and ferocity was the most predominant trait in their character.

On the party's landing, Captain Hudson moved towards the council-house, where they found a large concourse of people, most of them elderly men, who they were informed were the chiefs of the nation: they were directed to one corner, where sat the chief, whom they called Nea. He was a very decrepit old man, nearly bald, with shrivelled skin, and had a stare of vacant wonder; the nails of his fingers had grown to the length of an inch. His name was Pakorokoro. Some few presents were given him, but he took very little notion of them, appearing half stupefied, and as soon as the articles were in his possession, they were snatched away by the by-standers, without the least shame or hesitation.

The maniapa was a very large building, and in the interior its architecture showed to much advantage: the ridge-pole, with the rafters, were painted in black bands, with points, and ornamented with a vast number of ovula-shells. Chests, made of the thin laths of the pandanus, somewhat resembling cane, were arranged around, about twenty feet apart: these contained only a few mats and cocoa-nuts, things of no value, and are supposed to be for the accommodation of visitors, or used at their feasts. The floor was in places covered with mats of the cocoanut-leaf.

When the ceremony of reception was over, the natives appeared extremely desirous of separating the party, by leading them off in different directions, under the plea of showing them the town, and making them acquainted with some of the females. As soon as they were on the outside of the maniapa, they were surrounded by numbers, and their pockets rifled of their contents in a short time.

Captain Hudson, after they had been an hour and a half on shore, ordered all the officers and boats' crews down to the beach, being satisfied that it was quite time to depart, if he would prevent the collision which he had become apprehensive might take place. As they were assembling for the purpose of embarking, a noise was heard, re-

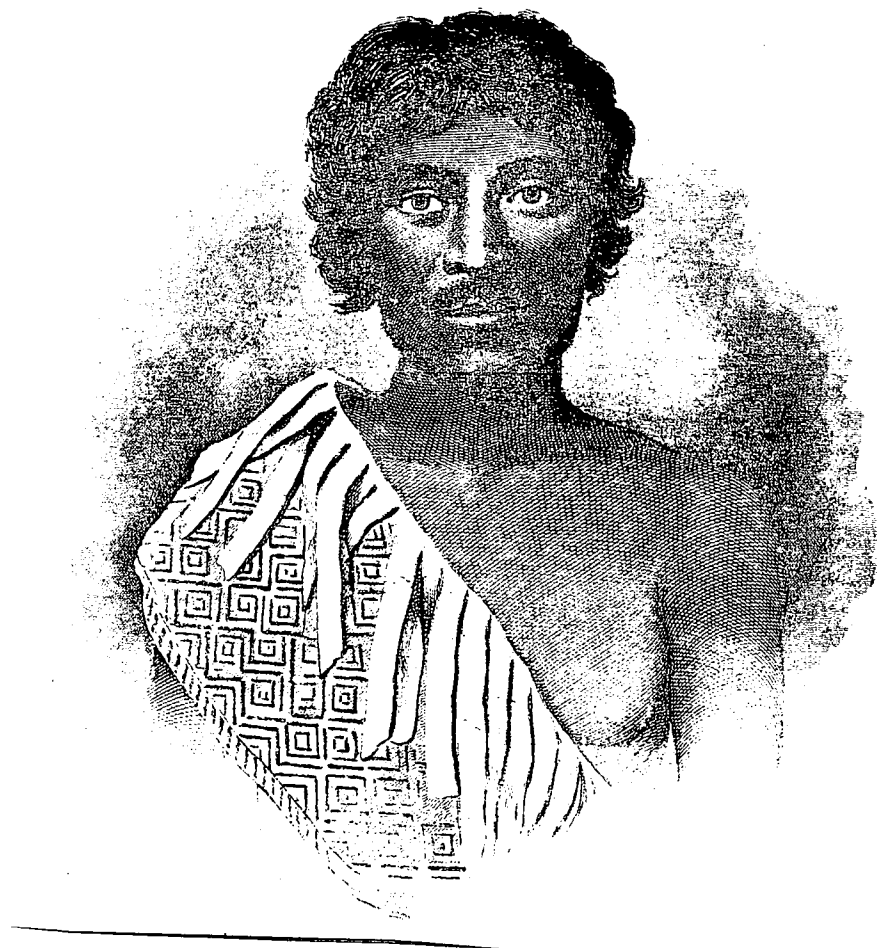


*Inside a maneaba at Utiroa Village.*

sembling a sudden assault, from some of the houses near by, and on mustering the men, John Anderson, a seaman, was missing. Lieutenant Walker and Passed Midshipman Davis were sent, each with a few men, in the direction whence the report proceeded, but they saw nothing of him, and all was quiet at the enclosure. The natives began now to assemble in large numbers, armed, and things looked somewhat serious; for, as Passed Midshipman Davis returned to the beach, he was stoned, and one of the men received a severe blow. This was however borned without return. On inquiry, it was found that Anderson had been met but a few moments before the party was mustered. He was armed with a musket, pistol, and cutlass, and was esteemed one of the most correct and prudent men in the ship. The boats were now shoved off a short distance from the beach, and beyond the reach of the native arms, when several muskets were fired to notify him, and his name repeatedly called, which could have been heard in any part of the village; but no Anderson appeared. Captain Hudson finally came to the conclusion that he had either been enticed away by the women, or that the natives had detained him, in the hopes of receiving a ransom for his release, and that he would either return in one of the canoes to the ship, or be given up on a reward being offered. Under these impressions, he ordered the boats to return to the ship. Many of the officers were of the opinion that he had been murdered; yet it was scarcely to be believed that they should have been enabled to overcome without noise a well-srmed man, and one who had been cautioned against their treachery. After they had pushed off some distance, it was thought that a white man was seen on the beach; but on returning, it proved that they were mistaken.

On the morning of the 8th, it became evident that something had taken place, for not a canoe came alongside before breakfast which induced a general belief that Anderson had met with an untimely end at the hands of the natives. The people of the adjoining town of Eta, however, so far as they could be understood from their gestures and language, seemed to intimate that the man was on shore alive. Not a canoe, however, was recognised as belonging to the town of Utiroa. A message was (notwithstanding the two towns were at war) sent on shore, in hopes it would induce these savages to restore Anderson, telling them that if the man was given back, a large present of tobacco would be paid for him. This was shown them, and every endeavour was made to ascertain his fate. On looking around among the natives, attention was called to one who was believed to belong to Utiroa. The eagerness with which this man was regarded by all, caused him so much alarm, that he at once sought flight in his canoe; but he could not get his sail arranged, and was soon overtaken by one of the ship's boats. The countenance of the native, on being overtaken, was one of great fear. On finding he could not escape, it immediately changed to one the most amiable and friendly. He began by saying that the boat was good, the ship was good, and large, and all that was in her was good. Mr. Hale explained to him what was required of him. It was difficult to ascertain that he understood these things at the time, for the native was inclined to assent to every thing; but Mr. Hale has since had reason to be satisfied from the words he used that the object in view, of obtaining Anderson, was well understood.





**Chief of Eta Village, Tabiteuea, Gilberts.**



The whole of the day was occupied in surveying, and connecting the work with that of the tender, which vessel, with the boats, had returned in the morning. The surveying boats, while engaged, were satisfied that the natives were disposed to be hostile.

Their visitors during the day were all from the other parts of the island, and were unacquainted with the accident that had happened; but on being informed of it, they made every endeavour to explain that they did not belong to the guilty town. There are fourteen towns on the island, as follows, beginning at the north, viz.:

<b>Towns.</b>	<b>Chiefs.</b>
Muribama or Tenaiay,	Tipera.
Te-niaroku,	Peia.
Terikini,	Tarentoa.
Eta,	Toarimaroa.
Utiroa,	Tama and Moleia.
Tauma,	Tebakoa.
Kabura,	Tepikau.
Apamarikoro,	Payau.
Parepatu,	Tentakia.
Tewai,	Aiiri.
Tauyaia,	Tauraura.
Puari,	Tapare.
Nukutoru,	Puatua.
Taku,	Putiutoa.

Basing the calculation for the populations of these towns on that of Utiroa, which is estimated at from one thousand to one thousand two hundred, it would give this small strip of land as great, if not a greater number of inhabitants per square mile than any portion of the globe that relies upon its own resources for subsistence.

The four northern towns are apparently united together, and hostile to the southern ones. Between Eta and Utiroa there is a considerable space uninhabited, which appeared to form a line of separation between their territories.

Captain Hudson made up his mind that there could be little doubt, after so much time had elapsed without intelligence, and taking into view the conduct of the Utiroans, that Anderson had been treacherously murdered. He therefore believed it to be a paramount duty to punish them, not only for this perfidious act, but to secure their good conduct hereafter, in case of other vessels touching at this island.

In consequence of this determination, the boats were prepared for landing, and Mr. Knox was ordered to anchor the tender in a position near the shore opposite the town, in order to protect them.

The boat expedition, consisting of Lieutenants Emmons, Perry, and De Haven, Passed Midshipmen Davis, Harrison, and Mr. Freeman, the sailmaker, was put under charge of Mr. Walker, the first-lieutenant of the ship, and particular instructions given to him relative to his conduct, [to wit:]

*U.S. Ship Peacock,  
Drummond's Island,  
Kingsmill Group.  
April 8th, 1841.<sup>1</sup>*

*Sir,*

*You will get underway at 6 a.m. (**tomorrow morning**) when Lt. Perry will pilot you into a safe anchorage, between this ship and the Town of Utiroa. When you have reached that position, you will load your Guns with Grape and cannisters, and have your arms ready to repel any attack. You will allow no Canoes, or natives, to come alongside of you while anchored. The **Flying Fish** will remain in the position above designated, until the boats of the **Peacock** return from the Town of Utiroa. Should there be no wind at that time for you to run out of your present anchorage near this Ship, the boats will take you in tow, and should the wind be too light to work in, in the morning, they will render you the like assistance.*

*I am respectfully,*

*Wm. L. Hudson.*

*To Acting Master Samuel R. Knox, Schooner Flying Fish.*

*To Lieut. Walker.*

*U.S. Ship Peacock,  
Drummond's Island,  
Kingsmill Group.  
April 9th, 1841.*

*Sir,*

*You will take charge of the boat expedition against the town of Utiroa, where John Anderson has been seized and detained by the natives. Your party will be formed into three divisions. Lieutenant Emmons, assisted by Passed Midshipman Harrison, will take charge of the first division; Lieutenant Perry, assisted by Passed Midshipman Davis, will take charge of the second; and Lieutenant De Haven, assisted by Mr. Freeman (sail-maker), will take charge of the third division of reserved men, and remain near the beach for the protection of the boats, and to secure your retreat. You will give the most positive orders to the men not to separate for a moment from their respective officers and divisions.*

*A quantity of tobacco will be furnished you by Purser Speiden for the release of Anderson, in the event of his being given up conditionally by the natives. Should a demand*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This particular message is taken from the logbook; it was not published by Wilkes.

be made by the natives for his release, you will comply with it, using great precaution in so doing to secure the man; after which you will land, and **burn the large town-house only**,<sup>1</sup> and return to the ship. Should you meet him being brought off in a canoe, **with the stipulations above referred to**,<sup>2</sup> you will reward the persons bringing him off, and return to the ship, **without landing**.<sup>3</sup> Should Anderson, however, not be forthcoming soon after reaching the town, you will fire it, being careful not to pass its boundaries to the injury of any other village.

It is hardly necessary to say to you that women and children can have taken no part in the seizure of Anderson; and should the men of the town retreat before you, you will recollect it may arise from two causes: one may be fear, the other to decoy you into pursuit, where they may be prepared with a reinforcement. In either case, **you will not follow them beyond the limits of the town**,<sup>4</sup> but as soon as the work of destruction is completed, embark to the schooner with your party, direct Mr. Knox to get under way, and run out to the anchorage near the ship. If there is no wind, let your boats take him in tow.

I trust much to your discretion and prompt action on the present occasion, and that the officers and men placed under your command may not be subjected to any unnecessary hazard or exposure.

With a sincere desire that Anderson, if living, may be obtained, and for the safety and success of your party,

I am, &c.,

Wm. L. Hudson,

Commanding U.S. Ship Peacock.

To Lieutenant Wm. M. Walker,

U.S. Ship Peacock.

P.S.—<sup>5</sup>

**It is high water at eight o'clock.** You will therefore so time your movements, and give such instructions to Lt. De Haven, **as will prevent your boats from grounding on the Coral Flats in front of the Town.**—In the event of Anderson's reaching the Ship through any conveyance, that may not meet you in your way on shore, **a Cornet will be hoisted at the Fore [mast], for your immediate return on board.**<sup>6</sup>

Wm. L. Hudson.

1 Ed. note: Emphasis in logbook only.

2 Ed. note: Ditto.

3 Ed. note: Ditto.

4 Ed. note: Ditto.

5 Ed. note: Postscript taken from the logbook.

6 Ed. note: I imagine that a cornet, made of shiny brass, and rocking in the sun, was as good a signal as any.

*U.S. Ship Peacock,  
Drummond's Island,  
April 9th, 1841.*

*Sir,*

*In obedience to your order, I proceeded this morning with the boats under my command to the town of Utiroa, where the natives armed and equipped to the number of about six hundred, in three divisions, their flanks extending to the right and left about two hundred yards; large parties were at the same time approaching along the shores. After forming the boats in the order of landing, at the distance of about eighty yards from the beach, I advanced, and was met by a similar movement on the part of the natives. By means of Mr. Hale I inquired for Anderson, and offered a reward for the delivery; but the natives returned evasive replies, and continued to approach from different parts of the shore with the evident design of seizing my boat. I therefore returned to my station in the line, when I directed the gunner to let off a rocket, which fell in the midst of a group and created some astonishment. I next fired a single shot, in hopes, by exhibiting the effect, much loss of life might be prevented; but the natives retired so slowly, that it became necessary to fire a volley, by which several were killed, and many wounded.*

*The natives then retired to the cover of the town; when we immediately landed and formed, leaving the third division to protect the boats. I proceeded with the first and second divisions to fire the town in all directions; occasionally discharging a single shot at the natives, who slowly retired before us.*

*Just before our return to the boats, the chief of Eta, the town to the northward of Utiroa, came to us with expressions of much satisfaction at our conduct, while his attendants busied themselves in pillaging the burning ruins.*

*By the best estimate I can make, the natives lost twelve men; there was no means of computing the number of wounded; about three hundred houses were burned, and many canoes were destroyed.*

*I am indebted for this summary execution of your orders to the zeal and energy of the officers and men whom I had the honour to command.*

*Very respectfully,*

*William M. Walker,*

*Lieutenant.*

*[To] Captain Wm. L. Hudson,*

*U.S. Ship Peacock.*

Messrs. Peale, Hale, and Agate, accompanied the expedition. The expedition consisted of seven boats; in them were embarked about eighty officers and men. About nine o'clock they approached the town. The first object that attracted attention was a column of smoke arising from the small building that stood on piles in front of the town, before spoken of. On arriving near the beach, the three divisions formed in a line abreast,

according to the directions. Lieutenant Walker, with Mr. Hale, (who acted as interpreter,) now showed the white flag, and pulled in toward the beach in front, in order to hold a parley, make further inquiries relative to Anderson, and endeavour to have him given up, if alive. There were about five hundred natives, well armed, on the beach, and others were constantly coming in from all sides: they shouted and shook their weapons with threatening gestures. Many of them, however, seemed undecided how to act; and their whole appearance, though formidable enough, was yet quite ludicrous in the eyes of the men, equipped as the savages were in their cumbrous coats of mail and fish-skin helmets.

As the boat approached, several of the natives advanced towards it, preceded by a chief fully equipped in armour, and holding a spear in his right hand. Mr. Hale then explained the object they had in view, and showed the large quantity of tobacco which they had brought for a ransom. The chief appeared to understand, and pointed to the shore, making signs at the same time for them to come in. The savages who attended the chief had now increased in numbers, and were close to the boat, while the whole body was advancing slowly forward. Finding that it was not only useless but dangerous to continue the parley, the boat was pulled back into line.

Having thus failed to procure the desired end, the most humane manner of effecting their punishment was conceived to be at once to show them the power of our arms, and sacrifice some of the most prominent among the savages. Lieutenant Walker, therefore, requested Mr. Peale, the best shot of the party, to give them a proof of it, and thus prevent the further effusion of blood. This was accordingly done by singling out one of the foremost, and a rocket was also discharged, which took its flight towards the great body of them. The latter missile caused great confusion, and many of them turned to seek the shore, but their terror did not last long, and they made another stand, brandishing their spears and weapons as if bent upon a trial of strength with their opponents; the falling of their chiefs was disregarded, and few seemed to consider the effects produced, except those who were wounded. A general volley soon followed, which caused them all to retreat, some in great haste, while others moved more slowly towards the shore, seeming to be but little impressed as to the character of our arms. The wounded and dead were all carried off. The boats now pushed in for the beach, and by the time they had reached it, there was not a native of the whole host to be seen.

The three divisions then landed, and the first and second proceeded to fire the maniapu and town, while the third remained to guard the boats. The whole was soon in a blaze, and but a short time sufficed to reduce it to ashes.<sup>1</sup> The natives were still to be seen in small parties, out of reach of the guns, among the cocoa-nut groves. After the work of destruction had been effected, the divisions again returned to the boats. The place now exhibited a very different picture from that it had presented only a short hour

1 Ed. note: Captain Hudson recorded in his logbook that "the Town of Utiroa is ablaze, or rather throwing up huge volumes of smoke... The natives about the Ship seemingly delighted with the conflagration on shore & exhibiting various demonstrations of joy. I am well satisfied that man in his native, or savage, state has but few sympathies for his fellow man."

before. The blackened sites were all that remained of the former dwellings, the council-house was entirely in ashes, the fences were torn down, and the cocoa-nut trees leafless.

The tide having fallen, three bodies were found, one of whom was the young chief who had been so troublesome and insolent to our gentlemen, and who it was believed had been active in the murder of poor Anderson.

While the party were getting ready to embark, a small party of natives were seen coming towards them from Eta; these were all unarmed, and had cocoanut-leaves and mats tied round their necks; they had come to assure our party of their good-will, and their joy at the destruction of Utiroa. One old man in particular repeated frequently his assurances, with much laughter and many grimaces. No sooner had they ascertained that the intentions towards them were not hostile, than they began to pillage the burning town.

The number of houses destroyed was supposed to be about three hundred, besides upwards of a dozen large canoes. The loss of life was twelve on the part of the natives; there was no-one injured on our side.

From the fact that the natives had left every thing in their dwellings, it was clear that they did not anticipate the fate that was to befall them; that they were in hopes of being able to cut off our boats, and perhaps flattered themselves with the prospect of an indiscriminate plunder. Thus would be in perfect accordance with their customs and constant practice of attempting to cut off all vessels or boats that may visit their islands. Although I have no reason to come to this conclusion from our own knowledge respecting the island, yet from all the accounts of those who have resided some time among like savages, their first idea is always to capture or possess themselves of the vessel or any of the boats. We have seen that this is put in practice among the Feejees, and others, who formerly regarded all vessels wrecked as sent to them as a gift from the gods.

Very few articles escaped the general conflagration, but of these some were brought off to the ship; among which were two skulls, that had been well polished and cleaned. These were found in the loft of one of their houses, and had evidently been preserved, with great care, as relics.

There are but few domestic animals on this island: a dog, two or three cats, and a few fowls, were all that were seen. Rats are in abundance, as has been shown by the care the natives take to protect their lofts from these very troublesome creatures.

The food of the inhabitants consists principally of fish, cocoa-nuts, the fruit of the pandanus, taro, and api; to these may be added tobacco. They have but few modes of dressing these articles. The fruit of the pandanus they use as food, which was considered by the natives as a great delicacy; it may be said to be exceedingly coarse, so much so, that the fibres of the pandanus are seen in their excrement in great quantities; even the husks of the young cocoa-nuts are eaten.

No land-birds were seen but curlews, golden plovers, turnstones, noddies, and white terns; many whales' bones were strewed over the beach.

This was the first place where they had observed the *tridacna gigas* [kima shell]: they were of enormous size; the natives used them for troughs, for many purposes, around their houses.

Necklaces of human teeth were also prized, and brought off for sale.

During the day of the 9th, the thermometer stood in the sun at 159° Fahrenheit.

The character of these islanders is the most savage of any that we met with; their ferocity led to the belief that they were cannibals, although no positive proofs were seen of it. They are under no control whatever, and possess little of the characteristic hospitality usually found in savage nations. It was observed also that their treatment of each other exhibited a great want of feeling, and in many instances, passions and propensities indicative of the lowest state of barbarism. Their young girls were offered to be disposed of, by their fathers and brothers, alongside the ship, openly, and without concealment; and to drive a bargain for them, was one of the principal objects of their visits to the ship.

Among their weapons, they have a short spear, which is armed with half a dozen barbs from the tail of the raja or stingray, which is supposed to prove mortal, if broken off in the wound. They have also a club, about four feet long, made from the cocoanut-wood, which is pointed at each end; it is used for warding off a spear, to make a thrust, or wielded as a club.

In the use of tobacco, they are truly disgusting, for they eat it and swallow it, with a zest and pleasure indescribable. Their whole mind seems bent upon obtaining this luxury, and consequently it will command their most valuable articles.

They are, to all appearance, a lawless race, and no sort of government seems to control them; all seize upon whatever property they can, and, as has been before mentioned, the very chiefs themselves were subject to the same treatment that they observed towards our party; the greatest villains and bullies among them seemed to have the most control; while the chiefs had little more than nominal authority, and if they had any privileges, they did not seem to extend beyond their small enclosures.

There is neither wood nor water to be obtained at this island, and no inducement to visit it, except to trade for a few cocoa-nuts and curiosities.

Good whaling-ground exists in the vicinity, and our whalers are in the habit of cruising in this neighbourhood: those who visit these wretches ought to keep a constant guard against treachery, for their numbers are large, and they are prone to mischief. All intercourse with them should, therefore, be conducted with great caution, especially in ships weakly manned.

It is to be hoped that the punishment inflicted on Utiroa for the murder of Anderson will be long remembered, and prove a salutary lesson to the numerous and thickly-peopled towns of Taputeouea, or Drummond's Island.

On the same evening, (the 9th,) they<sup>1</sup> and on the next day made Bishop's or Sydenham [Nonouti] Island, which they surveyed the following day.

Off the north point of Bishop's Island, there is a shoal extending one and a half miles to the northward and westward, the water on which is discoloured, and where the **Peacock** found nine fathoms. The native name for Bishop's or Sydenham Island, is Nanouti; it lies in latitude 00°36' S., and longitude 174°24' E.; it is of coral formation, and a mere ledge of land, like Drummond's Island, with a lagoon, reef, and bank, on its lee or southwest side. The survey made it nineteen miles long, trending northwest and southeast, and its width, including lagoon and reef, eight and a half miles. On the southwest and northwest portions of it, there is a coral bank, from one to one and a half miles beyond the reef, on which there is ten fathoms water. At the distance of four miles from the northwest end of the island, they found soundings in two hundred and sixty-five fathoms.

The island is partially covered with cocoa-nut, pandanus, and other trees; and the islets of which it is formed are nearly continuous, connected by the usual coral reef. They had no communication with the natives of Nanouti. A daily intercourse is kept up between it and the Drummond Islanders. It was thought there was no difference in their characters. The distance between them is but fifteen miles.

From the north point of this island, there was a small island in sight, which was at first supposed to be Duperrey's Isle du Nord; but if it be, instead of being located to the northward, as he has placed it, it bears nearly south of the north extreme of Nanouti. They found, on proceeding towards it, that it was a hummock, connected by a reef with Nanouti; but no Sable Island could be seen. The tender passed round the opposite side of Nanouti, and did not see any island; and the officers of both vessels are fully convinced that no Sable Island exists.

On the night of the 10th, they had much thunder and lightning, with a heavy swell from the northeast.

At daylight on the 11th, they made Henderville Island, called by the natives Nanouki [=Aranuka]. The weather was too unfavourable to proceed with the survey. Simpson or Harbottle [Abemama], Hopper [Aranuka] and Woodle [Kuria] were in sight. The weather continued stormy, with heavy thunder and lightning.

On the 12th, they succeeded in surveying Henderville Island, and connected it with Woodle Island. Towards night they again had stormy weather, with the wind from the eastward. Henderville Island was determined to be in latitude 00°11'00" N., and longitude 173°39'2" E. This island is six and a half miles long, east and west, and five and a half miles wide at the east end, diminishing to two miles at the west end: it is of coral formation. There are two towns on the west end, and several on the east and southeast parts, and it is thickly inhabited. The natives who came on board said that the two ends of the island were at war with each other. They are very much the same in appearance as the natives of Drummond's Island; were naked, and spoke the same dialect. These natives knew of the islands in their immediate vicinity, as well as the direction of Taputeouea, or Drummond's Island, and gave them the name of being inhabited by a savage and hostile people. This island affords neither wood, water, nor refreshments: from appearances, its inhabitants must be at times much stinted for food. They brought off



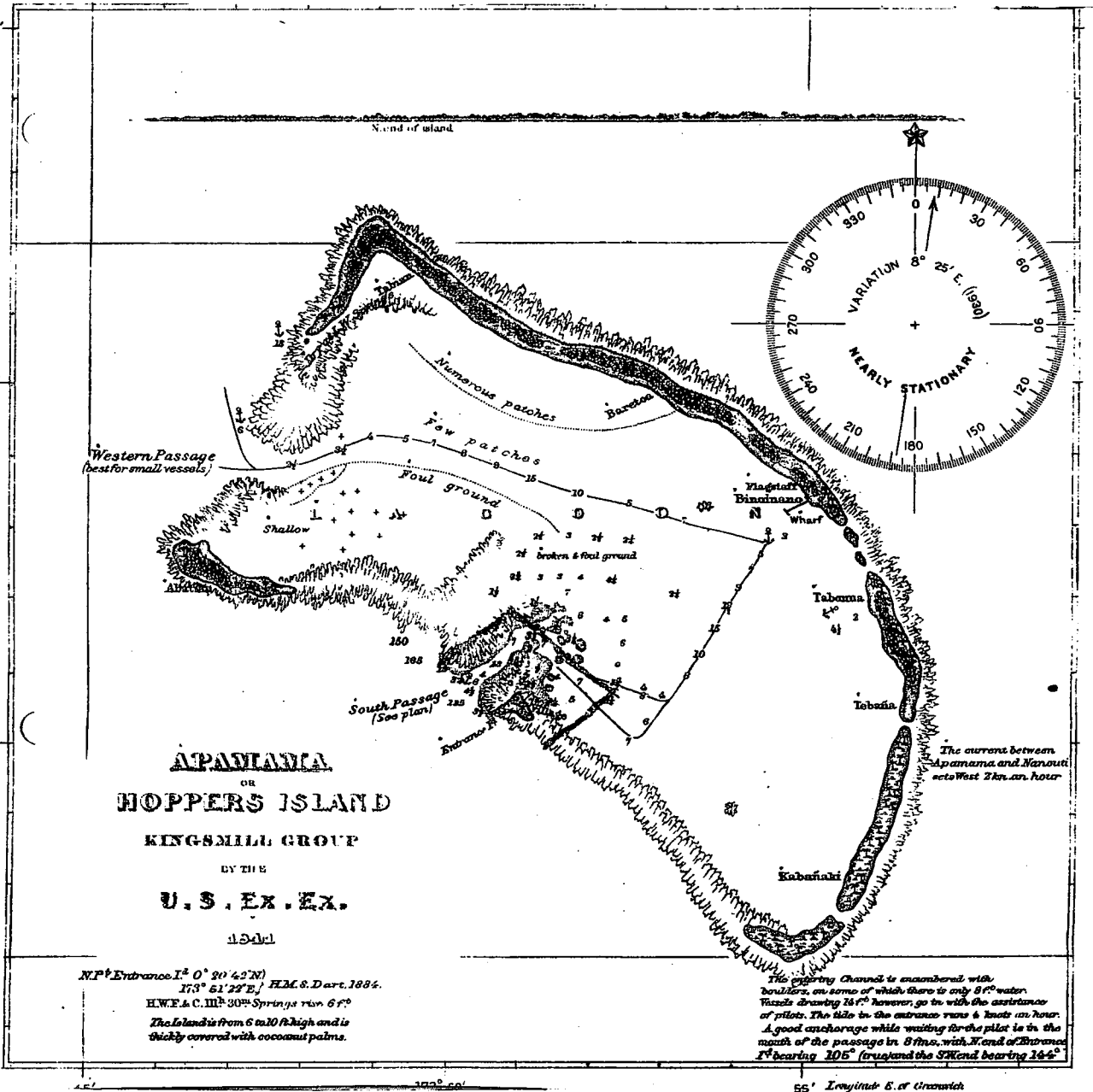


Chart of Apamama Island.



nothing except a few cocoa-nuts; but the object of their errand was not to be misunderstood, for in each canoe there was a woman, which I think does not speak much in the praise of the whalers or other ships that frequent this cruising-ground. While on board, one of the natives gave them an exhibition of a dance, which was different from those before seen, inasmuch as it consisted of a variety of motions and moving from one place to another, in quick steps, and in throwing about the arms, with many contortions of the body, and vehement gesticulations. The dance was accompanied with a kind of song or chant, consisting of the monotonous repetition of words, uttered in a short, quick, and distinct tone; each dance was finished with an outstretched hand, and an earnest cry of te-ba-ke.

It was next determined to survey Hall's Island, called by the natives Maiana, as the fair wind and the night would enable Captain Hudson to accomplish it and return to complete that of Woodle Island, or Kuria. Maiana is of coral formation; the northeast and southeast parts are continuous land, whilst to the southwest and northwest it consists of a reef and bank, in some places awash, with a sand-spit in its lagoon. The western sides of the island are therefore very dangerous, and should be approached with caution, as the sea seldom breaks on them, and the discoloration of the water is not at all times to be observed. The natives of this island have the same appearance as those already spoken of, and use the same dialect: only one canoe came off, and held a short communication with the ship. The island appears to be thickly inhabited, but its natives have had little intercourse with the whites. It affords neither refreshments, wood, nor water. The survey makes this island nine miles long, in a northeast and southwest direction, and six miles in width, in a southeast and northwest direction: it is situated in latitude  $00^{\circ}56'45''$  N., and longitude  $173^{\circ}04'15''$  E. On its west side, on some of the banks, there is anchorage in from ten to fifteen fathoms of water.

On the morning of the 15th, they made the island of Apamama, the Hopper island of Duperrey, and the Simpson's Island of the charts of Arrowsmith. It is about five feet above the surface of the ocean; is ten miles long, northwest and southeast, and five miles in width, north and south. The land is continuous on the north and east sides, excepting two small strips of bare reef. There is anchorage on the west side in an opening between the reef and the northwest point of the island, which is about two miles wide. The soundings vary from two to five fathoms: across it, in some places, the bottom is broken coral; in others, it is coral sand. The entrance to the lagoon, although feasible, should not be attempted through this passage; but there is a good passage into it on the southeast side of the island, which is a mile wide. A survey was made of this island, and its anchorages examined. The boats when ashore communicated with the natives, who resemble those of the adjacent islands. There is a large population on it, but it yields little more than will supply their wants. A small quantity of fresh water may be had by digging on the beaches: wood and refreshments are not procurable for shipping.

This island is situated in latitude  $00^{\circ}27'21''$  N., and longitude  $173^{\circ}57'30''$  E.: it has heretofore been represented as two islands on the charts, called on one Simpson's and the other Hopper and Harbottle; but there is only one, joined by the same reef.





They next returned to Kuria or Woodle Island.

On the 16th, while engaged in the survey, some canoes came off to the ship, when the natives came on board without hesitation.—an evidence of their having had communication with ships, and their confidence of good treatment. It was soon reported, that a white man was coming off to the ship; and, as in all such cases, he was looked for and watched with great interest, and various surmises were made relative to his origin and history. They were not long left in doubt, for before he reached the deck, his voice bespoke him an Irishman. He was dressed in a pair of duck trousers and red flannel shirt, and announced himself as "John Kirby, a deserter from the English whale-ship **Admiral Cockburn**." He said he had been on the island for three years; that he was living with the daughter of the principal chief; and solicited a passage to some civilized place.

The principal chief of the island, with his daughter, whom Kirby had for a wife, came on board with him. They both seemed deeply affected, when they learned that he had received permission to remain on board, and was about to leave them; and both endeavoured to dissuade him from going.

His wife showed much concern, and wished to accompany him: the old chief, her father, endeavoured to persuade him to take her. Finding she could not prevail, she requested as a parting gift, an old jack-knife, the only property he had left to give. Several presents were made to her by the officers and men, which reconciled her somewhat to her lot. The natives all left the ship much gratified, excepting Kirby's wife, who continued to be somewhat down hearted.

Kirby proved an intelligent man: he understood the language, and was well acquainted with the character, manners, and customs of the islanders, among whom he had lived from the 11th of February, 1838, to the 15th of April, 1841. His presence in the ship afforded Captain Hudson an opportunity, not only of communicating with the natives more freely, but of obtaining much interesting information relative to this group.

Kuria or Woodle Island, has four towns on it, which Kirby estimates to contain between four and five thousand inhabitants. Its geographical position is in latitude 0°14'30" N., longitude 173°27'00" E.: its greatest length is five miles, northwest and southeast; and its greatest width, which is at the southeast end, is two and a half miles. It is very narrow, and almost divided towards the centre. The northwest portion has two small lagoons, two or three hundred yards from the beach; the water in them is not so salt as the ocean. In one of them, the bottom consists of red mud on one side, while it is a white clay on the other. They are used as fish-ponds by the chiefs. There is a reef extending to the northwest nearly three miles.

The island is but partially clothed with trees, consisting of cocoa-nut, pandanus, and a few stunted bread-fruit. It affords neither wood, water, nor refreshments. The natives who visited the ship brought off very little for trade: fish-hooks and lines, small mats, cocoa-nut syrup, and a few cocoa-nuts, composed their whole stock.

The females that accompanied the canoes wore the maro, and were thought to be better-looking than the others of the group; but their whole manner was in keeping with the purposes for which their fathers and brothers had brought them off.

No war implements were seen; the men, who were naked, resembled the others of the group, except that they did not appear so much disfigured by scars.

Kirby states, that on the first night of his landing, they stripped him of every thing but an old pair of trousers, after which he was conducted to a great conclave of natives, assembled around a large fire, which he then believed was intended to roast him. He had fortunately gone on shore in the highest chief's canoe, and placed himself under his protection, as well as he knew how. After some considerable talk, instead of being roasted, he was furnished with a wife, and taken to reside with his friend, the principal chief, who, with the rest of the natives, ever after treated him kindly. After a few months' residence in the family of the chief, he gave his own daughter to Kirby for a wife. The result of this was much jealousy and envy between his first wife, of common origin, and his last, of high rank, until the former was ousted and sent back to her parents, leaving the chief's daughter in quiet possession of the house.

During Kirby's residence on the island, several English, and one American whaler, had been off the island, on which occasions he had been employed as pilot and interpreter. The natives were constantly asking him, after their departure, why he "did not fool the vessels and run them on shore, that they might plunder them." One of the above vessels left two pigs, two goats, and a pair of Muscovy ducks; but no sooner had the vessel left, than they killed them all, from some superstitious fears, and threw them into the sea, notwithstanding all Kirby's remonstrances and entreaties to have them spared, and allow him to eat them.

Kirby says that the natives, though not professed cannibals, sometimes eat human flesh; but their food is generally fish. They do not eat fowls, and will not raise pigs, on account of their filth. Their treacle is extracted from the spathes of the cocoa-nut trees, an operation which, if frequently repeated, destroys the tree. They are very fond of cock-fighting.

The conduct of foreigners who visit these islands is sometimes of a most outrageous character. Instances of this kind are daily occurring, a number of which came to my knowledge; and the following occurrence it seems to me is of a character that ought to be made public, in order to bring such conduct, and the persons who are guilty of it, to the notice of their own nation.

Some four or five months before the **Peacock's** visit, Kirby states that one Lazenby, master of the whale-ship **Offley**, of London, and whose mate was an American, named Lake, landed six young girls on this island, whom he had obtained at Peru, or Francis Island. After having kept them on board several days, he brought them here to save himself the trouble of beating his vessel up to the island of which they belonged.

These young girls were extremely good-looking, and are now slaves to the chief of this island, and made to labour and satisfy his lusts. They were landed on Kuria, despite their entreaties and tears. These people are in the habit of killing all strangers from

islands not connected with their immediate group; but the lives of these girls were spared, and they were retained in bondage. Two of them were brought off to the ship, who entreated most earnestly to be kept on board, and to be carried to their home. The engraving is made from Mr. Agate's drawing of one of them.



The published charts of these islands were found so inaccurate, as to be a cause of danger rather than of safety; for in them the islands are multiplied, and every hummock or detached islet on the same reef is represented as separate, and a name assigned it. Thus a confusion exists, that it is almost impossible to unravel. How so many errors could be committed, can only be accounted for by the fact that those who had the publication of the charts formerly were generally ignorant, and did not take that care to sift and examine the information that was essential to accuracy.

Several islands are laid down here on the different charts, but those only really exist which are named Tarawa, or Knox Island; Apia, or Charlotte Island; and Maraki, or Matthew's Island.

Tarawa, or Knox Island, is in length twenty miles, trending northwest and southeast. The land is continuous and wooded, with the exception of four gaps, where the reef is bare. The south side is twelve miles long, and trends nearly east and west. On this part, near the western end, are three hummocks (which appear like islands in the distance), and several small sand-banks, which are connected by the same reef. This island has its lagoon, but it has the appearance of an extensive bay, in consequence of the reef on the west side being a sunken one, on which is found five fathoms of water.

This island is partially wooded, having several groves of cocoa-nut trees on it, and a dense undergrowth. Several towns were seen on it, and it appeared to be thickly inhabited. It affords no supplies for vessels. Three canoes came off to the ship, two of which kept at a respectful distance, while the third approached with great caution. Some few pieces of iron hoops enticed the natives on board, but they brought nothing for trade, except half a dozen cocoa-nuts. They stated that they had never seen a vessel before. This may be true, but appeared somewhat incredible, when they are so near other islands which have had constant intercourse with shipping. They appeared entirely ignorant of the use of tobacco, which it will be recollected the other natives coveted so much; and what seemed to confirm the belief in the truth of their assertion of the visits of ships, was the absence of females in the canoes, which had been with the natives of the other islands so prominent an article of barter.

They seemed delighted with the pieces of old iron, and regarded junk-bottles with admiration. They are entirely the same in appearance, and in character and customs, with the rest; they go naked, and speak the same dialect.

Tarawa lies in latitude  $1^{\circ}29'00''$  N., and longitude  $173^{\circ}05'00''$  E., and is of coral formation.

Until the 24th, they were engaged in the survey of Apia [Abaiang], or Charlotte Island. This consists of strings of coral islets, situated within a reef, which is six and seven feet above the water. The reef has a bluff front, and is much worn by the sea. There is no coral sand. Apia was found to be in latitude  $1^{\circ}52'00''$  N., and  $173^{\circ}02'00''$  E. It is a lagoon island. Its length in the direction of northeast and southwest is sixteen miles, and its average breadth five. On the east side of the island the land is covered with cocoa-nut and pandanus groves, with some undergrowth. The northwest and west side is a continuous reef, four or five feet above the water's edge, on which are many islets. About

the centre of the reef, on the southwest side, is a ship's channel into the lagoon, which is half a mile wide. Near its entrance is a small islet, which stands alone, and is a good mark for the entrance. There is no island in the lagoon, as shown on the French charts of Duperrey.

This island would appear to be thickly inhabited, from the number of towns on it. Several canoes came off to the ship, which were similar in construction to the others we had seen. Their stock of articles for trade was, as usual, scanty. There was but one woman seen, and she proved as ugly as those previously met with had been pleasing in their looks. They speak the same dialect, and are the same people, although their intercourse seems to have been very much confined to themselves. At the islet near the entrance to the lagoon, about sixty gallons of water were obtained from the native well, but it was flat and brackish. No other supplies can be procured at this island.

When the boats landed at the islet, the natives were in great alarm, and fled; but, reassured by the calls of Kirby, they returned, and their fears were effectually quieted by a few presents.

It was ascertained that their knowledge of other islands only extended to Tarawa, or Knox' Island, and two others. To one of these they pointed in a direction west of north, and called it Maraki,—Matthew's Island; and the other Taritari and Makin, which they said were two days' sail, and which was believed to be Pitt's Island.<sup>1</sup>

#### [Religion]

In the centre of the little village was one of the sacred stones, which was described by Kirby as an object of worship. It consisted of a flat slab of coral rock, about three feet high and two wide, set up on end and dressed with a thick wreath of cocoanut-leaves, about nine feet in diameter, raised five or six inches above the soil, and surrounded by a ring of stones. At the foot of the coral slab were several large cocoa-nuts, placed there as an offering to the divinity, whom the natives styled Tabu-eriki. The wood-cut [next page] is a drawing of one.

The priest, a young man, with a mild and intelligent countenance, remained constantly near the stone, never quitting the platform for a moment.

The houses were built like those of Drummond Island, but the scuttles into the lofts were much larger, occasionally occupying half the dividing floor. In some of the houses there were two or three floors or stages, the second about two feet above the first.

In the survey of this island the tender got aground inside the lagoon. The moment that it was discovered by the natives that the vessel was on shore, they began to flock around her, and were only kept off by being fired at. Lieutenant Emmons did not join her with the boats till after dark, when he found her situation such as to require great vigilance on the part of the officers and men to preserve her. She had taken the coral

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: A future French missionary, Father Sabatier, in his book on the Gilbert Islands, mentions an incident that occurred circa 1840, in which a fugitive from Abaiang met a white renegade with a musket who lived on Tarawa; together they came to Abaiang and caused havoc with that musket.



**Kingsmill idol.**

reef at high water, and the tide was rapidly falling, leaving her on her bilge, and rendering her guns of no use for protection. The natives were making signals by burning fires, blowing war-conchs, and evincing every disposition to attack her.

Captain Hudson, who observed the situation of the tender at sunset, determined to keep the **Peacock** close to the island throughout the night, to be near at hand to despatch boats in case of signal being made that they required more aid, should the natives show a disposition to make an attack, and overpower the force that had already gone to the tender's assistance. The **Peacock** was hove-to, with a moderate breeze blowing, and from the fires seen during the night they believed themselves close to the position they had taken at sunset. At daylight, while lying-to, they drifted on a coral sand-bank, where the ship was aground for a few minutes only. Their surprise was great when they found that it was Tarawa or Knox' Island, on which they were ashore, on its northwest side, and that they had drifted fully twelve miles by current to the southward during the night.

On board of the tender every preparation was made to receive the savages, as it was anticipated that the attack would be made at early daylight. They were not mistaken in this, for at that time the natives were seen in great numbers, but just then fortunately the tender floated. The natives continued, however, to approach boldly until within musket-shot, when they were motioned to keep off, which they disregarded. The headmost canoe having struck its sail for the purpose of closing alongside, Lieutenant Emmons fired his rifle, aiming so that the ball should pass close by the head of the steersman: this alarmed him so much that he immediately jumped overboard, and was followed by all the rest. The remaining canoes now kept off, but continued to follow the tender until she left the lagoon, which she did by the passage through which she had entered. When the natives found that the prize had escaped them, they became outrageous, making use of many violent gesticulations at the disappointment they had experienced.

[The report of Lieut. Emmons]<sup>1</sup>

The natives here as will be seen by the following report by Lt. Emmons are not a whit behind those of the neighbouring Islands in pouncing upon strangers, when there is the least prospect of obtaining anything by force or plunder.—

*U.S. Ship Peacock—at sea.  
Kingsmills Group April 25th 1841.*

*Sir,*

*Agreeably to your order I proceeded, with the Schooner and four Boats, to effect a landing on a small Hummock, composing a small portion of Charlotte, or Matthews, Island, for the purpose of obtaining observations for [magnetic] Dips and Intensity, digging for water, and land the scientific corps. While employed at this, I directed Mr. Knox to continue on with the Schooner, and examine what appeared to be a deep entrance into the lagoon within sight, and as soon as he had determined this fact, to return the same way, when I would join him at the place of our departure, and proceed about 5 miles further to the South, for the purpose of examining what appeared to be another deep entrance to the same lagoon. Finding a well already dug upon the Island, in which there was fresh water and not enough resident natives to molest the party, I left Lt. De Haven in charge, and proceeded to join Mr. Knox, who by this time had reached the centre of the lagoon, having found the first passage deep enough for Ships. He was continuing on to examine the second, not doubting but he would find enough water to carry him through, and thinking by this means to save much time and myself some trouble. When near the Southern end of the lagoon, and standing out through what he imagined a passage, he suddenly shoaled his water, and soon after struck fast on a broken coral, and saved bottom. As soon as this was discovered by the natives, they commenced flocking around him. Seeing this, and having some fears for his safety, I redoubled my efforts to get alongside, which was not effected until after dark, when I found the natives had been only driven off, after having been several times fired at. I also found it was high tide when the Schooner struck, and as it had already fallen 18 Inches, there was no possibility of moving her, until the next flood. She was therefore shored up to protect her bilge from the coral rocks, and the tide gradually left her, until there was only three feet alongside, in some places.*

*During the night our situation appeared to have been communicated throughout the Island by night signals, such as fires, lights, and blowing of the War Conch Shell, and I was not at all disappointed to see them standing down for the Schooner at early daylight in great numbers. In the meantime, every preparation had been made in anticipation of such a movement, and the Schooner fortunately got afloat on the top of high water. The natives continued standing down boldly until within musket shot, when I motioned to them to keep off, which they disregarded, and the headmost canoe, hav-*

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1 Ed. note: Taken from the ms. logbook, pp. 236-237.

*ing struck its sail for the purpose of coming alongside (being within the Schooner's length of her) I fired my rifle, aiming so that the ball would pass close by the head of the steersman, which so alarmed him, that he immediately jumped overboard, and was followed by all the others in his canoe, after which the remaining canoes kept at a respectable distance, but followed us, joined by others from different portions of the Island, until we finally left the Lagoon, by the same passage the Schooner first entered.*

*To one acquainted with the general character of those savages, their plans and purposes, could not have been mistaken from the first, although some of their demonstrations were friendly **as usual**. But, having hovered around us until we were clear of all danger, and finding themselves completely foiled, some of them became outrageous in their gestures, thereby adding another proof to the many which are already in our possession of their treachery.*

*With much respect,*

*Your first Lieut.*

*(Signed) George F. Emmons, Lieut.*

*[To] W. L. Hudson, Esq.*

*Commanding U.S. Ship Peacock.*

The next island that claimed their attention was Maraki, or Matthew's Island. It is much smaller than the two last, and situated in latitude 2°00'00" N., and longitude 173°25'30" E. It is a lagoon island, without entrances, and of coral formation. It is but five miles long, north-by-east and south-by-west, and two and a half wide at its base, being of triangular shape.

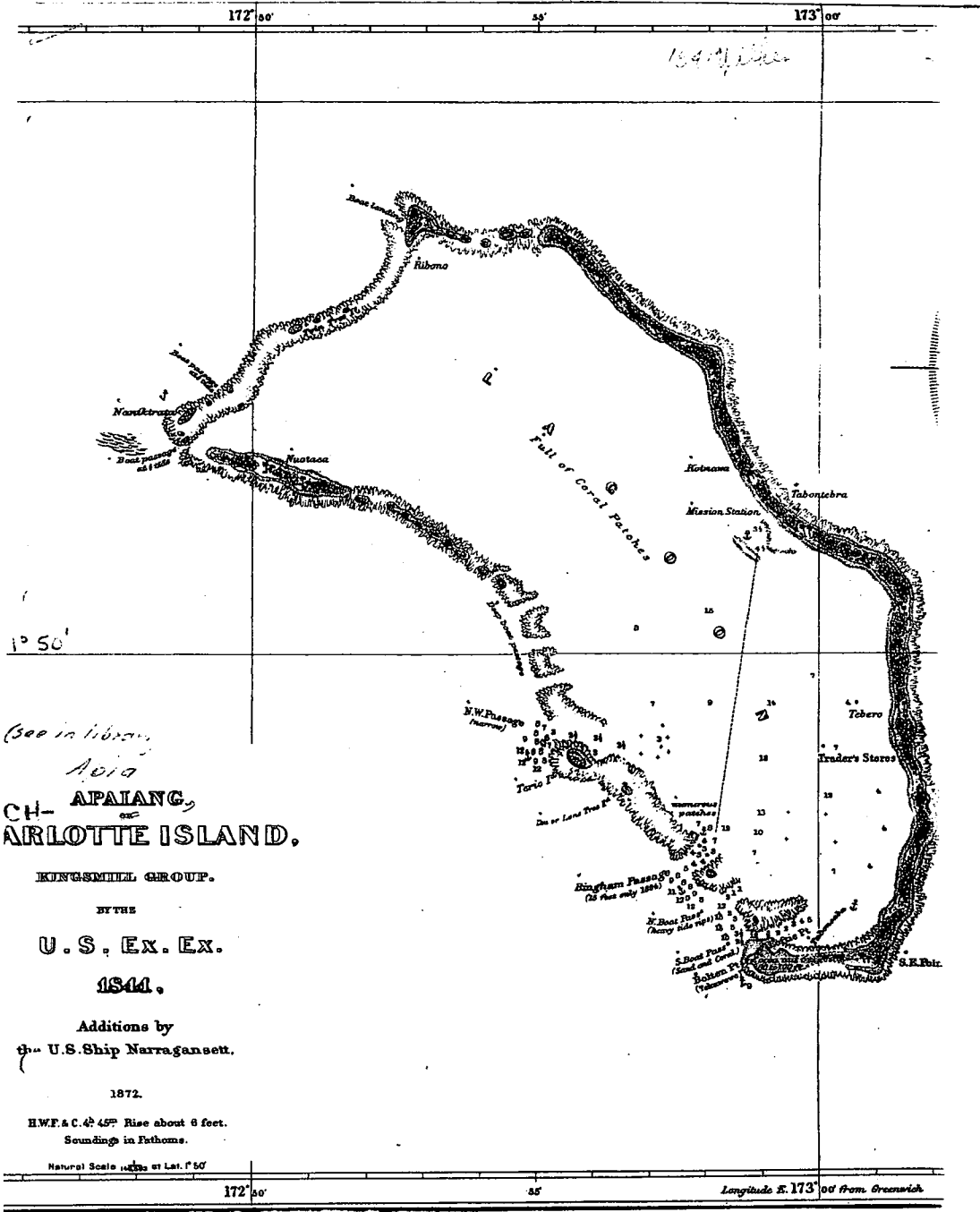
It appears to be densely peopled, for many villages were seen, and after dark a large number of fires were burning.

A canoe ventured alongside, in which was one of the natives, of an herculean frame, and calling himself a chief. When asked how many people they had on the island, he replied, as many as were on board the ship. As all hands were on deck, it is supposed that his simile was equivalent to a multitude.

The persons in this canoe were exceedingly desirous of getting old iron hoops: they did not remain a long time on board, and seemed to be uneasy. After they had obtained these small presents, they quietly abandoned the ship, and on getting into their canoes, soon plied the paddles in such a manner as showed that they were quite anxious to get out of reach, seemingly congratulating themselves upon their miraculous escape. Their dialect and customs were the same as those of the rest of the group.

On the 27th, the **Peacock** left Matthew's Island to look for Pitt's Island, which they made on the 28th, at 9 a.m. On the 29th, the weather permitted the survey to be made.

There are two islands known under this name: the largest is called by the natives Taritari [Butaritari], and the smallest Makin. The latitude of the southern point of Taritari is 3°08'00" N., longitude 172°48'00" E. This island is of the figure of a triangle, with its apex to the south, and its sides are about fourteen miles in length. The southeast side is a continuous grove of cocoa-nut and pandanus, with some undergrowth; on the other



*(See in library No 10)*

**CH- APAIANG,**  
**ARLOTTE ISLAND.**

**KINGSMILL GROUP.**  
 BY THE  
**U.S. EX. EX.**  
**1844.**

Additions by  
 the U.S. Ship *Narragansett.*

1872.  
 H.W.F. & C. 45° Rise about 8 feet.  
 Soundings in Fathoms.

Natural Scale 1:100,000 at Lat. 1° 50'

**Chart of Apaiang Island.**

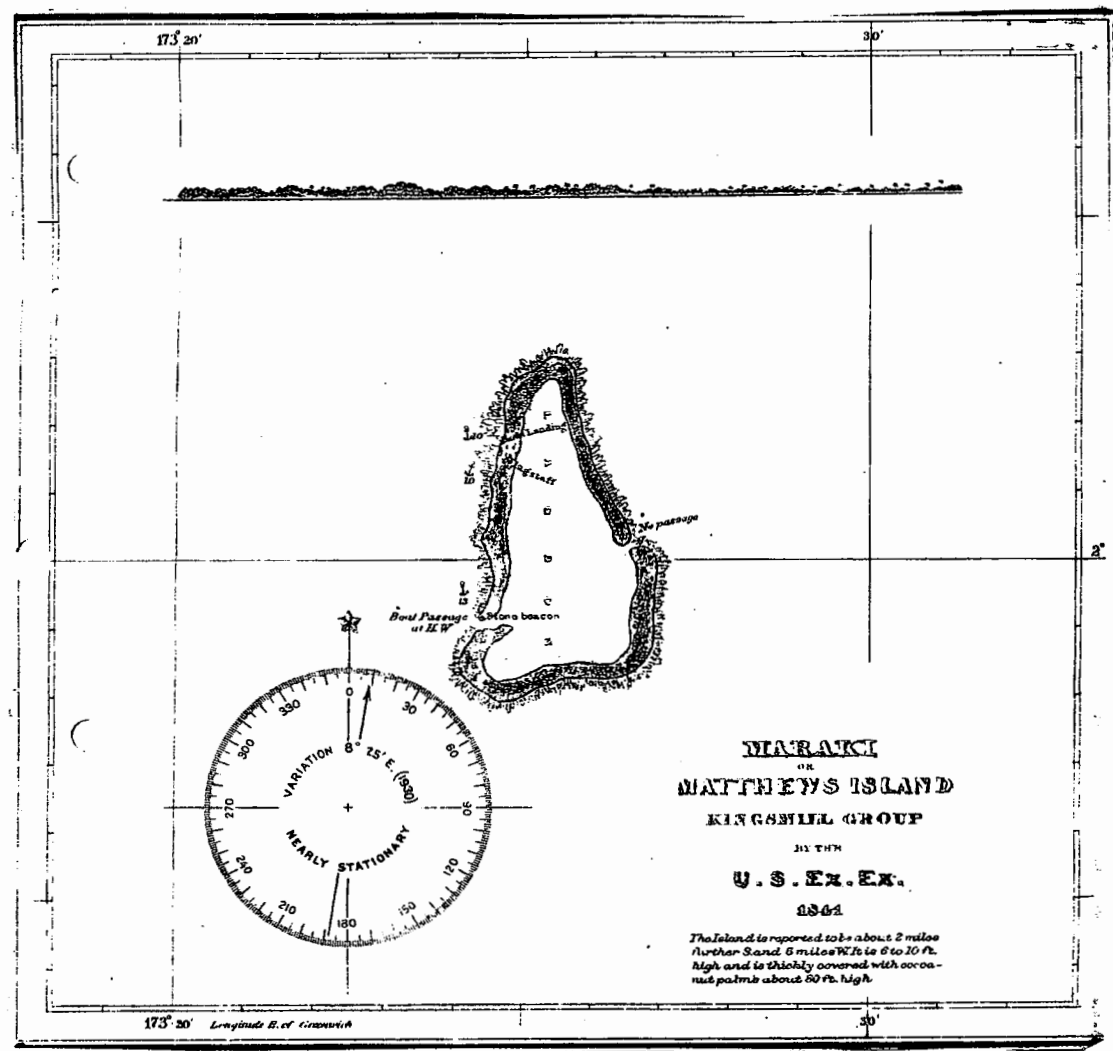


Chart of Marakei Island.

two sides is a reef, which is awash, excepting the northwest point, in which there is a small islet.

Makin is of much smaller dimensions, being but six miles long: it varies in width from half a mile to a mile. Its northern point lies in latitude 3°20'43" N., and longitude 172°57'00" E. This small island is the seat of government, and the natives now unite both names under the one of Makin.

It was soon evident that the island was thickly inhabited; for when the ship reached the lee side, in the afternoon, about twenty canoes came off, containing from five to ten natives in each, and in one of them was a white man, who was clothed in mats. The ship was immediately hove-to to take him on board, and he gave his name as Robert Wood (alias Grey), a Scotchman by birth, who was left by his own wish on the island, seven years before, by the English whaling brig Janie [rather Genii],<sup>1</sup> of London, sailing from Sydney. He was under so great excitement as to render his utterance quite unintelligible at times, and some amusing scenes took place in consequence. On his reaching the deck, he first inquired if he would be permitted to go on shore again; and then, who was king of England; if there was peace with America; for he had thought there must be a war. He had seen no white men since he landed, and said that he had become old and gray-headed. To prove the latter assertion he pulled off his apology for a hat, and displayed a most luxuriant growth of jet-black hair.

He had not been on board long before he asked for a passage to some civilized land; and when he was informed that his wishes would be gratified, he seemed for a time beside himself from excess of joy. His feelings were evinced on his endeavours to interpret the questions to the natives; he almost invariably repeated to them what was said to him in English, in the same language; and gave back their answers or expressions in the island dialect. This had a droll effect, and he had frequently to be reminded that he was an interpreter.

Wood says, that the natives had always treated him kindly; and for the first few months after his arrival among them, they carried him about on their shoulders (he was the first white man that many of them had ever seen), and almost deified him. They have no wars, and very few arms, and seldom quarrel, except about their women. The punishment of death is inflicted on those who infringe the seraglio [harem] of the chiefs.

In the short intercourse the **Peacock** had with the natives of this island, a great difference was perceptible between them and those of the other islands, as well in respect to their appearance, as in character.<sup>2</sup> Their features were regular, and by some thought handsome; they had fine teeth, with glossy black hair flowing in ringlets about their

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1 Ed. note: It is clearly written Genii in the manuscript; Wilkes has introduced an error.

2 Ed. note: Hudson insists about this difference in a long paragraph, by saying, among other things, that "all hands were struck with it." He goes on to give examples of their openness, kindness, good humor, etc.



heads; they were also of a lighter colour than the rest of the natives with whom they are grouped; their figures are, for the most part, rotund, and they seem to have an abundance of food to become fat upon. In walking, they appeared like a moving mass of jelly; every laugh set not only their sides in motion, but their whole frame and flesh. On being asked how these people became so fat, Wood replied, they had plenty of food and "toddy" to fatten upon: this last is a syrup, called by the natives "karaca," made from the sap of the young cocoa-nut trees: of this they drink immoderately.<sup>1</sup> They wear mustaches and whiskers, which are highly prized and carefully nursed among them. They had a good-humoured cast of countenance, and seemed peaceable and full of kindness. No scars were seen on their bodies, neither had they any warlike instruments with them. All the little casualties which so often affected the harmony of the natives before, here produced no sort of disturbance; and each was inclined to render the other assistance in repairing the accidents.<sup>2</sup>

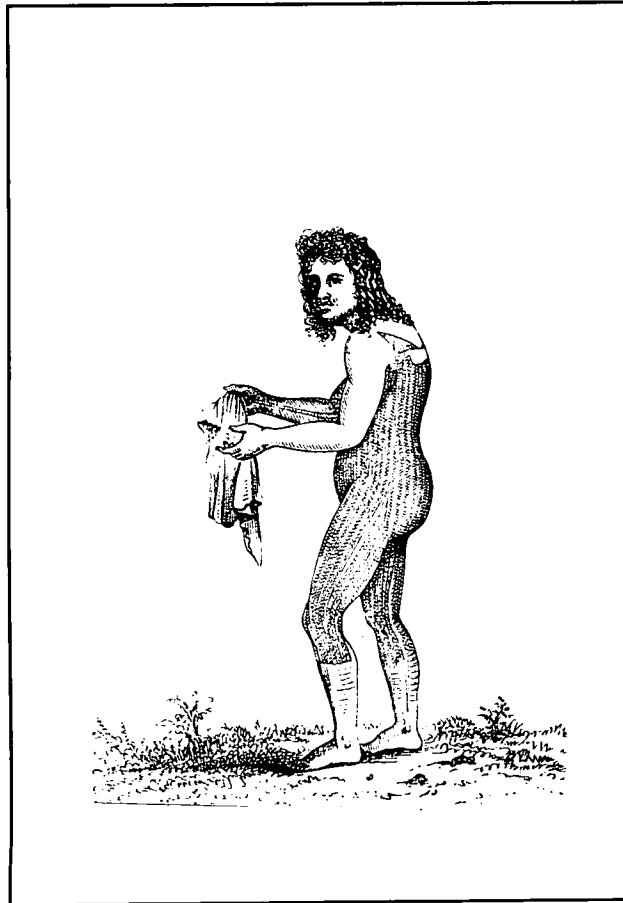
The men are very handsomely tattooed, of which the above cut will give a correct idea. On their reaching the ship, they appeared to put the fullest confidence and reliance in the treatment they were to receive, although, according to Wood, they had seen but one vessel during his residence on the island, and consequently it could not be from the habit of intercourse, but must have been a natural feeling. There was no begging, no attempt to steal, as among all the other natives of the group; but Wood gives them credit for the latter propensity among themselves on shore.

Their canoes are larger and better built than those of the southern islands, and made of different wood; and they are better supplied with masts and paddles, but still of nearly the same shape: the side of the canoe opposite to the out-rigger, was much less curved than the other, resembling more the "flying proa" of the Ladrone Islands.

Polygamy is common among them; and Wood stated that some of the principal chiefs and land-holders have from twenty to fifty wives: the king even exceeded this number; while the poorer class and slaves are doomed to perpetual celibacy. The consequences of this state of society may readily be imagined to produce illicit intercourse among the lower classes.

The women are well treated; never offered for traffic, but on the contrary, are held sacred [i.e. taboo]; and in order to restrain any unlawful indulgence on the part of his wives, his majesty has at times had some of them sewed up in mats! Wood represented the women as outnumbering the men, and said they were very handsome. There are five towns on the island, which, according to the authority of Wood, contain about five thousand inhabitants.

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- 1 Ed. note: Hudson did not call this syrup "karaka", nor the toddy 'arak'. In fact, he simply said: "This toddy in Yankee phraseology, would come under the cognomen of "switchell." It is a syrup extracted from the young coconut tops, resembling molasses, which the natives dilute with water."
  - 2 Ed. note: Fr. Sabatier, in reviewing the history of the Gilbert Islands, mentions that, ca. 1780, the people of Beru brought war to all the islands north of their own, except the Butaritari-Makin group. They remained unmolested, and not as warlike as their countrymen to the south.



**Native of Makin Island.**



**Inhabitant of Makin.**

The king, whose name was Tekere [rather Teker], came off to the ship. He was a fine-looking man; but his corpulency was great, and appeared to trouble him not a little: it was utterly impossible for him to get up the side of the ship, and he therefore contented himself with being paddled round it. His father, the former king, Jakintebuat,<sup>1</sup> came on board, with several of his sons, all of whom had a strong family likeness. He appeared about sixty years old; and although a little bald, he had no other appearance of age, either in his looks or the firmness of his step.

When the vessels had made sail, in order to leave the island, and it was supposed that all the natives had left the ship, one was found hanging to the man-ropes near the water. Wood, on questioning the native, found that he was a petty chief, who wished to accompany the ship, and had taken this means of doing it, hoping not to be perceived until he was out of sight of his island. He said he was too poor a chief to have any wives, and therefore wished to leave his island, and be landed on some other, where he could obtain some. Captain Hudson had a boat lowered at once, by which he was put on board a canoe, that took him to the shore.

Two or three of the officers landed for a short time, but saw nothing except a few fishing huts. Under the eaves of the huts, large shells of the *Tridacna gigas* were placed to catch water. The entrance into the lagoon has four and a half fathoms water, and is about one-third of a mile in width.

Mr. Peale found no quadrupeds except rats, which were in great plenty, and running in all directions; of birds there were but few white terns and noddies were seen in the groves, and a few moths were caught.

Mr. Rich found some tall Pisonias, Tournefortias, two species of *Urticæ*, a *Boerhaavia*, and some cocoa-nuts. On the larger island they seem to have a much greater variety of trees, but it was not visited. They have bread-fruit, taro, and yams of two kinds, which are cultivated in the manner already described.

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1 Ed. note: Hale has this name as either Tokintebuak, or Tokintebuaka.



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## Document 1841L

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# The Wilkes' expedition—Report of Horatio Hale, based on the accounts of beachcombers Kirby and Brown, etc.

*Sources: Chapter III, Vol. 5 of Wilkes' Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition; summarized in Vol. 6 of the same series—Ethnology and Philology, by Horatio Hale himself.*

*Note: The manners and customs here described applied particularly to Kuria and Makin atolls. The vocabulary of the so-called Tarawan language, published by Hale, was the dialect spoken in the Tarawa-Maiana area of the central Gilbert Islands in 1841, according to Kirby and the gentlemen of the Expedition; dialect variations at Makin were reported by Grey, alias Brown.*

## Chapter III.—Manners and customs of the Kingsmill Islanders. 1841.

### Contents.

*Sources of information in relation to the Kingsmill Group.—Islands of which it is composed.—Their general character.—Their soil.—Taro-ponds.—Tradition of the origin of the people.—Ancient intercourse between the islands.—Physiognomy and appearance of the natives.—Their social state.—Government.—Descent of property.—Religious belief.—Priests.—Oracles.—Omens.—Pretended communication with spirits.—Belief in a future state.—Their Elysium.—Their mode of life.—Their character.—Their treatment of children, of the aged, and of women.—Their wars.—Cannibalism not practised.—Their weapons.—Their houses and canoes.—Their manufactures.—Dress.—Ornaments.—Their food.—Their mode of cooking.—Their amusements.—Their marriages.—Mode of giving names.—Practice of abortion.—Tattooing.—Funeral ceremonies.—Diseases.—Climate of the group.—Earthquakes.—Population.—Their intercourse with strangers.—Their proneness to suicide.—Their idea of an accomplished person.—Contrast between Pitt's and the other islanders.—Departure of the Peacock and Flying-Fish from the Kingsmill Group.—Their crews put on short allowance.—Pescadores.—Korsakoff.—Objects remaining unaccomplished.—Separation of the vessels.—Large quantities of molluscæ.—Ship Magnolia.—Oahu.—Arrival at and departure from Honolulu.—Reach Columbia River.*

In order to obtain all the information possible from Kirby and Wood, Captain Hudson placed them under the immediate control of Mr. Hale, the philologist. This gentleman had thus an opportunity to examine and cross-question them, during the whole time they remained on board the **Peacock**. To his report to Captain Hudson,<sup>1</sup> I am

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: He handed in his report on 5 June 1841.

principally indebted for the following information respecting the entire group. Captain Hudson states to me, that the opportunity Mr. Hale enjoyed was the very best for eliciting information, as they were upwards of a month on board the ship, and were under examination day after day.

Their accounts are deemed entitled by Captain Hudson and his officers to much credit, from the fact that many things had passed under their own eyes that perfectly agreed with the accounts that Kirby, in particular, gave; and he was found to have obtained much fluency in speaking their language. It is likewise some confirmation of Kirby's account, that Wood's in many particulars corresponded with it, and in all as much so as could be expected between islanders that, although allied in peace, are now living under totally different circumstances. Wood, it must be observed, had not, though a much longer resident than Kirby, acquired so thorough a knowledge of the language, or of their manners and customs, principally, it was thought, from a want of aptitude for such observation.

The Kingsmill [Gilbert] Group consists of fifteen islands, of which the geographical positions have been already given in speaking of them separately.

They are as follow, viz.:

<b>Native names.</b>	<b>Name on charts.</b>	[Modern names]
Maraki,	Matthew's Island.	[Marakei.]
Makin and Taritari,	Pitt Island.	[Makin and Butaritari.]
Apia,	Charlotte's Island.	[Abaiang]
Tarawa,	Knox's Island.	[Tarawa]
Maiana,	Hall's Island.	[Maiana]
Apamama,	Hopper's Island.	[Abemama]
Kuria,	Woodle's Island.	[Kuria]
Nanouki,	Henderville's Island.	[Aranuka]
Nanouti,	Sydenham Island.	[Nonouti]
Taputeouea,	Drummond's Island.	[Tabiteuea]

The above are all those that were visited by the **Peacock**: the natives, however, gave the names of others, which are said to be in the neighbourhood, to the number of six.

Peru,	Francis Island.	[Beru]
Nukunau,	Byron's Island.	[Nukunau]
Arurai,	Hurd's Island.	[Arorae]
Tamana,	Phœbe Island.	[Tamana]
Onoutu,	Rotcher's [sic] Island.	[Onotoa]

The first of these five are known on the maps, but the two last are not. There is one on which the natives of Apia designated by Tarawa-ni-Makin, but I am inclined to believe it was intended for Pitt's Island.

The dimensions of these islands have been given, as well as the facilities they afford ships, and the inducements to visit them. The highest land of the group is not more than twenty feet above the sea, and they are all of coral formation, having a general resemblance to the coral islands spoken of in the early history of this voyage. It was found that, unlike those, many of the islands of this group afforded anchorage on sand-banks under their lee, or western side, and in some of them the leeward reef appears to be in part wanting: this would form a distinctive character, and Kirby bears testimony to the fact that these islands are fast wearing away by the action of the sea on them during the westerly gales.

The compact coral shelf is found at the depth of twelve feet beneath the surface. There is another distinctive mark, which tends to prove that these islands, instead of increasing, are actually wasting away, which is, that in all cases where the island is at all exposed, it has become a string of detached islets, a form it would be most likely first to assume in undergoing such a change. Those containing passages through the reef have been already pointed out; and in the Hydrographical Memoir, full directions for entering the lagoons will be found.

Their soil, which is but a few inches in depth, is of coral sand and vegetable mould, below which coral sand continues to be found, and to this depth the wells and taro-patches extend. The rain-water percolates thus far, and meets the coral rock. Besides this rock, small pieces of pumice are found, which are supposed to have drifted to the island. Of these great use is made, in cultivation, as a manure.

Their cultivation consists for the most part in that of cocoa-nut and pandanus, which are their chief articles of food. They also cultivate with great care a species of the taro (*Arum cordifolium*), which is called by the natives "pôipôï," and is said to grow to a very large size; but all that was seen by the officers was small, and apparently withered.

Bread-fruit trees are to be found on the northern islands, but the tree was not seen on the southern. They pay more attention to the rearing of trees than in any other islands of Polynesia [sic], for the cocoa-nut trees are fenced round, and pounded pumice is mixed with the soil near their roots. This stone is collected by the women, who are frequently to be seen in numbers on the beaches, after westerly winds, picking it up in small baskets.

There is likewise a purslane, which is abundant, and according to Kirby, is eaten in cases of scarcity or famine. The excavations for the planting of taro are of various sizes, generally one hundred feet in length, by fifty in breadth. On Makin or Pitt's Island, it is said, there is a trench about ten feet wide, and not less than seven miles long, dug around the lagoon, from which it is separated by an embankment. The water in this trench is but slightly brackish, and sufficiently fresh to nurture the taro. The natives are remarkably careful to keep this plant free from weeds, or any thing that may affect its growth; and they are in the habit of loosening the root, with this view. There is no particular season when it comes to maturity, neither do they observe any particular time for planting it. On Makin, they have a kind of fruit resembling the gooseberry, called

by the natives "teiparu;" this they pound, after it is dried, and make with molasses into cakes, which are sweet and pleasant to the taste.

Of all the native accounts of the peopling of the groups of the islands in the vast Pacific, that of the Kingsmill Group bears the strongest impress of truth and historical probability. Whether this be owing to the comparatively recent period at which they have been peopled, or to their traditions having been less confused by mythological tales, it is difficult to determine; but the facts appear so remarkable and probable, that few will read the account of them without giving it the full weight of authentic history.

This account states, that the first inhabitants arrived in two canoes from Baness or Baneba, an island which they say lies to the southwestward, and whence they had escaped during a civil war, as the only means left them of preserving their lives. After they had arrived upon this island and had begun a settlement, two other canoes happened to arrive from an island to the southeastward, which they called Amoi. The natives in the last canoes were lighter in colour, and better-looking than their predecessors, and spoke a different language. For one or two generations the two races lived together in harmony; but the Baneba people coveting the wives of the men from Amoi, difficulties arose, which ended in the Amoi men being put to death by those of Baneba, and the latter taking possession of the women.

From these sources all the Kingsmill natives are descended. The bread-fruit is said to have been brought by the Amoi people, and the taro by those of Baneba. The coconut and pandanus were found growing on the island.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to settle the position of Amoi, from its name; but the direction in which it lies would designate the Samoan Group as the islands referred to. Those of Baneba, it is suggested, might be derived from the Caroline Group, although the direction does not exactly correspond. The Ascension [Pohnpei] Island of that group has Boneba for its native name.<sup>2</sup>

What adds to the probability of this simple story, is the fact that it is almost the only tradition these islanders have. That the islands have been peopled within a period not very remote, is believed by the natives themselves, and they state that only a few generations back the people were much fewer than at present, wars less frequent, and the communication between the islands safe and free. The grandfather of Tekere, the present king of Kuria, is said to have voyaged to every island in the group on a pleasure trip to see the world, about a hundred years since. But, so estranged have the inhabitants of the several islands become from each other, that if a canoe from one of them should visit, or seek, through distress, another island, the persons in it would in all probability be put to death, under the supposition of their being spies, or in order to procure their bones and teeth for the manufacture of ornaments.

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1 Ed. note: The coconut, at least, floats and can spread from island to island, not necessarily with the help of man.

2 Ed. note: Rather Bonebey, or Pohnpei; however, the native name of Ocean Island, just to the north of the Gilberts, is indeed Banaba.



The islanders of this group differ in their personal traits from those of Polynesians, and more nearly resemble the Malays. Their colour is a dark copper, a shade or two deeper than the Tahitian; they are of the middle size, well made, and slender. Their hair is fine, black, and glossy; the nose slightly aquiline, but a little broad at the base; the mouth is large, with full lips and small teeth; the cheek-bones project forward, so as to give the eyes the appearance of being sunken; their beards and mustaches are black and fine like their hair. Their average height is about five feet eight inches, and the great majority would be called small men. The women are much smaller in proportion than the men, with delicate features, slight figures, and, as before remarked, they were generally thought pretty.

In this description, it will be necessary to remark, that the inhabitants of Makin are not included; for they differ so much in point of appearance from the others, that were it not for their manners, customs, and language, they could not be classed among the same race. A drawing of one is represented in the annexed engraving.

Wood, who had lived among the latter people a long time, accounted for their difference in appearance by their being at all times abundantly supplied with food, and living an inactive life, with nothing to disturb their peace, which has continued unbroken for upwards of a century. They have from this cause become naturally indolent; and their fullest enjoyment is in taking their ease. Their colour is a shade lighter than that of the natives of the other islands of this group; their stature taller, and their whole frame much larger; their limbs are full and well rounded; their bodies as smooth as a child's; their features oval, and more regular and delicate than those of the natives of the southern islands of the same group.

As respects their social state, the people are divided into three classes: the *nea* or *omata* (chiefs), *katoka* (landholders), and *kawa* (slaves).<sup>1</sup> The first and last divisions constitute about three-fourths of the population, and are about equal in numbers. The *katokas* are persons who possess land, but are not of noble birth; many of these were originally slaves, who have obtained land by acts of bravery, or through the favour of their chiefs. The *kawas* are those who possess no land, or no-one from whom they can claim support. The *omatas* consist of all the free and well born, who possess the greater proportion of the land, as well as the political authority of the group. The oldest male of a family is the chief of the community, and presides over all their matters: he is called *nea*. They are, however, independent of each other, although great deference is always paid to the oldest among them.

In Makin, the class of *katokas* is not known; and the only distinctions they have, are the high and the low. This class, therefore, appears to have been only introduced on Kuria and the adjacent islands.

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1 Ed. note: For the correct pronunciation of these four words, Hale has added accents, thus: Néa, ómata, katóka, káwa.

Wars between the different towns are of frequent occurrence; and in some of the islands ambitious chiefs have obtained the rule through conquests, and made themselves sovereign over the whole.

There does not appear to be any general authority existing throughout the group, even in those islands that are in the neighbourhood of each other, excepting in the islands of Apamama, Nanouki, and Kuria, where there is a king, who governs the three: he resides on the former, and is named "Tetalau." His grandfather was the first to make war, and by conquest acquired supreme power in Apamama. The present king has extended his authority over the two smaller islands, against which he waged a successful war, in consequence of the murder of one of his relations. To this little kingdom, most of the facts in reference to the Kingsmill Group more particularly apply, as Kuria was the residence of Kirby; but from the observations of the naturalists and officers, I have little doubt that the manners and customs of the other islands, with the exception of Makin, are very similar.

On Tarawa, there is also a king, as well as on Makin; but it appears that this has only been the case on the latter since the time of the grandfather of the present king, called Teouki. The acquisition of royal power by him was said to have been effected only through a series of bloody wars, which established his authority so firmly, that peace and quietness have reigned for a century; nor has any attempt been made on the part of the conquered chiefs to regain their independence.

The government is carried on after the simplest patriarchal form, the king contenting himself with receiving the tribute due him, without intermeddling with the administration of the affairs of the separate towns over which he rules.

According to Kirby, a king governs also on Taputeouea or Drummond's Island; but it has been seen by the experience of the **Peacock** that his power was far from being paramount, it having been contested by a large portion of the island.

There are places where the royal authority does not supersede all other, and where the government is carried on by the whole body of chiefs, who take rank according to their age. In these places, for the purpose of accommodating all, there is in every town a large council-house, called the *maria*pa [sic],<sup>1</sup> one of which has been before described. In it every family of rank has its particular seat, along the side of the house; the middle being occupied by the *katokas* and *kawas*, or landholders and slaves, neither of whom have any voice in the affairs of government.

When a meeting is deemed necessary, the oldest or presiding chief sends out his messengers, whose business it is to summon the people, which is done by blowing conchs in all directions. The council then assembles, when the head chief lays before them the business, and any one is at liberty to speak, and if he be so disposed, delivers his opinion. The discussions are said to be at times very animated, and violent quarrels some-

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1 Ed. note: Hudson has properly transcribed this "maniapa," which is closer to the modern "maneaba". In Vol. 6, Hale adds the following comment: "[Maniapa:] this word was so written at the time; we have since thought that it should perhaps be *uma-ni-apa*, literally, house of the town, or town-house."

times take place between different speakers, who are with difficulty prevented from coming to blows by those who are present. No regular vote is taken; but the opinion of the majority is very soon ascertained, and this decides the business.

The chiefs have absolute rule over their own families and slaves, and can punish them at pleasure. Minor crimes are punished by the offended party or his relatives, but in cases of importance, the decision is made and the punishment ordered in council.

The great and marked distinction between these natives and those of Polynesia is the absence of the taboo system, or any laws or prohibitions under the control of the priest, or chiefs, that are believed to emanate from their gods. Mr. Hale remarks, that the word taboo occurs in several compounds in their language having the meaning of sacred, but is not used by itself.

The succession to rank and property is hereditary. If a chief has several children by different wives, the son of the mother of the highest rank is the successor. If all the children should be equal in rank, the eldest would receive twice as much land as the others; or if the father does not choose to divide his property, the eldest son would receive the whole, and is obliged to support his brothers and sisters, who are expected in return to work for him, and cannot marry without his consent. Females can inherit property, and there are heiresses in the Kingsmill Group whose wealth allures many suitors. Slaves are held under strict subjection, are considered as personal property, and cannot marry without the consent of their masters.

The religious beliefs of the simplest kind. The name of their principal divinity is Wanigain, or Tabu-eriki. He is their most popular god, and considered by some the greatest. About two-thirds of the people worship him as their tutelary divinity. The rest do not acknowledge him, but have other deities; and some worship the souls of their departed ancestors, or certain birds, fish, and animals. A female deity is the object of adoration to very many. She is called Itivini, is reputed to be of a cruel disposition, and all the little children who die are supposed to be killed and eaten by her. The natives always refuse to eat the animals, fish, &c., worshipped by them, but will readily catch them, that others may partake of the food.

Tabu-eriki's image has been before described, and a wood-cut representing him will be found [earlier]. The coral stone which represents him is always tied round with cocoanut-leaves, and these are changed once a month, to keep them constantly green. The worship paid to this god consists in repeating prayers before this stone, and depositing beside it a portion of the food prepared for their own use. This is done not only at the time of festivals, but at their daily meals, and also whenever they desire to propitiate his favour; the first fruits of the season are also offered to this god. Every family of any distinction has one of these stones, which is considered by many of them rather in the light of an altar than of an idol.

The female deity, Itivini, is worshipped in a small circle, formed by a number of coral stones, three feet in diameter, which is covered with white gravel; in the centre a cocoa-nut is set up. At the time prayers are offered to her, this nut is bound with a wreath of leaves, and anointed with cocoanut-oil.

There is another female deity, called Itipuapea, who is worshipped at a flat coral stone situated on the reef between the islets of Kuria and Oneoka; the two are known on the chart by the name of Kuria. Any one passing it, either on foot or in canoes, never fails to invoke her favour, and if they have any food, leave a part of it on the stone, which is never taken away.

The skulls of ancestors are carefully preserved by their family, and held in great reverence. When they desire to invoke their spirits, these skulls are taken down, wreathed with leaves, laid on a new mat, anointed with oil, and presented with food. Fish and animals that are held sacred are only addressed with prayers by their worshippers.

According to Wood, the names of Tabu-eriki, Itivini, and Itituapea are unknown at Makin, and the only spirits the natives of that island worship are those of their deceased ancestors. The custom on the death of a great chief is to set up a similar stone and deck it with cocoanut-leaves, after which such offerings as have been mentioned are made to it. Kirby thought, from what he had seen, that the natives of Kuria believed that their gods also had once been chiefs, who from the lapse of time had been forgotten. For the performance of these duties there are priests, but they do not enjoy any particular respect or power on that account. The priests are called *iboya* or *boya*,<sup>1</sup> and are not a distinct class: any young man of high rank and possessed of shrewdness may become a priest. Every family of consequence has a priest to attend to its tutelary deity, who performs the rites and ceremonies. The perquisites of priests consist only in the food offered to the god, which the former takes away after it has remained a short time, and eats it in his own house. In the absence of the priest, the father of the family officiates by offering up family prayer, and the food is removed and eaten by some elderly person belonging to the household. Prayers are offered up either in a sitting or standing posture, and are accompanied by no particular ceremony or gesticulations. The prayers are usually petitions for health, long life, success in war, fishing, the arrival of ships, and other blessings they may desire at the moment, and which it is believed to be in the power of the gods to give them.

The priest makes known the oracles of the gods, which he receives in the following manner. On the sandy beach on the weather or eastern side of the island, there are many houses, called *ba-ni-mota*, or *bota-n'-anti*.<sup>2</sup> These are of the usual size of the dwelling-houses, but the walls are of coral stone, and they have no loft. The doorway is always in the west end, because the *Kainakaki*, the country of souls, lies in that direction. In the centre of that house, a stout pillar of coral stone is built up to the height of three and a half feet, having in its middle a hollow of about a foot in diameter; to this the priest puts his ear, and pretends to receive the instructions of his god.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Hale himself (Vol. 6) has this as "ibonga."

2 Ed. note: Misprints, as both Hudson, in his logbook, and Hale, in Vol. 6, have it thus: "ba-ni-mata," and "bata-nanti." The Malay origin of these expressions confirms the local names for a "spirit-house."

3 Ed. note: In Vol. 6, Hale specifies the following: "The true signification of *anti* seems to be *deified spirit*. The usual expression for 'soul' is *támune* or *támre*, meaning properly 'shadow.'

On Kuria there are six of these houses, and besides there are many hollow pillars standing uncovered along the beach, as it is not deemed necessary that the oracle should always have a covering.

On Makin there is no regular order of priests, and the father of the family, as in the case of the absence of the priest on the other islands, officiates. On this island they have a class of men, which are unknown to the others, conjurors, and persons who pretend to have intercourse with spirits.

The natives of the group put great faith in omens and charms. The most common mode of divination they call *kaina*,<sup>1</sup> which is performed with the sprout or top of a young cocoa-nut tree. The leaves of this are doubled in after a particular fashion, and according as the folds coincide or not it is deemed a good or a bad omen. When these folds do not coincide, they believe that one of their gods is probably offended, and proceed to find out whether he be so or not, by taking a cocoa-nut that is kept for the purpose, which they spin like a top before the sacred stone or altar: if it falls with the upper end towards the stone, it is a favorable omen; if otherwise, the god is angry, and must be appeased by offerings and prayers.

At times they pretend to receive an intimation that their ancestors are displeased, in which case their skulls are taken down and propitiated by offerings.

They believe also in a species of cursing, called *wainak*,<sup>2</sup> which consists in invoking or praying to Death, in order to procure illness or the displeasure of the gods on any one.

Shooting stars are deemed ominous of death to some member of the family, which may occupy the part of the council-house nearest the point of the heavens from which it took its flight. If accompanied by a train, it foretells the death of a female; if otherwise, that of a male.

Some of the chiefs are believed to hold communication with spirits, and to be able at times to foretell future events; they usually exercise this pretended power at night; and when a number of people are sleeping in the *mariapa* [sic], they are awakened by unnatural sounds, proceeding from the chief, which are considered as the words of the god, who speaks by him to announce the arrival of ships, the approach of war, and other great events. When these predictions do not come to pass, they always impute the failure to the intervention of some other spirit.

They believe in an existence after death, and that on the death of a person, his spirit ascends into the air, where it is carried about by the winds, wherever they may chance to blow, until it finally reaches the *Kainakaki* elysium. Only those who are tattooed can expect to reach it, and these are generally persons of rank; all others are intercepted on their way, and doomed by a large giantess, called *Baine*.<sup>3</sup> If those who die are old and feeble, their spirits are conducted to the *Kainakaki* by the shades of those who

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1 Ed. note: Kaiwa, says Hudson.

2 Ed. note: Waunak, says Hudson.

3 Ed. note: In Polynesian, 'vahine' simply means 'woman.'

have died before them. The spirits of children are carried to the realms of bliss by their female relatives, and are nursed and taken care of until they are able to provide for themselves.

The *Kainakaki* is supposed to be situated in the island of Tarawa, or Gilbert's [rather Charlotte] Island.<sup>1</sup> On this island there are several curious mounds, of different sizes, the largest of which is about a mile long by half a mile wide; some of them exceed twenty-four feet in height above the surrounding soil; with this altitude, these are very conspicuous on a low coral island. Each of these mounds is supposed to be the place of a *Kainakaki*, the great beauty of which is invisible to mortal eyes. Here the spirits pass their time in feasting and dancing; and whatever they delighted in on earth, is now enjoyed to the fullest extent. The ground of the *Kainakaki* is considered sacred, and though overgrown with trees, no native will venture to cut them down: when a tree falls, it is taken away, and another planted in its place.

The daily occupation of these natives will serve to give an estimate of their character, and would seem to be necessary before speaking of their customs.

They rise at daylight, wash their face, hands, and teeth, with fresh water, and afterwards anoint themselves with scented cocoanut-oil. They then proceed to their work, and continue at it until the heat becomes oppressive, which it does by nine or ten o'clock, when they return to their houses, wash themselves again, and take their first meal: all the middle of the day is passed in their houses, or in the mariapa [sic], in sleeping, or chatting with their neighbours. About four o'clock in the afternoon they again resume their work, and continue engaged at it until sunset, when they return, and wash themselves for the third time. They then take their second meal, and shortly after dark retire to sleep. They have no torches, (except for great occasions,) or any other means of lighting their houses, and are thus compelled to retire early, so that their amusements, as well as their occupations, cease with the day.

The character of these islanders has many things in it to condemn: although they are deceitful and dishonest in their dealings, yet they are, in their intercourse with each other, hospitable and generous; they never buy or sell, but if any person desires an article which another has, he asks for it, and if not too valuable and esteemed, is seldom refused: it is the general understanding that such favours are to be returned, and that the request should only be made by persons who can afford to do so. They always place food before a stranger, and any one who has not a sufficient supply at home is at liberty to join the meals of a more fortunate neighbour. According to Kirby, there are many who are desirous of avoiding this tax upon them, and take their meals after dark, when they are not so liable to be intruded upon by their hungry fellow-townsmen.

They are addicted to thieving, although they are severely punished for it when detected. They are easily excited to anger, but are soon appeased, nor is the occasion of offence remembered with any feelings of rancour. The women seem to possess stronger

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1 Ed. note: Hale (Vol. 6) adds a footnote: "This, it must be remembered, was the information which Kirby received from natives of Apamama; he had never visited Tarawa."

passions than the men, and more enduring wrath; jealousy is the principal exciting cause with them, and they will sometimes carry a small weapon, made of a shark's tooth, concealed for months, watching an opportunity of making an attack; desperate fights are the consequence of this, and so much injury is done before these ferocious combatants can be parted, that they often suffer from terrible wounds. Yet Kirby says, he found in other respects than this the women always more humane and gentle than the men.

Like all savages, they are treacherous and cruel to the last degree; although they seem less prone to fighting than other natives whom we had met during our cruise. Kirby mentioned, that they had had no war on the three islands where he was resident, for upwards of five years. This may be partly owing to the difficulty of fitting out expeditions to attack the other islands, and the hazard of communicating with those islands of which they have a knowledge.

Another custom is remarkable: when a fisherman arrives with a well-loaded canoe, his neighbours assemble around him, selecting and taking away such as they please, leaving the owner nothing in return but the satisfaction of knowing, that on a similar occasion he has a like privilege to help himself. Custom has so far sanctioned this habit of appropriating things belonging to another, that, according to Kirby, they have no term to designate a poor man, except that of slave. Any one who owns land can always call upon others to provide him with a house, canoe, and the necessaries of life; but one who has none is considered as a slave, and can hold no property whatever.

The courtesies of life with them are few, and the want of them probably arises from their privilege of making use of what belongs to another as their own. Their salutations on meeting are confined to simple inquiries, "Where are you going?" or, "whence do you come?" The rubbing of noses is only practised on special occasions. On meeting a chief, the other natives leave the path and stand aside until he passes, but make no gestures or expression of obeisance. This same mark of respect is also rendered to all the women by the other sex.

They are said to be kind and affectionate to their children, and to indulge them in every thing; they never punish them even for the most insolent and passionate behaviour, only using kind and affectionate words: this may account for the rude treatment that was observed to be in practice among the natives of Drummond's Island towards our gentlemen as well as their conduct towards each other. There is, however, no want of attention to the aged who are not able to provide for themselves; and those who neglect their old relations are held in little respect. The aged enjoy much consideration, and, as I have before stated, great respect is paid to them in council.

More consideration is awarded to the female sex than has been observed in any of the other groups. All the hard labour is performed by the men, whose employment consists in building the houses and canoes, catching fish, collecting and bringing home the produce of their plantations, and attending to the cultivation of the taro, in which the women assist only by weeding the ground. The employment of the females is almost exclusively confined to in-door occupation, and those which we ourselves hold as belonging naturally to the sex, such as cooking and preparing food, braiding mats, &c.,



and they seem to have exclusive control over the house. The work of both sexes is, however, very light, and the greater proportion of their time is spent in pastimes, of which idleness forms the most considerable part. Although the women are relieved from the toils of life, yet they are not held to lie above chastisement, and a man will not hesitate to strike a woman; but the fair ones consider themselves equally free, and seldom fail to return the blow, and the aggrieved party generally receives the aid of her companions, when the man is glad to escape from the bruises, blows, and scratches they inflict.

Among the people chastity is not regarded as a virtue, nor considered as any recommendation in the selection of a wife; but after marriage, a woman must be extremely guarded in her conduct, as the punishment for a want of duty in this respect is severe, even amounting to death in some cases; but it is usually limited to expulsion from her husband's house. Notwithstanding these penalties, there are frequent infractions of these ties, and it is not surprising that they should occur, under their system of polygamy, and the interdiction which prevents the younger brothers of chiefs, and persons who do not hold land, from marrying. Intrigues and elopements are not unfrequent, and produce the same results as elsewhere.

War, on all the islands with the exception of Makin, is a part of their business, and apparently engages most of their attention. Their conflicts may be considered as civil wars, for little communication is held between any of the islands, except those of Apamama, Nanouki, and Kuria, which are under the king of Apamama. The communication that takes place between the others is in consequence of the escape of individuals from punishment, or who become desperate, and embark in a canoe, to seek an asylum in some of the neighbouring islands. This is also the practice with the remaining portion of a defeated party, in order to escape from the pursuit of the victors. An instance of this kind was related by Kirby, that occurred about ten years before his arrival. While the king of Apamama was on a visit to Kuria, one of the principal chiefs in Apamama rebelled against him, gained over many of his subjects, and obtained full possession of the island; numbers, however, remained faithful, and fled to Kuria to join the king, who immediately began to collect his warriors from the two smaller islands, and prepared himself for making a descent upon Apamama. It was winter before he was fully ready, and owing to the irregularity and uncertainty of the winds and weather at that season, he was obliged to postpone his expedition for several months. He finally embarked, with his whole army, and landed upon the north end of Apamama, where a great number flocked to his standard. The rebels, finding themselves too weak to maintain a contest, fled towards the south end of the island. Here they prepared their canoes, and when the king, with his army, drew near, they took their wives and children, and put to sea. They proceeded first to Kuria, where they were mistaken, as they approached, for the warriors of the island returning; and the old men, women, and children, crowded to the shore to meet them, and welcome their relatives back; but they were suddenly surrounded by their enemies, maddened by defeat, who destroyed them all without mercy, and laid waste the whole island. In a few days afterwards the Kurians were seen returning, when the rebels again took refuge in flight, leaving the island



to be again possessed by its owners, but with every thing destroyed. Some of the fugitives reached other islands in safety, others were picked up by whale-ships, but the greater part were never heard of again. The chief reached Taputeouea, or Drummond's Island, where he is said to be still living.

Wood also relates, that about eight years prior to his being taken on board, a fleet of canoes, containing fifteen hundred persons, arrived at Makin, from Apia, whence they had been driven by the warriors of Tarawa. At Makin they were hospitably received and entertained, until it was discovered that a plot was concocting among them for conquering the island, upon which the inhabitants fell upon them, and massacred nearly the whole.

They sometimes, though but seldom, engage in other warlike undertakings, when the warriors of one island will set out with a large fleet to attack another. In these expeditions they rarely go to any island to windward of them, on account of the uncertainty of the voyage when the southeast wind blows, and also in consequence of the sea-sickness produced by the motion of their canoes, which renders them unfit to fight. When this happens, their adversaries, if they get information of the meditated attack, before, or just as the hostile fleet touches their shore, assail their invaders to great advantage, while the men, stiff from being cramped in their canoes, and still under the effects of their sickness, are easily overcome.

It is only the young and vigorous who go on these expeditions, with a few of the older warriors to direct their operations. In their civil wars the old men and the women join in the combat, and the victors make no distinction of age or sex in the massacre which generally ensues.

The bodies of the slain are not generally eaten, but, according to their own account, it occasionally happens that when some noted warrior has been killed, the young men eat portions of his flesh from hatred, and through a desire to appear fierce and terrible. Kirby stated two cases in which he knew human flesh to have been eaten. One was that of an old man of Kuria, who had offended a chief on Apamama, and the other, of four slaves of the king, who had attempted to escape from the island in a canoe. All these were killed, and particular parts of their bodies eaten. The act, it was thought, was prompted by vindictiveness, and a desire to taste an unusual kind of food. We may therefore conclude that they are not to be considered as cannibals, though, according to Kirby, they seem to have no apparent disgust at eating human flesh.

In Makin, where they have had no wars for a hundred years, they are much less bloodthirsty, and during the seven years Wood was on the island, only one man was put to death. He does not believe that the people are cannibals, but he has frequently heard the old men relate, that during times of scarcity their ancestors sometimes ate human flesh.

The weapons used among them are spears, clubs, and swords, which are made of coconut-wood, and after the simplest fashion. Few of their clubs are carved, and they seem to bestow very little labour upon them; this, however, is appropriated to a different kind of weapon, which they consider much more effective: these are the shark's-

teeth spears and swords, wood-cuts of which have been heretofore given. The natives of most of the islands show the effects of these weapons on their bodies and limbs. The armour they use as a protection also claims much of their attention. According to Kirby, this armour has been only a short time introduced or in use on the islands, and is not yet common in all of them. As defences, they seldom resort to strongholds,—indeed they have none in the northern islands; but at Taputeouea they have palisades or pickets, about eight or ten feet high, which surround the towns. Utiroa had a defence of this kind, and many pickets across the town in various directions, which would make a good defence, if the warriors were resolute. It is not improbable, that the more warlike natives of the southern islands, particularly those of Drummond's Island, will, ere long, push their conquests to the northern islands, and extend their rule over them. Two years before the arrival of the **Peacock**, the natives of Apamama, Nanouki, and Kuria, apprehended an attack from this quarter; when the king collected his forces to the number of between five and six thousand, who continued under arms through the whole summer; but after all it proved a false alarm.

Their houses and canoes are better built than any we found elsewhere in the Pacific, and all their structures are large, strong, and durable, though constructed of the most unsuitable materials: they are so well combined as to display much elegance as well as strength. Their dwelling-houses and mariapas [sic] have been noticed, but there is another description of house, without a loft, in which the chiefs pass most of their time, receiving visits, and conversing with their friends and dependents.

On the island of Makin the houses are of larger dimensions, in consequence of the abundance of timber. From Wood's description of their mariapa [sic], it is an enormous structure. The canoes have already claimed a notice: those built in the northern islands are much the largest, some of them being sixty feet in length.

From the importance of their structures or buildings, the trade of a carpenter is held in great repute: those who exercise it are either dependent on the chiefs, working by their orders, or free born: the latter are paid for their services. The time required for building a house is about two months, and the price of such a job, two or three rolls of their bread, called "kabal." A canoe capable of carrying ten persons takes five or six months to build. The payment is proportioned to the length of time occupied in the work. The whole town is engaged in the labour of constructing one of their council-houses (mariapa [sic]). A very great proportion of their time is taken up in the manufacture of their dresses; and while the men are engaged in building houses and canoes, the women fabricate the articles of dress, sails, mats for flooring, and those worn by the men. The mats are made of the leaves of the pandanus, slit into strips about a quarter of an inch wide, and woven by hand: these are of two colours, light yellow and dark brown; the former are made from the young leaves, and the latter from the old, which are prepared by beating them with a mallet to render them pliable. On the yellow mats they bestow a great deal more of their attention: the young leaves are laid aside for two or three days after they are plucked, till they are withered; they are then roasted, by holding them in the hand over the fire, and afterwards laid in the sun for three or four

days, to insure them being sufficiently dried. During the latter part of the process, they are brought every evening into the house, to protect them from the dew or rain. When the leaves are sufficiently dry, they are left all night to bleach in the dew; they are then rolled up in balls, and pounded with a mallet to render them soft and pliable, and when this is accomplished, they are slit with a shell and are ready for use. The brown and white slips are braided together, so as to form regular figures, squares, or diamond-shape, which have a pretty effect. The colours being in the material itself, are retained as long as the fabric lasts. The mode of weaving this matting has been described. The conical cap of the men is at times quite becoming. They cover their shoulders with a small oblong mat, having a slit in the middle through which the head is passed. This part of their dress resembles a "poncho" of small size. The women's dress, which they call "iriri," is quite becoming and graceful: it is a kind of fringe, made of cocoanut-leaves, cut into slips about a foot long, and tied by one end to a string, which goes round the middle: the young leaflets are selected for this purpose, and the rib of the leaf is removed by slitting it down on each side. The leaves are next rolled up and beaten with a mallet, after which they are chewed until they become quite flexible; these narrow ribbands are then knotted to a double cord. The dress is fitted on the person, and is then clipped off at equal lengths all around: it has a light and elegant appearance, and yields to any motion of the body, yet never becomes entangled or out of order.

At Apamama, they dip the *iriris* in cocoanut-oil; at Taputeouea, they steep them in an infusion of the juice which is obtained from a small tree, with large green leaves, called *meo*: of these leaves a number are pounded in a shell,<sup>1</sup> and a little water poured on them, which is then filtered through the pellicle of the cocoa-nut tree and mixed with molasses. After being steeped in this liquid for some time, the *iriri* if rolled up in a mat with some leaves of the *meo* and pandanus-nuts, and roasted in a native oven. By this process it acquires a soft and flexible appearance, and a peculiar odour, which our gentlemen thought was like that of a mixture of tobacco and molasses. Both of these qualities it retains until it is worn out.

The natives are very fond of ornamenting themselves: in the lobes of their ears they wear strings of small leaves of the mangrove, and the pith of a large species of *Scævola*, which is common in the low islands. This pith is cut into strips and put up into a long roll; a wreath of which surrounds the neck, and to which a white ovula-shell, or a large whale's tooth, hangs suspended on their breast. This pith is thought by Mr. Rich, to be the same as that called Chinese paper, and obtained from the same plant. Long strips of beads or braided hair are worn round the body, at times a hundred fathoms in length, which serve to fasten the mat. The hair for this purpose is taken from the female slaves, and is braided into a string about the size of a pack-thread. The beads are manufactured by the old men who are beyond doing any other labour, and are of the size of a small button-mould; they are made of cocoa-nut and shell, and strung alter-

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1 Ed. note: A "kama" shell, says Hudson; obviously a large 'kima', or tridacna shell was used.

nately black and white, being ground down to a uniform size and fitted together for the purpose.

The food of the natives consists principally of fish, from the whale to the sea-slug; shell-fish of every kind are also eaten.

Whales are represented to have been much more abundant formerly, when they at times got aground on some of the numerous shoals, and were killed by the natives with their spears. Even now a carcass occasionally drifts on shore, which affords an acceptable prize. Sharks are caught by enticing them alongside the canoe, with a bait, and enclosing them in a noose. The smaller fishes are taken in fish traps, like eel-pots, made of withes: these the natives set on the bottom, and place pieces of coral on them to keep them there.

Great numbers of fish are also taken in weirs, or enclosures of stone, which are made in the extensive coral flats, that are left bare by every tide: into these the fish are driven at high water, by a number of natives, who surround the shoal; the weir is then closed, and left until the tide falls, when the fish are easily taken in scoop-nets. Large seines are often used in places where the bottom renders it practicable to draw them. Flying-fish are taken in the daytime, by trailing a hook, attached to a short line, from the stern of a canoe. At night they are caught in scoop-nets, as they fly towards a lighted torch, held in a part of the canoe. Crabs are also decoyed out of their holes at night, by torchlight, and captured.

Turtles are taken in the season on the beaches; and shell-fish, with the sea-slug or *biche de mar*, are obtained on the reefs by diving.

Their vegetable food consists of cocoa-nuts and pandanus, and a variety of the taro, with a small quantity of the bread-fruit. The preparation of these engages a great deal of their attention, and that of the pandanus-nut in particular. When prepared, it is called *kabul* and *karapapa*. The inner or edible portions of these nuts are sliced off, and baked in an oven for several hours, till they are quite hard; they are then taken out, laid on a clean mat, and pounded with a large pestle to the consistency of dough; this is spread out upon mats into the form of sheets, about three feet long by eighteen inches wide, and a quarter of an inch thick; these sheets are again laid on mats in the sun to dry, and at night are rolled up, and put away in an oven to bake. This process is repeated for two days, by which time the plates become as hard and unyielding as a board, and are of a reddish brown colour. Those plates called *kabul* are put away in the loft of their houses, but are every few days brought out into the sun to insure their being kept dry. At the close of the season, they are reduced to a powder, not unlike fine sawdust. This is put up in rolls, from eight to ten feet long, and six to twelve inches in diameter, bound with leaves of the pandanus, and made so smooth and round that they look like pillars of brown stone: in this state the preparation is called *karapapa*, and will keep for years. This is the principal dependence of the natives in seasons of scarcity, and these rolls of *karapapa* are used as a circulating medium, in which wages and tributes to the chiefs are paid.

They make a kind of broth with *karapapa* and *kamoimoi* (molasses), which the natives drink in great quantities.

*Tuea* is another kind of *kabul*, but made of a better variety of pandanus; this is beaten out into thin sheets, resembling dark brown paper, or like our cloth, which is also rolled up and put away; before being eaten, it is soaked for several hours in the milk of the cocoa-nut, and is esteemed a dainty. The *kabul* is generally chewed, and softens in the mouth, the pulp being dissolved, while the large mass of woody fibre remains: it has a sweetish taste.

The bread-fruit is generally roasted on hot stones, but not covered with earth, as at the other islands. After it is cooked, it is crushed between the folds of a mat. It is the same variety that is found at the Samoan Islands, which strengthens the opinion that part of these natives came from that quarter.

The taro is baked hard, then grated with a shell, and mixed in a trough with *kamoimoi*, until it is of the consistency of thick paste, which is eaten with a spoon made of a human rib. They sometimes grate this taro to a powder, and dry it in the sun until it becomes like bread-dust. This powder is made up in short thick rolls, and covered with pandanus-leaves, in which state it will keep for months. They call it *kabuibui*. Before being eaten, it is soaked in water, and then baked in a small basket.

*Manam* is another preparation, of baked taro and cocoa-nut. These materials are grated fine, mixed together, and then made into balls as large as thirty-two pound shot. It is eaten with *kamoimoi*; and when the whole is not consumed on the day it is made, it is baked, to preserve it from spoiling.

The *karaca*, or toddy, is procured from the spathe of the cocoa-nut tree, which is usually about four feet long, and two inches in diameter. From this spathe the fruit is produced; but in order to procure their favourite toddy, it is necessary to prevent nature from taking her course in bringing forth the fruit: they bind the spathe up tightly with sennit; the end is then sliced off, and a cocoanut-shell hung to the projecting part of the spathe, to catch the sap as it exudes. One tree will yield from two to six pints of *karaca*. When first obtained from the tree, it is like the young cocoanut-milk, and quite limpid; but after it stands for a few hours, it ferments and becomes acid. When the spathe ceases to drop, another piece is cut off, and every time it ceases to flow, it is treated in the same way, until the spathe is entirely gone. Another spathe is found soon after above this, which is suffered to grow, and when large enough is treated in the same manner.

The *karaca* is either drunk fresh from the tree, or made into *kamoimoi*, (the kind of molasses before spoken of,) by boiling it down in cocoanut-shells, set upon hot stones. It strongly resembles our molasses, both in look and taste. When this is mixed with water it is called *karave*, and is the usual drink at their feasts, when it is set out in large wooden bowls, from which it is dipped by cups, made of cocoanut-shells or of human skulls.

These islanders have no kind of intoxicating drink. The food and cooking of Makin are similar, although the names are somewhat different: they use *kaka* for *karapapa*;

*tagara* for *manam*. Their mode of cooking differs from that of other islanders. A small round shallow hole is made, about two feet in diameter, and six inches deep, with a sufficient number of hard stones to line it. In this a fire is made, and the stones placed on it: when the stones are heated, they brush away the fire and ashes, and arrange them; the food is placed on them, over which mats are laid, and covered with earth; before closing the pit, they run a stick obliquely into the heap, and when the whole is completed, this stick is drawn out, and water is poured into the hole to create steam. Their messes require from one to four hours to cook. At times they bake their food by simply putting it upon the stones uncovered.

They do not appear to suffer from want of food, although it is what would be deemed of a coarse kind. During Kirby's stay, they had abundance, though he mentioned having heard of a famine which had occurred a few years before, when it became necessary for the natives to have recourse to the purslane, which is not considered by them as very unpalatable food.

These people have, from the little time occupied in cultivating their vegetable productions, a great deal of leisure; consequently, as would naturally be expected, amusements are sought for, and occupy a great part of their time: their festivals and dances are even looked upon as claiming priority to their warlike expeditions, and for these great preparations are always made some days previously. Their greatest festivities take place at the time of full moon, or a few days after it, when the people of one town usually invite those of another, both men and women, to what may be termed a dancing and singing match. On the day appointed, the guests arrive in their canoes, and proceed to the *mariapa* [sic], where they occupy that portion of it on the side whence they came; the towns people seat themselves opposite to them. The food which the strangers bring with them is laid in the middle, and as much more is added to it by their hosts, all of which is shared out by the guests among themselves. The dancing now begins, the guests making the first display of their agility, and when they have finished, the people of the town follow. A warm rivalry is thus kept up till evening, when the dancing gives place to singing, each taking up the measure in his turn. This is kept up until midnight, when the townspeople retire, leaving their guests to sleep in the *mariapa* [sic]. These festivities last for three days, after which the visitors depart.

The men, during this period, clothe themselves in mats from the waist downwards. Some load the waist with heavy strings of beads; others adorn the neck with rows of shells, and sometimes with one or two large whale's teeth, while others again have small rows of the latter across the back. Almost all wear a great many human teeth on the arms and around the neck: these are taken from their slain enemies; for, after killing a man, the first object with them is to knock out his teeth, for the purpose of obtaining them for ornaments. Through the lobes of their ears they pass long strips of yellow leaves, which hang down on their shoulders. They also besmear the face and body with cocoanut-oil, and some daub each cheek with fine white sand, and blacken their eyebrows and beards with charcoal. The hair is oiled and combed out with a pointed stick, and stands out from the head, forming an ornament which they esteem as very

becoming. The women wear their usual dress and a few ornaments, but about the decorations of their persons they are very attentive and scrupulous.

The dances resemble the evolutions of a company of soldiers: the two parties stand in rows, either facing each other, or back to back, or else both face inwards; their motions are confined to the body and arms; the legs, though not entirely at rest, seldom have much action; at times the arms are thrown out from the body, when they give a rapid quivering motion to the fingers, clap their hands together, and afterwards slap them with great force against the thighs and breast, while the body is rocked to and fro. Every movement is made in perfect unison by the whole party, who all keep time with a monotonous song. In their dances the great object is to make as much noise and commotion as possible. Their full-moon feasts are the only periodical ones they have.

At the marriage of a great chief there are great rejoicings, attended with dances and songs; the latter are composed for the occasion, reciting the greatness of the chief, and the prowess and character of his ancestors.

The regular monthly festival does not prevail at Makin Island.

On Taritari a great feast is held about midwinter, in honour of Teouki, the grandfather of the present king, who is considered by them as the most illustrious man the island has ever produced.

There are many other amusements: among them foot-ball, sailing small canoes, swimming in the surf, and flying kites. The kites are made of the pandanus-leaf reduced to half its thickness, which renders it lighter than paper; and they are prettily shaped. In swimming in the surf, they have a small board like that used by the Sandwich Islanders.

One of their sports differs from any we have seen, and appears to be peculiar to themselves.<sup>1</sup> It is a game in which dancing, fencing, and singing, are combined, which produces a very animated and gay spectacle, from the numbers engaged in it, which are often from one to two hundred of both sexes. This sport takes place in an open space, by moonlight. Each young man chooses a partner from the other sex, and they arrange themselves in two rows, the partners facing each other as in our country-dances. Two couples form a set, and always remain together, but are continually changing places with the rest. Every one is provided with a light stick of the stalk of the cocoanut-leaf. At a given signal they begin their song, and the dancers strike their sticks together, as if playing at single-sticks, keeping time to the song; at stated points they change places with those next below, and each in turn reaches the head. As these changes all go on simultaneously, the song and clatter of sticks are kept up without interruption, and in excellent time. If a person misses a stroke, there is much laughter, shouting, and joking. The clatter, noises, and singing may be heard for a great distance around.

The marriage ceremony of these people is conducted somewhat after our own custom. A wife is never bought, but it is generally supposed that each party will contribute something towards the household stock. When a young man is pleased with a girl, and his addresses meet with a favourable reception, he applies for the consent of her father; if this be refused, it sometimes puts an end to the affair; but it oftentimes happens that the young couple make a runaway match, and trust to a reconciliation afterwards, which usually is brought about.

It would be esteemed very indelicate for a young man to ask his future father-in-law what dowry his wife was to receive; this is never made known until after the wedding, and sometimes is delayed until the birth of the first child. If a separation take place, which frequently happens, the wife takes back the land and other property which she brought with her.

A few days previous to a marriage, it is formally announced to the relations and friends of both parties, who prepare mats, food, oil, and many other articles, for the

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1 Ed. note: Hale, as quoted by Hudson, says it is called "te kari."



festival; these are sent to the dwelling of the bride's father, where the ceremony is to take place. When the day arrives, all repair to the house, dressed and decorated in their gala suits. When thus assembled, the young couple are seated in the midst on a new mat; the priest presses their foreheads together, and pours on their heads a little coconut-oil; he then takes a branch of a tree, dips it in water, and sprinkles their faces, at the same time making a prayer for their future happiness and prosperity. Food is now placed on the mat between them, usually a particular kind of fish, with bread-fruit and taro, which they eat together. They are now considered as married, and the friends and relatives throng around them to offer their congratulations and rub noses. The feast then begins, and is continued till evening, when a fire is lighted in the open air, and dancing takes place. This festival is continued for several days; on the evening of the third day, the bridegroom takes his wife home.

For ten days after the marriage, the house in which the bride lives is screened with mats, and she does not go out of it, but remains at home to receive her friends. When the wife is eight months pregnant for the first time, the friends and relatives of the husband prepare provisions and mats; those of the wife, provisions also, with *iris* and oil. These are all taken to an *amata*, a house without a loft, of which there are several in each town, for the convenience of such assemblies. The two parties sit on opposite sides of the house, with their property; two men, one from each side, stand up in the middle, and proceed to exchange the mats for *iris* and the oil; the provisions of one side for those of the other. The exchange is made with great care, so that each receives an equivalent. When this is finished, the parties gather up their exchanges and retire, leaving the married couple, whose presence was deemed necessary to sanction the sale, no better off than before. This custom is called *katiro*, and is often resorted to for making exchanges, on ordinary occasions.

Children are often betrothed at an early age, sometimes as soon as born, in which case the ceremony of marriage is not deemed necessary. Polygamy, as before observed, is allowed to any extent, and limited only by the ability of the person to support his wives. On Makin, no marriage ceremony takes place, for every female child is betrothed as soon as born, usually to some near relative, who takes her to his house at whatever age he may think proper; and those who are not so betrothed remain all their lives unmarried, forming temporary connexions with the young men who are similarly situated. Of the latter there are great numbers, owing to the majority of the women being monopolized by the wealthy and powerful, to whom this custom affords every facility for obtaining wives. This state of things brings about, as is naturally to be expected, many intrigues and squabbles.

At the birth of a child, the priest gives it a name, at the request of the father; but if the infant should be taken sick soon afterwards, the first name is abandoned, and another adopted, in hopes that it may prove a more fortunate one; for they believe that the illness may be owing to its name. It is very common to call a child after its grandfather.

A woman has seldom more than two, and never more than three living children. After the birth of a third, they consider it necessary to prevent the increase of their families, and resort to that most unnatural means, a systematic abortion. So soon as the woman believes herself to be pregnant for the third or fourth time, she determines that the offspring shall not survive, and calls in the aid of an experienced midwife to destroy it, who effects the purpose by external pressure on the abdomen or back, and though not unattended with much pain and difficulty to the mother, the operation rarely proves fatal. This practice is looked upon without any sort of horror or shame, being considered as a necessary and proper means to prevent their families from becoming so large as to be a burden to them, and not because the island might become over-peopled, for this latter idea does not seem ever to have occurred to them. The practice of destroying the fœtus is universal among the unmarried females, but children are never destroyed after birth. According to Wood, this custom does not prevail at Makin.

There are professed tattooers, who are held in great estimation, and receive very high prices; this confines the art to the wealthy and those of rank. The young men are not tattooed before the age of twenty, and slaves never. The tattooing is mostly in short oblique lines, about the eighth of an inch apart. These are arranged in perpendicular rows, of which there are four or five down the back on each side of the spine, with a similar marking in front, beginning just below the collar-bone. The legs also are marked.

The women are tattooed in the same manner, but not so much as the men. Owing to the lightness of the lines, and the distance between them, they do not show very conspicuously. The colouring matter used is charcoal, mixed with cocoanut-oil. The instrument employed is a piece of bone, cut like a fine-toothed comb, similar to that used at the Samoan Group. The tattooing is done at different times, to alleviate the pain which attends the operation.

Of all their customs, the funeral ceremonies are the most remarkable. When a man dies, his body is taken to the mariapa [sic], washed, and laid out on a clean mat, where it remains for eight days, and every day at noon it is taken into the sun, washed, and oiled. During this time the friends are engaged in wailing and singing praises of the dead, and dancing; but they think it a great weakness to shed tears on such occasions. After this mourning, the body is sewed up in two mats, and sometimes buried in the house of the nearest relatives, the head being always turned towards the east. In other cases, it is stored away in the loft. When the flesh is nearly gone, the skull is taken off, carefully cleaned, oiled, and put away. The skulls of their ancestors are kept by chiefs as a kind of household deity, to which they frequently offer up prayers and entreaties, to have a regard and to keep watchful care over their descendants. The skulls are not unfrequently taken down, bound around with wreaths, anointed with oil, and have food set before them. In passing from one island to another, these skulls are always carried along, as if members of the family, and treated with every mark of reverence.

The funeral ceremonies on Makin, according to Wood, are still more extraordinary; but we have no good reason to doubt the facts, as they seem to be somewhat allied to those above related. After the first ceremonies of wailing, the body is washed and laid

out upon a new mat, which is spread on a large oblong plate, made of several tortoise-shells sewed together. From two to six persons, according to the size of the corpse, seat themselves opposite to one another on the floor of the house, and hold this plate, with the body of their friend, on their knees. When tired, they are relieved by others, and in this way the service is kept up for a space of time varying from four months to two years, according to the rank of the deceased. All persons, whether freeborn or slaves, receive this treatment after death. During the continuance of this lying in state, a fire is kept constantly burning, both day and night, in the house, and its extinction would be regarded as a most unlucky omen.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the period, the remains are sometimes wrapped in mats, and stowed away in the loft of the house, but more commonly they are buried in a piece of ground set apart for the purpose. The grave is marked with three stones, one at the head, another at the foot, and one placed horizontally across these. The skulls of the chiefs are preserved, and treated in the same way as at the other islands.

From diseases the natives appear to be tolerably free. Consumptions, and a kind of cholera morbus, are the most fatal. There were no cases of elephantiasis seen; but, as has been remarked in speaking of the islands separately, the kind of cutaneous disorder, called by the natives *gune*, prevails extensively; this, at some stages of the disease, resembles the ringworm. It begins with this appearance, in a small circle, about an inch in diameter, covered with a scurf; the ring gradually increases in size, and when it becomes large, a smaller one forms within it; as this last increases, another forms within it, and in this way the affection continues to spread, unless arrested. Several circles often form on the body within a short distance of each other, the rings meet and become confluent, producing a variety of curved lines, and concentric circles. The whole body becomes at length covered with this scurf, which is always attended by painful itching. This finally passes off, and leaves the skin seamed with an infinity of circles and wavy lines of a livid hue, and produces a most disgusting appearance; in this stage it sometimes continues during the remainder of a person's life, without materially affecting his general health. At other times it assumes a more virulent character, in which case large excrescences like warts form, first on the face, or between the fingers and toes, and then in other parts. The softer portions of the face and body swell to double their natural size; the person becomes unable to walk, or to move his limbs, until death at length overtakes and releases him from his sufferings. The natives call this disease sometimes *gune-maior*, or the southwest *gune*, from the fact that it was introduced into their islands from that direction; and as the **Peacock** found it prevailing extensively at the Depeyster Islands, it is but reasonable to suppose that it came from that quarter. It was most prevalent at Taputeouea, the most southern [sic] of the Kingsmill Islands, Wood asserts that he has never seen a single case of it at Makin.

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<sup>1</sup> When the truth of this account was questioned, in consequence of the time that would be employed by the natives, Wood readily answered, that "One half of them have nothing else to do."

The climate of these islands is equable, and though of high temperature, it is found to be less oppressive than in most tropical countries. For the most part constant breezes prevail, and frequent rain falls, which moderates the great heat, and at the same time confers fertility on the soil. From October to April, the time of the **Peacock's** visit, is the winter, and is especially distinguished by the frequency of rains. Variable winds from the northward and westward prevail at this season, and they have violent gales from the southwest: these, according to Kirby, are typhoon-like. The natives plant stakes to prop up their houses, and tie them down, to prevent them from being blown away. These storms last for three or four days, veering gradually round to the north. The leeward sides of the islands receive most damage, and both land and trees are swept away. Kirby states, that the lee side of Makin has worn away during his residence. In these gales the trunks of large trees are thrown on the west side of the island, together with large lumps of resin, similar to that found in the soil at New Zealand, which the natives use to scent their oils with: these trees, sometimes two feet in diameter, were thought to be of the pine species; many stones are found in their roots, from eight to ten inches in diameter; these are a fine basalt, and the natives use them for various purposes.

From May to September the weather is fine, with clear skies, and only occasional showers; and during this time the wind blows constantly from the eastward. This is the season in which the natives make their voyages; they never venture abroad in the winter months, even from island to island, bll aware of the danger of so doing.

Earthquakes are occasionally experienced in these islands. Kirby says he has felt ten or twelve sufficiently severe to shake down a house: the natives exhibit no fear on account of them. The direction of the oscillations seems to be from the southwest.

The population of the group, from the best data which was obtained, is about sixty thousand souls. At Drummond's Island, where there was the best opportunity of a personal examination, the estimates were above ten thousand: this is considered the most populous island of the whole group. On Apamama, Kirby saw collected from six to seven thousand warriors, belonging to it, Nanouki, and Kuria: the joint population of these three islands may therefore be reckoned at twenty-eight thousand; it would seem reasonable to estimate the remaining twelve islands, which have been observed to be thickly inhabited, at the same number.<sup>1</sup> This apparently would give from four to five hundred inhabitants to the square mile; for, if only the dry land were to be taken into the account, there would not be more than one hundred and fifty square miles; but to this should be added the lagoons and sea around, from which in reality these natives derive the greatest part of their sustenance; this would increase the area to upwards of five hundred square miles, giving only one hundred and twenty inhabitants to the square mile for support.

These islanders have had but very little communication with strangers; and although they have occasionally been visited for the last forty years, but little change has been

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1 Wood estimates that of Makin at five thousand.

brought about by the intercourse. There is nothing to induce the visits of vessels, for little is to be had in the way of refreshment: neither wood nor water is procurable in any quantity, and there is nothing for a profitable exchange. Of course, therefore, only a few vessels anchor in their harbours; of which, as has been pointed out, they have many good ones, an advantage not possessed by other low coral islands.

The articles of trade being but few and trifling, only a very small amount of the manufactures of civilized nations have found their way into these islands. The southern islands have been most visited, in consequence of their lying more in the immediate neighbourhood of the whaling-ground; the consequence has been that they have been able to obtain enough iron implements to have almost superseded those of native construction. The people of the southern islands have also imbibed an extraordinary fondness for tobacco; and these, with some diseases, may be said to constitute their acquisitions from the whites, to whose depraved [sexual] appetites they at an early day learned to administer.

The same causes that prevent them from being the resort of vessels also deter sailors from deserting; and, as has been seen, both Kirby and Wood had become disgusted with the lives they led, and were glad to make their escape. From Kirby's account, there were only five more white men, and one black, on the islands. An Englishman and an American reside on Nukunau, (Byron's Island,) the former of whom had become a high chief, and acquired much influence; but it is believed, from his being of a bad character, that the intercourse with him has not operated favourably on the natives. The other four are on Peru Island.

In the dispositions of these natives there are some peculiarities: they are said to be subject to despondency and sullenness, that sometimes causes them to commit suicide. Kirby mentioned five instances on Kuria, of both men and women destroying themselves, and of several others who had attempted it, but were prevented by their friends. To terminate their lives they always resort to hanging on a tree. The motive to this act is generally the treatment they have received, or offence taken at the conduct of some person, whom affection or fear renders them unwilling to injure; the mortification and grief produced thereby leads them at last to suicide, which is considered by them as a remedy for their evils, as well as a severe revenge upon those who had ill-treated them.

What constitutes the highest ambition among them, is to be considered accomplished men of the world. They have a word in their language (*manda*), which expresses one thoroughly instructed in all their arts, a good dancer, an able warrior, versed in all their knowledge and sports, who has mixed in life, enjoyed its highest excitements and delights, both at home and abroad. Such a man in their estimation is the most exalted in character, and is fully qualified on dying to enter at once upon the enjoyments of Elysium.

There is a striking contrast between the Pitt Islanders and those of the rest of the group; and if they were originally the same people, which there does not seem to be any reason to doubt, it shows what a great alteration may be effected in the physical race, in the course of two or three generations, by the enjoyment of peace and plenty; for

while the one retains still all the savage and cruel propensities, the other has become mild and humane,—proving that a life free from wars, and all their harassing and distressing tendencies, even among savages, brings with it the practice of virtue.<sup>1</sup>

On completing the survey of the Kingsmill Group, Captain Hudson found it necessary to place his crew, and that of the tender, upon a reduced allowance of provisions and water. He then steered away to the northward, through the Mulgrave Islands; and on the morning of the 3d of May, they made Pedder [Arno] Island of Arrowsmith. The vessels passed along its west side, and through the Fordyce Passage, between it and Arrowsmith's [Majuro] Island. Daniel [Arno also] Island was also seen from aloft to the eastward. These islands are all of coral formation, with lagoons, and are inhabited. The southwest end of Arrowsmith's Island was found to be in latitude 7°05' N., longitude 171°23'54" E. It is twenty miles long.

On the 5th, they made the Pescadores [Rongerik], which was surveyed. Its position is in latitude 11°23'15" N., longitude 167°36'30" E. The Pescadores is of triangular shape and coral formation; it has on its reef several islets and some sand-spits: the former are covered with a few low bushes, but it has no cocoa-nut or pandanus trees, and affords nothing but the pearl-oyster and turtles, in the season. The whole island is about thirty-two miles in circumference. Its greatest length, north and south, is ten miles, and the same between its east and west point. There are two entrances in the lagoon: one about the middle of the north side, the other on the east side. The island has no inhabitants, and is incapable of supporting any. From the description in Mr. Dowsett's journal, there is no doubt that this was the place where he and the boat's crew were either treacherously murdered, or made captives, and carried to another island; and from the nature of the island, little doubt exists that the murderers were a transient fishing party, from some of the adjacent islands. All the facts that are known have been given previously.<sup>2</sup>

Korsakoff [Rongelap] was in sight for two days, but they were prevented from having communication with it by the boisterous state of the weather.

On the afternoon of the 7th, an endeavour was made by a canoe to reach the ship, but without success: the sea was too rough for the boats to live, and the surf too great to permit a landing. Although a few persons were seen upon it, yet nothing showed that it was permanently inhabited. The appearance of Korsakoff was the same as that of the Pescadores, without any vegetable productions capable of sustaining life.

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1 Ed. note: The end of Mr. Hale's report to Captain Hudson.

2 Ed. note: This reference to the loss of the *Victoria* in 1834 is to be looked for in a previous chapter. Some authors think that the tragedy may have occurred at Bikini instead. In his logbook, Hudson says further: "My object is now to reach the only spot on the [Rongelap] Island where I hope to find natives and a settlement, or hear any thing of Captain Dowsett, although there does not remain a doubt on my mind, from the statements I have on board from those who were in the vessel, and some who were on shore with him at the time, and made their escape in the boat wounded, that Captain Dowsett was the first man of the party killed in the bush, after landing.

Korsakoff, though represented as one island on the charts, was found to be two. The smaller one [Ailinginae] lies to the southward of the larger, and is fourteen miles long by three wide. The larger island is about twenty-six miles long, trending northeast and southwest. It has an entrance into its lagoon on the south side.

Captain Hudson now came to the conclusion that his time would not permit him to proceed any further to the westward; indeed, the time appointed in his instructions to be at the Columbia river had already passed, and he was now distant from it upwards of four thousand miles, and would require some sixty or seventy days, in all probability, to reach the Northwest Coast.

This caused the abandonment of his visit to Strong's [Kosrae] and Ascension [Pohnpei] Islands, two points I was in hopes would have been reached, not only for the information to be derived from a visit, but I was desirous of having a full knowledge of those islands. I also wished to break up what was deemed a nest of rogues, and to be the means of recovering the property plundered in the several captures made by them, if any of it remained.

Captain Hudson, on the 8th, gave Mr. Knox orders to survey and land on Korsakoff, and thence proceed to Oahu, with all despatch; upon which the **Peacock** and tender parted company, for the purpose of avoiding detention by sailing together.<sup>1</sup>

The **Peacock** lost the trades in latitude 24° N...

On the 5th of June, they fell in with the whale-ship **Magnolia**, which supplied them with about two hundred gallons of water, and a few potatoes.

On the 13th, in latitude 24° N., they again found the trades.

On the 14th, they made the island of Oahu... They found the **Flying-Fish** had arrived the day previous...

On the morning of the 16th, the **Peacock** anchored in the port of Honolulu... The two men, Wood and Kirby, were given over to the consul of Her Britannic Majesty.

By the 21st, they had embarked the provisions and finished the necessary repairs, when they sailed for the Columbia river... They reached soundings off the bar of the Columbia river, on the 17th of July, the day prior to the wreck, of which I have already spoken.

I cannot close this account of the cruise of the **Peacock** and **Flying-Fish** without saying a few words in relation of the activity which the cruise evinces in Captain Hudson, his officers, and crew; this will be shown in a strong light, by stating the simple fact, that during this voyage the **Peacock** had sailed upwards of nineteen thousand miles; was two hundred and sixty days at sea, and only twenty-two in port and that during the whole time, although they were exposed to great vicissitudes of climate, and had been long on short allowance, they returned to port without a single sick man on board.

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1 Ed. note: Wilkes did not publish the letters of Captain Hudson to Mr. Knox, and vice versa. I add them below.

### **Orders of Captain Hudson to Mr. Knox, dated 8 May 1841.**

U.S. Ship Peacock, Piscadores  
May 8th 1841.

Sir,

You will endeavour to communicate with the natives in the Bight on the NE side of the Island of Korsakoff [Rongelap] and ascertain if there are any white men on the Island. If there are, you will endeavour to get them off (particularly Captain Dowsett), and carry them to Honolulu. I shall work in at the North & NW sides of the Island. Should you not rejoin me by Monday night in the Latitude of 12° North and Longitude 167° East, you will proceed with all dispatch for Oahu, Sandwich Islands, and carry out the orders previously furnished by me, for your government at that place. You will if necessary to expedite your movements employ some of the natives to assist you in watering.

I am respectfully, &c.

W. L. H.

To Samuel R. Knox, Commanding Flying Fish.

### **Report of Mr. Knox to Captain Hudson, dated 15 May 1841**

U.S. Schooner Flying Fish, at sea  
May 15th 1841.  
To Capt. Hudson.

Sir,

After parting with you on the 8th Inst. I stood close in with the Island then to the North of us, and continued working along the South shore until dark, standing close in to obtain a good view of the shore. The second tack to windward brought us up with a wide opening through the reef, at which time I could see the opposite or Northern Edge of the Lagoon. As it was near dark, I shortened sail and stood off for the night. On the 9th at daylight I was close in with the shore again and at 8 a.m. weathered the Eastern extremity (the same that was in sight when we observed at meridian on the 8th). I then stood in a N 1/2 W course, coasting the land until 9 a.m. when the reef turned to the Southward & Westward, with a small lump of the angle making the Northern extremity. When the lump bore from me SW by W, there was another in sight bearing NE by E. I should judge they were 14 miles distant from each other, or thereabouts. At that time, there was nothing in sight to the westward from the mast head. I continued on the above course 8 miles further, when I discovered a sand spit on the starboard bow. At the same time a heavy squall obliged me to shorten sail and veer to the Southward & Eastward. At 11 the weather cleared, and heading SE, saw the sand spit on the larboard bow. Standing SE 1/4 S, I soon came up with the reef connecting the sand spit with the land seen to the Northward & Eastward at 11. I steered SSE along the reef,



and at 12 came opposite the lump referred to, upon which I saw 4 or five natives. I accordingly shortened sail, and hove to close in with the reef, and endeavoured by signs to induce them to come off to us, of which they took no notice. Another heavy squall at this time obliged me to wear off shore. After the squall had passed, I stood in again, but saw nothing of the natives. I continued working to the Eastward under short sail, making short boards, to give them an opportunity to come off to us—should they think fit—but I saw nothing of them, or any others through the day.

The reef trended NNW per compass from the lump on which we saw the natives, as far as could be seen, with no land in that direction, and the farthest lump to the Eastward, bore E by S per compass. I judged it to be 11 miles distant. About 5 miles to the Eastward of the first lumps, there is a wide passage between two Islets into the Lagoon. I should suppose it to be half a mile in width. After passing the Islet to the Eastward there appeared to be another, nearly as wide as the former. I could see the reef rounding off to the Northward on the inside. The opposite side of the Lagoon could not be seen from the mast head 67 feet altitude. The weather was however smoky at the time. I made a careful examination of the whole reach, standing close in shore for that purpose, but I saw no natives nor any indications to lead me to suppose there were any on that part of the Island, excepting the first lump on which we saw the natives. I saw no coconut trees, or any other fruit trees.

Monday the 10th.—I succeeded in weathering the Eastern extremity of the reach referred to on the 8th, and stood along the Land N1/2W 10 miles, which brought me up with the bend in the reef, the land making from thence E by S 8 miles. These two reaches, like the others I had seen, were barren of fruit trees, and I saw no natives.

In the afternoon I weathered the Land in sight to the Eastward and saw what proved to be the North Eastward extremity of the Island, bearing N by E distant 8 miles, and I succeeded in reaching it at 8 p.m. The weather during the whole time was very unsettled. The wind blew a strong gale and the sea large and constantly breaking over the Schooner, so that I could not make my observations for Latitude & Longitude. I had sprung the fore gaff during the day. At 8 the wind was East, with frequent squalls, and as the time had expired at which I was to join you in Lat. 12°, Long. 167°, I kept by the wind to the Northward.

From the above I am convinced there are two Islands, instead of one, and from the general appearance of the shores, I do not believe there are any regular inhabitants belonging to them. Those that I saw on the Northward & Southward sides of Korsakoff Island amounting only to 9 in number, I believe are from the Island to windward.

I herewith enclose you a plan of the Island, and the rough diagram made at the time and I regret the weather, and my time would not admit of a more accurate survey.

I remain with much respect &c.

(Signed) Samuel R. Knox

Commanding Schooner Flying Fish.

A VOCABULARY  
of the  
TARAWAN LANGUAGE,  
by  
Horatio Hale.<sup>1</sup>

*Source: Wilkes (ed.). U.S. Exploring Expedition, Vol. 6—Ethnography and Philology—Philology, Tarawa, pages 445-467.*

*Note: The words marked with an asterisk are those which were obtained directly from the natives, and of which the orthography is therefore more likely to be correct than that of the rest of the vocabulary, furnished by the two interpreters. The words are, in general, given as they were written down, though, in some cases, where the alteration produced by the incorrect pronunciation of the interpreters was evident, the word has been restored to what was plainly the correct form. When the two men differed from one another, or when, from the indistinctness of the pronunciation, a difficulty was experienced in determining the exact pronunciation of a word, the variations have been given in brackets,—sometimes with the initial of the interpreter attached to it, when there is a possibility that the discrepancy may indicate a difference of dialect.<sup>2</sup>*

## A

**A, a** euphonic particle of frequent occurrence in the language, as spoken by the interpreters. It may be, in some cases, an article.

\***Ā**, four.

**Āai**[*aa*i G., *aaik*, K.], the sun (see *taa*i).

**Abu**, end, extremity, top. *E kakaya t'abun aa idu*, the end of my needle is sharp. *Ko tamotam i tabun te ni*, climb to the top of the tree.

\***Abunaya**, shoulder (see *ana*).

\***Abunibai**[*alam*, G.], finger (see *bai*).

\***Abuniwai**, foot or toe (see *wai*).

\***Āgu** or *aku*, back (see *guga*, Kagugu).

\***Ai**[*e*], fire.

\***Ai**[*e*], here; this. *E roairi (rauirui), te ki ai, e buakaka te ki ari*, the mat here is good, the mat there is bad. *Antina wau ai?* whose canoe is this?

**Ai**, me (an affix). *Antai poai*, don't strike me.

\***Aia**, yes.

1 Ed. note: The Gilbertese language, as spoken in the central area of Tarawa-Abamama, as reported by Kirby. The words provided by G. = Grey (alias Brown) were used at Makin in the north of the archipelago and may be indicative of a dialect of the same language.

2 Ed. note: The old MCF used was of such bad quality and the original text printed so small, that I could not always guess the Gilbertese words correctly.

\***Aiai**, this, these.

\***Aiari**, that, those.

\***Aiine**, or *aine*, woman, female. *Ebailete te aiine*, many are the women. *Bain te mo aiine*, egg of the hen (female fowl).

**Aiiook** [or *aeiok*, *aiyok*], to be friendly; friendship. '*Kain aiiook?*, are ye friends?

\***Aio**, there.

**Aiuri** (G.), like (see *era*).

**Akadite** (G. question: *katiti?*), knife of shell.

**Akai** (see *kai*).

\***Akea**, no, not. *Ko akea taia*, thou dost not know (see *bu*).

\***Aki**, not. *Aki nako mai*, not coming.

**Akuleira** (G.), deep; far off.

**Aia**, thy (prefix).

**Aman**, month. *Eraman aman*, how many months?

\***Amarake** [*amarak*], food, victuals.

**Amda**, *amdra*, *amra?* what is it? what for?

**Ami**, your (plural).

\***Amo**, to carry on the shoulder; stick for carrying a burden on the shoulders of two men.

**Ana**, his.

\***Ana**, below (opposed to *eta*).

**Ana**, to take, receive, get, bring, take hold of. *Mai anata*, come and take it. *E ya te tapa ko anaia eru?* where is the knife you got from me? '*Anakon ana aulen te rub in te ni ni beniak*, go and bring for me some clay from the mullet-pond. *Mai ana te maia ea*, come and take hold of this rope.

**Anakara** (G.), slave.

\***Ananau**, long, tall; a long time; to last long. *Tia ananan ma uyor*, I am as tall as you. *Ananau taiygo yai aikai*, I have waited for you long here. *Ananau te buoy*, the war is long.

**Ane** [*anene* or *anini*], song, to sing.

\***Anea**, mast of vessel.

**Anerau** (G.), taro-pit (see *rua*).

**Ano**, inside (see *nanau*).

**Antai**, do not, forbear, desist. *Antai diriyir*, don't beat us. *Antai katayai*, don't make me cry. *Antai kamarakego*, don't hurt yourself (see *tai*, *tailai*).

\***Antai**, [*anda*, G.], who? *Antai man apami?* who is this chief of your land? *Antai ia diriykami?* who beats you? *Ko tei ma 'ntai?* you came with whom? *Antai ia kamarakego?* who hurt you?

\***Anti** [*ant*, K., *zentz*, for *te anti*, G.], spirit, god. *E gaya Tabuerik ia ent?* how is Tabuerik among spirits or divinities?

**Antia** [*entia*], ink for tattooing.

**Antina**, K., *anta* or *anti*, G., whose? *Antina tapa ai?* whose canoe is this?

**Ay**, wind. *E baibete te ay*, there is much wind.

**Ayet**, shoulder. *Ri n'ayet*, bone of the shoulder, scapula.

**Ayaca**, axe.

**Aori!** see! behold! (see *uaori*).

**\*Apa** [*ap*, K., *aba*, G.], land, country, earth. *Antai man apami?* Who is the chief of your land?

**Iou te ap** [*teap*], on the earth. *Ietot e te ap*, the land is high.

**Apani** [*ibani*, G.], finished, complete; all, every thing, entirely. *Apani in kanak*, all eaten (see *pani*, *kapani*).

**\*Apapaka**, great (see *bakaka*).

**Apei**, basket.

**Apeyi**, box made of matting.

**Apon** (G.), it is, it was. *Apon wam*, it is your canoe. *Apon tarina*, it was his brother.

**\*Apo**, fish-line.

**Ara**, our. *Ara mai*, our fire-place.

**Ara**, very. *Ara babara*, *ara babak*, very large, very great.

**Ara**, current in the sea. *Iai te ara?* is there a current?

**\*Ara**, name. *Antai aram?* what is thy name?

**Aramo**, foreign rope.

**Arara**, thread.

**Ari**, there, yonder; that. *Te ai ari iaiaan*, that low tree. *Aneko ari*, go yonder.

**Ari**, the day after. *Ninaba o ari o ari*, tomorrow and the day after and the day after.

**\*Ari**, eyebrow.

**Aria** (G.), calm.

**\*Atai** [*eda*], child.

**Atai** [*eda*], right, *dexter*.<sup>1</sup>

**Atai**, who (see *anda*).

**At**, liver. *Ia kamaga kain i ba mo atan*, his wound is great, reaching to his liver.

**\*Ata**, a stay to a mast, a rope.

**Ati**, child; *atina*, his child; *atira*, our child (see *atai*)

**Ati**, fire-place; stone used in making a fire-place.

**Ati**, thatch. *Atia uman*, thatch of the house.

**\*Atipa** [*atib*, K., *t'ateip*, G.], a stone.

**Atia**, hold it (see *uati*).

**\*Ata** [*eda*], head. *Taobukan te ata*, top of the head.

**\*Ataipat**, wrist.

**Au**, my. *Au kara*, my relation.

**\*Aua**, four.

**Auata** (G.), many.

**Auboya**, tridacna (shell-fish).

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1 Ed. note: Meaning right-handed.

**Auderia** (G.), evil spirit, devil.

**Aura, aauraaura**, shining, flowing, blazing: red hot.

**Auti** [aut], a louse; the porcupine fish. *Parao t'auti*, cap made of the skin of the porcupine fish.

**Auti**, the Pleiades; also winter (reckoned from the appearance of this constellation).

**Autia** or *audjia* (G.), to dig. *Mai ina audjia te maniop*, come and dig the well.

**Auwara** (G.), it's a lie!

## B

**Ba**, oil; cocoa-nut oil.

**Ba**, rock. *E nimtea te ba te nimitani*, the periwinkle sticks to the rock.

**\*Ba**, a leaf of a tree. *Bana*, cocoanut leaf.

**Ba**, thunder. *Ko una te ba ari?* do you hear the thunder there?

**Ba-ni-mata**, temple, house of spirits.

**Babak**, great, large. *Ia babak a kaia*, my wound is great. *Dokaor e ka babak iu uea*, truly thou art great among chiefs. *E babak Taputeouea*, T. (the island) is large. (See *apapaki, kababak*.)

**\*Bai** or *pai*, arm, hand. *Te muluku ni kai*, length of arm (a measure). *Ou e baiu*, my hand is full.

**\*Bai** [bei, be, pe], a thing, any thing, some thing; an instrument, implement; a creature, a living thing. *E bake te bai*, that thing is thrown down. *Ti bai ni kanak*, something to be eaten. *Bai ni taitai*, don't kill that creature. (See *boi*, which is probably the same word.)

**Bai**, very (only used in compound words).

**Baibete** or *baibati*, much, many, a great deal; greatly. *E baibete te rara rum*, there is much blood about thee. *E baibete te boboi*, there is a great deal of taro. *E baibete t'iririn*, great is the beat. *E baibete te aiine*, there are many women. *Ko baibete 'n didi-ri*, you are very cross. (See *bete*.)

**Baibuaka** or *baibuay*, (G.), very bad, vile, base. (See *buaka*.)

**Bai-ni-kadaradara**, a spy-glass (i.e., an instrument for causing to see.)

**Bai-ni-kurubuai**, a razor; (instrument for cutting beard.)

**Bainaka**, honored, sacred. *E bainaka ainire*, she is honored.

**Bain-ganai**, if. *Bain-ganai tia migo inebay, tia duaygo kanaira ni miu*, if I dream about you to-night, I will tell you the substance of my dream. (See *kanai*.)

**\*Baiene**, basket.

**Bairi** [batui, G.], nose. (See *ruku-bair*.)

**Baitar** [boitari, G.], holothuria, sea-slug, *biche-da-mar*.

**Baka** [baka or baya], to fall; to set, as the sun. *Irik atunor baka ma raraunok*, his head turned round and he fell in a fit. *Kana baka te karu*, the sun is setting. (See *kabaka*.)

**Baka** (G.), to throw. *E baka giu e yai*, throw it to me.

**Bakaini**, to slight, condemn. *Ko bakaineai*, you slight me; (opposed to *iakain*.)

\***Bakabota**, a fish-spear.

\***Baki**, hungry.

**Bakin**, greatness. (See *bokin*.)

\***Bakoa**, shark.

\***Bamuti**, beads.

**Baya** (G.), cannot, know not how. *E baya tiritiri*, he cannot be angry. *E baya uoua*, I don't know how to swim. (See *papaya*.)

**Bara** (G.), dirt, dirty. *Bara in te ai*, ashes (dirt from the fire).

\***Barai**, a cage for fowls.

\***Barea** (*bereak*, K., *beniak*, G.), a canoe-house.

**Barik** (K.), dirty. (See *bara*.)

\***Bata** [*bat*, *beŋ*], house, dwelling. *Batam*, thy house.

**Baut**, to swallow; subsistence, food. *Bautia*, swallow it. *Ko aki bo ma bautam*, you won't get a livelihood. (See *kabautia*.)

**Bauwar**, spittle. *Dirianok bawaram*, eject your spittle.

**Bebadoa**, cockroach.

\***Beni** or *pen'*, old ripe cocoa-nut.

**Ben-te-naku** (question: *bai-n-te-naku?*), waist-mat, cincture.

**Bentaka**, mullet. *Te ia ni bentaka*, mullet-pond.

\***Benua** [*bina*], country, land, island, shore. *E raro te bina*, the land is far off. *Tiaki roko binu*, we will not go on shore. \**Mari-benua*, land's-end, end of an island.

**Berig**, to help, to hasten; to strive for, seek; to urge, to induce. *Mai ikai ko na berig aubea ai*, come and help me with this thing. *Beigia*, hurry with it! *Teai berigi mata*, people that seek my death. *Ko berigia in biurar*, thou hast urged us to do wrong. *Ko berigiai in kamatego*, thou wilt make me kill thee.

**Beti** [*beti*, *bati*], much, many. *E bet' aua mati teua*, many have been slain. *E beti te kara*, there is much rain. (See *baibete*.)

\***Beti**, inner part of the pandanus nut.

**Bibuti** [*bibua*], afloat (G.)

**Bigugu**, pregnant.

**Bika** [*biga*, *pik*], beach, strand, sandy place; sand. *Elaai ati te beka*, the beach is not yet in sight (or seen).

**Bir**, lizard.

**Birimak** [*burimar*, G.], to run, to hasten.

**Birinok**, to run away, to run to. *E na 'ia kaw'?* *Akea ba birinok 'kuanapa*, where is your slave? I don't know; he ran away yesterday. *Birinok e ti bat*, run to the house.

\***Biti**, iron.

\***Bitibiti**, knife of iron.

**Bo** or *po*, to meet, come together; reach to, touch, attain. *Tia bo*, we will meet. *Edu-ata bo ma ungor*, I have not met with you. *Ka bo ma karawa a unoa*, you have reached

the skies and the subterranean world. *Ia kaiang a kata i bo mo ataa*, his wound is great, reaching to his liver. *Tiaki bo map (ma ap')*, I shall not reach the land.

**Bo** [question: *bu?*], bent, crooked. *E bo waia teua* (G.), his leg is crooked. *E bo mataia*, you are cross-eyed.

**\*Bo**, to trade, exchange (see *kaboben*); payment, equivalent.

**Bobo**, to light, kindle, burn. *E bobo te ai iaianai?* when will the fire be lighted?

**\*Boboi** or *popoi*, taro, *arum esculentum*.

**Boe**, gone (question: paddled off? see *boa*), *Akea ba boe te iea*, indeed the canoe is gone.

**Boi**, property, any thing possessed; thing, in general. *Akea te boi run*, he has no property. *Witia mai te boi*, give me the thing. *Aubea ai, o ambai ai, ana'ea t'aia e tok'at*, this is mine, that is yours, and the rest belongs to the king. (See *bea*.)

**Bokabok** [*butabut*, G.], to cough.

**Boki**, greatness, size. *Ko kamag ia bokim to aut*, thou art fearful in thy greatness among spirits. *Tia bokin angor*, I am (of) the size of you. (See *baki*, *babaki*.)

**\*Boy**, night; used also for the entire day of twenty-four hours. *Niyan te boy*, to-morrow night, (G.) *Tiaki maia, e roko au boy*, I shall not live, my time is gone.

**Boy** [*boya, buya*], to set, as the sun. *E boya taaik* [i *boya tai*, G.], the sun is set. *Kana boy a butik*, the sun is setting.

**Boy** or *bay*, a fish-trap made of withes, an eel-pot.

**Bona**, to bear, bring forth; born. *E bona aiyri*, she has brought forth a child. *Ko bana mia erun tiiaia iaiaiyeti*, When were you born from your mother? (or born by).

**Boyaban**, growing dark, becoming night.

**\*Boa** or *poa*, post of a house.

**Bu**, spouse; husband or wife.

**Bu**, [*pu, pua, bua*], hut, only, merely, just. *Tiak Tabura, bo terua*, it is not, Tabura, but he. *Tiak te omat e niyin, bun te ant*, she is not a human being, but a spirit. *E tia bu mauriyia*, I have just thought of it. *E tia bu bo ma uyzor*, I have just met with you. *Bun te ray aygor*, you are only a slave. *Bun karogo*, just be quiet.

With *akea* in answer to a question, it forms a sort of an affirmative, e.g. *e uti te wa?* is the canoe in sight? *Akea Euti te tea*, yes, the canoe is in sight.

**Bu**, a smell.

**\*Bua**, month.

**\*Buai**, beard. *Kurabuai*, to shave.

**Buaka** and **\*buakaka**, bad, vile. *Teua buaka ma kai*, he is bad with the spear. *E raui-ruite ki ai, e buakaka te ki ari*, this mat is good, that is bad. *Buakakarawa*, stormy weather.

**Buan**, basaltic stones found in the roots of trees which are drifted to the islands.

**\*Buayai**, whale's tooth.

**Buba** [*bub*], to sprout, to grow. *Bubun t'ai*, smoke (i.e. product of growth of the fire).

**Buba** (G.), blunt, not sharp.

**\*Bubuonibai**, elbow.

**\*Bubuoniteai**, knee.

**\*Bubura**, large.

**Bubuti**, deep. *E bubuti te raira*, the channel is deep.

**Bue** [*bui; buei*, G.] warm, hot; heated, burnt. *Tia bue*, I am warm. *E bui aurtaura*, it is red-hot. *E bui batar*, our house is burnt. (See *kabui*.) *Bue* or *bui* (G.), steering-oar, rudder. (See *poe*.)

**Buenar** [or *poenar*], a paddle.

**Bui** [*buin*], egg. *Buin te mo aiine*, egg of the hen.

**Buia** (G.), loft of a house. (See *puea*.)

**Buierar**, to smell sweet; fragrant.

**Buinai**, earth, loam.

**Buir**, to do wrong, to be in fault; sin, fault, error. *Tia buir*, I am in fault. *Tautaur in buirar*, save us from our sins.

**\*Buira**, to smell bad; fetid.

**Buirabuir**, froth. *Kak e buirabuir in te karaorao*, take the froth from the toddy.

**Bake**, to throw down with noise. *E bake te bai*, that thing is thrown down.

**Buki** or *buku* [*buk, puki*], buttock, tail, hinder part.

**Bukibuk** [or *biukibiuk*], cask, barrel.

**Bukin-ata**, nape of the neck.

**Buki-ni-wai**, heel.

**Buna**, deaf. *E taniya bana*, he is deaf.

**\*Bunekiaki**, a cutaneous disease, the herpes. (See *guni*).

**Buni** (G.), good.

**Bu-ni-mun** (K.), a poor man (question: *bun' aman* only a common person?).

**Bu-ni-matan** (G.), a chief judge, a prime minister.

**Bunin** (G.), round.

**Buya**, chin. *Buyana*, thy chin.

**Buyabuya**, a hole. *Buyabuya ni riem*, hole of your lips, mouth.

**Buyaga** or *boyaga*, a word used in entreating. *Ia buyagam, Tabuerik*, we pray thee, O Tabuerik. *E buyagam ko na rok ar nea*, we beg thee to become our chief. *Tia buyagami*, I beg of you.

**Buok** [*buog*], war; to fight; hostile; troubled, distracted. *Ananau te buok*, the war lasts long. *Kom buok?* do ye fight? *Teiti buok*, one who fights, a warrior. *E buoka kan ion te apakaiim*, all the people of the land are opposed to you. *E buok a nanu*, my mind is distracted.

**Buokonikai** [*buokunyikai, buoguinyikai*, K., *buiaganikai, buonikai*, G.], woods, woodland, inland country.

**\*Bure**, the ovula-shell.

**Burer**, pilar hair; feathers.

**\*Buruburu**, fur, hair of animals. *Buruburun te kimoa*, fur of the rat.

**Buta**, navel.



**Butan** (G.), root; *butan-te-ui* (K.), lower part of the trunk of a tree, stump.

**Butabut** (G.), cough. (See *bokubok*.)

**Butara** (G.), black.

\***Buta**, dagger, a small weapon armed with shark's teeth.

**Buieu**, throat. *Buieum*, thy throat.

## D

[The letter *d* is of comparatively rare occurrence, and seems, in all cases, to be a softened sound of the *t*.]

**Dara**, to look. (See *tara*.)

**De**, child. (See *atai*.)

**Dekaka**, to cry out. (See *kaka*.)

**Detar**, be quick.

**Dibug**, wash. *Ka tian dibugia?* have you washed it?

**Diduaro**, liberal, generous.

**Didiri**, diridiri, cross, irritable (See *titititi*.)

**Di-Makin**, a native of Makin (G.)

**Dimdim**, to drop, as rain.

**Dina**, to bite. *Dinaia*, bite it. (See *kadinadina*.)

**Dindin**, to roast.

**Dinimak**, to be in the act of roasting.

**Diriy**, to beat, to strike; to contend with, oppose. *Antai diriyir*, don't beat us. *Ko diriy atai in tera?* Why did you beat the children? *E diriyir antir*, our god is against me. (See *tiri*.)

**Djiranak** (G.), to beat. (See *tiri*.)

**Djak-bain** (G.), crippled. (question: *tiak bai*, no legs?)

**Dokor**, truly, surely. *Dokor e ko babak ia ant*, truly thou art great among spirits.

**Dua** (K.), sacred, *tabu*. (question: the Polynesian *atua*?)

## E

[By both the interpreters, the long *e* was frequently substituted for the diphthong *ai*, and the short *e* for *a*.]

**E**, a letter frequently introduced by the interpreters between the words of a sentence. In some cases it may be an article; in others, it is probably a corrupt pronunciation of the last letter of a word, e.g. *ietat' e te ap*, instead of *utata* or *ietatu te'ap*, high in the land.

**E**, fire. (See *ai*.)

**E**, this; here. (See *ai*.)

**Ea**, where? *Ko nako mai ea*, whence comest thou? (See *ia*.)

**Ebiyayo**, a bad smell; fetid.

**Ebai**, child. (See *etai*.)

**Edin-ro**, or *edjin-ro*, anchor. (question: *atin-ro*, stone of quietness?)

**Eduai**, not yet. (See *iduai*.)

**Egegi**, blind. *Egegi matau*, I am blind.

**Egi-mata** (G.), cross-eyed.

**Egi-meman** (G.), coward.

**Ekimoteta**, short, low. *Ka-ekimoteta*, to shorten.

**Enan** (G.), to send for.

**Ent**, spirit. (See *anti*.)

**Eyan** (G.), this morning.

**Era** or *ira* (or, with suffixes, *eraua*, *eraman*, *eraboy*, *erabat*, &c.), how many. *Era taitai ko naoria?* how many stars do you see? *Erabat am bat*, or *eraua Batam*, how many are your houses? *Eraboya te boy*, *eraboya te yain*, how many days, how many nights? (See *daira*.)

**Era** (G.), why, what for. *Era tay ungor*, why do you cry? (See *kuera*.)

**Eran**, thus, this way; the same; about, concerning. *Kuera ko aki karma eran?* why don't you do it thus? *Kotetai eran te buok?* how you know about war? (See *ti te eran*.)

**Eraran**, leaky, dropping water.

**Erero** [*iriro*, black; dark. *E bot-erero* (?), a black person. *Erero tuyitun*, very dark.

**Erigi**, side. *E marak erigu*, my side is painful.

**Erigin**, by the side of, near. *Tia tekatek erigin te bat*, let us sit down by the house.

**Etam** [or *atam*], gravel.

**Eti**, to break. *Antai etiia*, don't break it. *Etiak te rud*, the spider-shell (*strombus*) is broken.

## G

[This letter is merely a softer pronunciation of the letter *k*, which probably might in all cases be substituted for it with propriety.]

**Gaya**, how? *Egaya Tabuerik in anti?* How is Tebuerik among spirits? *Tia kaw' gaya* (an idiom), I am sorry for it.

**Gayga**, like. *Gayga te poeo*, like the poeo-shell.

**Gakak**, spathe, or sprout of the cocoanut.

**Gin**, or *kin*, at, to. *Ko yori gin-nai*, thou art laughing at me. (See *Moriet-gin*.)

**Ginig** [*kiniki*], to pinch. *Antai ginigai*, don't pinch me.

**Girigir** [*kirikiri*], gravel.

**Gon**, to squeeze, compress. *Ko gonai*, you crowd me. *Tia gon e nukum*, I squeezed your waist.

**Gona baiki te wa**, haul up the canoe on the beach.

**Gugu**, get on by back. (See *kagugu*.)

**Gugura**, to look for. *E gugurago*, looking for thee.

**Guin** [question: *kuni?*], skin, bark. *Guinu*, my skin. *E katikitik e guin ir te bai*, the bark of the tree is rough.

**Guni-maio**, **guni-keaki**, a disease of the skin, herpes.

**Guri**, to snatch, seize, suddenly. *Antai guria*, don't snatch it.

**Guri**, almost. *Ia guri mat iu orak*, I almost died of sickness.

## I

**\*I**, in, at, to. *I Peru*, at Peru [i.e. Beru]. *Ko tamotam i t'abuin te ni*, climb to the top of the tree. *I-o*, above; *i-a*, below; *i-kai*, here, &c.

**Ia**, verbal prefix, used instead of, or with, the pronouns of the first and third persons. *Ia mariei*, I am cold. *Ia ioko yai*, I am come. *Ia tia teua*, he is done. *Ia kamag e bokia*, fearful is its greatness.

**Ia**, where? *Ko marak ia?* where were you hurt? *Ko noko mai ia*, whence come you? (See *ia*.)

**Ia**, a kind of dance.

**Ia**, below, under, to leeward, westward. *A noko ia*, go below. *Tut paraunok ia*, we will sail to the westward. *Ia ni karawa*, under the sky.

**Ia**, verbal affix for the third personal pronoun. *Poia*, strike him. *Tia diriyia*, I beat them. *Tapia*, cut it.

**Ia**, affixed possessive pronoun, of the third person plural. *Bataia*, their house, or their houses. *Antina tapaia taia*, whose knives are these?

**Ia**, particle used after *antai*, do not. *Antai kaiaarakego*, don't hurt yourself.

**Iabut**, high water (See *bubuti*.)

**Iai**[*ie*], there is, there are; is there, are there? *Iai te omat inanan apar*, there are men within our land. *Kanai tai wau*, if I had a canoe. *Iai am tap*, here is thy knife. *Iai te ikarum?* Have you any fish?

**\*Iaia** [*iea*, *ioia*], these here (plural of *ai*). *Anta bataia iaia*, whose are these houses?

**Iai-nuk**, weather-side of island; eastward.

**Iak**, not. *E ruak e teua, iak?* Has he come down or not? (See *akea*, *tiaki*, &c.)

**Iakai**, to respect, to love. *Tia iakaigo*, we respect thee. *Atai, kuera 'kam aki iakai-gami erum?* Children, why don't you love one another?

**Iakaman**, already, long ago. (See *kaman*.)

**Iakaraka** (or *karaka*), few. *Ia-karaka te muimot*, there are few cocoanuts.

**\*Ian**, under, beneath. (for *ia ni*).

**Ianuai**, fat, corpulent, full, satisfied with eating. *Ianuai teua*, he is fat. *Ia tia ianuai*, I am satisfied.

**Iayai**, full, satisfied; tired. *Ia tia iayai*, I am full, satiated. *Iayai ina naoria*, I am tired of looking. (See *kayai*.)

**Ibir**, a sort of gooseberry.

**Iboya** or *tiboya*, priest.

**\*Ibu**, cup made of a cocoanut shell.

**Iduai**, not, not yet. *E ro nanam o iduai?* Is your mind at peace or not? *Iduai n'tawa te tai*, the crop is not yet ripe. *Ilkam a tui?* Are you done? *Ti iduai*, we are not.

**\*Ie**, sail.

**\*Ieta**, above. *Anoko ieta*, go above me. *Taratara ietaia*, look above you.

**Ietat**, high. *Ietat e te ap*, high is the land.

**Igagi**, proud. *Ko igagi*, thou art proud.

**Igina**, to understand. *Tiaki iginago*, I don't understand you. *Ko igin au taitai?* Do you understand my speech?

**Iia** [*tiia*], a vein.

**Iia**, gray hair. *Iia n'atu*, my hair is gray.

**Ika**, fish.

**Ikai**, here, hither. *Ia bo ikai*, we will meet here. *Mai ikai*, come hither.

**\*Ikainapa**, lately, just now (i.e. *ikai n'apa*, here, on this spot.)

**\*Ikeike** [*igiga*], heart; also breath; to breathe.

**Ikeike** [*igik*], mullet.

**Ikibekabi**, to fly. *Ia tetai ikibekabi te man?* Can the bird fly? (See *kipeakipea*.)

**Iki-bubu**, a coward.

**\*Iko**, here.

**\*Iku**, girdle of shark's skin.

**Ilawa** (G.), how many? how much? (See *era*, *eraus*, &c.)

**\*Ima**, five.

**Imbo**, sharp-pointed club, javelin.

**In**, coral. *E tiki wain in t'iu*, my foot is pierced with a bit of coral.

**In**, of, in, at, for, &c., probably a corruption of *ni*.

**\*Ina**, that, in order that, too; will, shall. *Ilkam kamaniai ina kamateai*, ye are deceiving me in order to kill me. *Ina nima?* Shall I drink? *Ina naoria*, I will see it (properly *na*, which.)

**\*Inai**, mat of cocoanut leaves.

**Inaboy**, to-night.

**Inanan**, within, in the inside of. *Tia etia rin inanan rabatam*, I will break (all) the bones in your body. *Iai te omat inanan apar*, there are men in the inside of (or beneath) our country (said of the antipodes). (See *nana*.)

**Inagainagu**, skilled, versed in. *Inagainagu in te bitok*, skilled in war.

**Iniyai**, when? *Ko na katia batam iniyai?* When shall you build your house?

**Ininan**, low. *Te ni ari ininan*, that low tree.

**Inuai**, a wart.

**\*Iygami**, ye.

**Iygebo** [*ygeboy*, *iygiaboy*, G.], last night. *Ko matu ia iygebo*, where did you sleep last night?

**Iygoa** (G.), formerly, long ago.

**Iykam**, I do not know; (only used in answer to a question.)

**Iykan** [*ykan, eykan*], there. *Antai iykan?* Who is there? *Taiyai iykan*, wait for me there.

**Io**, above, up, over, upon. *Mai-io*, to windward, or south-southwest. *Ikibekabi te man ion te bat*, the bird flew over the house. *Ion te kie*, upon the mat. *A noko ion*, go to windward.

**Ira**, to steal; thief. *E diriyia in ira*, I beat him for stealing. *E ira teua*, he is a thief. *Ireak au ayara*, my axe is stolen.

**Ira** (G.), girdle worn by men.

**\*Ira**, hair.

**Iramo** or **Irimo**, first, foremost, before; to come first, to precede. *Antai ueami iramo?* Who was your first king? *A nok iramou*, I am the first comer. (See *mo*.)

**Iramui** [*idamui*, K., *inawiu* G.], behind, after, last. *Anok iramuru*, come after me. *Ko iramui*, you are the last. (See *mui*.)

**Iri**, to go with, to accompany. *E na irigo teua*, he will go with thee. *Koirai, ko tok?* Will you go with me or stay? *Ko iri ma 'ntai*, with whom did you come?

**Iria, iriak** [*eriak, irik*], to turn around, to whirl; to go about, to tack ship. *Iria te ay*, the wind whirls round. *Irik atun*, his head turned round. *Tia iriak ma te, wa*, we will put the canoe about.

**Iribai, iribak**, [*idibai, idibak*], to dislike, be displeased with. *Iribaigo*, I don't like thee. *Iribaia te omat*, the men do not like him. *Ko iribak*, are you displeased?

**Irigo** [*tirigo*], flesh, meat. *E kankan e tirigo*, was the meat good?

**Irikak**. *E tok in irikai*, (the tide) has ceased flowing and is going out.

**Irirep**, foot-ball (the game). *Tia roko main tirirep*, we come from playing foot-ball.

**Iru** (G.), yellow, light-colored.

**Irua**, foreigner. *Irua wakaki*, they are foreigners.

**It, Itit** [*tit, tite*], lightning. *E mate te ni ma t'it*, the tree is killed by lightning.

**Iti**, straight.

**\*Iti**, seven.

**Itibaki** (G.), hawk's-bill tortoise.

**Itu**, the resin which drifts ashore on these islands; also, any thing fragrant, like resin.

**Itu**, or *idu*, needle. *E kakaya t'abun au itu*, the point of my needle is sharp.

## K.

**Ka**, prefixed to a word, has in most cases a causal signification; in some instances its meaning is doubtful.

**Káan**, village, ward; section of a *kawa* or town.

**Kababake**, to enlarge.

**Kabaka**, to let fall, drop, throw down. *Tia kabaka ar itin-ro ikai*, we will drop our armor here. *Kabakak* thrown down.

**Kabaya** (G.), to drop, let fall. *Kabayaia in te manop*, drop it in the well. (Question: Is this a mistake for *kabaka*?)

**Kabauti**, to gulp down. *Ko aki kantia te amarak, ko kabautia*, you do not chew the food, you gulp it down.

**Kabikouea**, beach, strand (See *bika*).

**Kabira**, to oil, anoint.

**Kaboboi**, to trade, barter.

\***Kaboa**, to come together, unite, meet. *Tia kaboa*, a common form of salutation.

**Kabúlina** (?), quoits.

**Kabua**, to close, shut; requite, take vengeance. *Kabua makaim* shut your jaws. *Tia kabua ma teua*, I will take vengeance on him.

**Kabua**, a boil, sore.

**Kabub**, dull, blunt. *E kabub am tap*, your knife is blunt.

**Kabué**, to make warm, to heat; heating, hot. *Mai ikai kabuégo erigin te ai*, come here and warm yourself by the fire. *E kabué taaik*, the sun is hot.

**Kabuibui**, preserved taro (K.); a kind of food prepared from the pandanus nut (G.).

**Kabuk** [*kabuok, kabug*], to burn. *Mai ikai kalukego in te ai*, come and burn yourself in the fire. *Antai tautau kabuk te bat ari*, don't prevent that house from being burnt.

**Kaburairai**, mat worn for dress.

**Kaderan**, a spoon made of human hair [rather rib].

**Kadimulina**, to bite much or hard. *E kadimulina te maninar*, the mosquitos are biting severely.

**Kackimotata**, to make short. *Kaikimotata am taitai*, make your speech short.

**Kaen** [or *kaan*], near. *E kaen e teua*, he is near. *E kaen te kaan*, the village is near. (these may be the same word; *kaan* perhaps signifies neighborhood.)

**Kaen** or *kai* (G.), native of. *Kaen Kiawe e yai*, I am a native of Kiawe.

**Kagugu**, to carry on the back. *Tia kagugugo* I will carry you. (See *agu, gugu*.)

**Kahara, kahipa** (G.), rainbow, sun-dog.

**Kai**, tree, wood, stick, post, club. *Wakan te kai*, root of the tree. *E nimtea baia te kai*, the wood sticks to my hand. *Te kai ni te boboi*, a stick (or root) of taro. *E tai kai teua*, he understands fighting (or the club). *Kain fo*, post of the fence.

**Kai** [*pôï, akai*], wound. *Ia kamag e kaiu*, my wound is dreadful. *Kauamaiu kai ni bain*, the wound in my arm is going to heal.

**Kai**[akai], to, towards, against; than. *I kivitai am tak a kaiu*, your speech to me is false. *E tabigi a kaiu teua*, he has taken up arms against me. *E mait au kamuimui a kain teua*, I have more molasses than he.

**Kai**, here. (see *i-kai*).

**Kai-ni-kabua**, spade.

**\*Kai**(Tapu), do not. **\*Kai kuruia**, don't cut it.

**Kaibaba**, bamboo (which sometimes drifts to the islands).

**Kaibuke**, ship. (A New Zealand word introduced by the whites at Taputeouea.)

**Kaiiok**, to make friends; friendship. (See *aiiok*.)

**\*Kaina**, the pandanus tree.

**Kaio**, the leaves of the arum.

**Kaipa**, the lateral supports around the foot of the pandanus [i.e. aerial roots].

**Kaiti**, to straighten. **Kaitigo**, straighten yourself.

**Kaiwa**, divination, sorcery.

**Kak**, to put down, to set down; to lower a sail; to reject, throw off; to descend. *Kak e ta te amarak?* Where shall we set the victuals. *Kak e buirabair in te karuoruo* remove the froth from the toddy. *Antai kakir*, don't throw us off. *Kak tutan* (G.), come down a little.

**Kaka** (G.), a preserve made of the pandanus nut.

**Kaka**, noise, outcry.

**Kakaya**, sharp; oppressive (as heat). *E kakaya am tapa?* Is your knife sharp? *Kakaya te ririn*, the heat of the sun is oppressive.

**Kakaya**, cannibal. *E kakaya maiak*, at the southeast they are cannibals.

**Kakaea**, festivities,—dancing and singing.

**Kakaua**, **kakaveili** (G.), same as *karapepa*.

**Kako**, cocoa-nut leaf.

**Kakorokoro**, to strengthen. *Antai kakorokoro punam*, don't raise your voice.

**Kamag**, to terrify; fearful, dreadful; very great. *Kamagai e teua*, he frightens me. *Ia kamag e kain*, his wound is great. *Ia kamag e kakaya te ririn in tonu*, the heat at noon was exceedingly great.

**Kamai**, give here. *Kamai am tap*, give me your knife. *Kamai yair*, give us.

**Kamainaina**, to make white.

**Kamaiu**, to save, to cure. *E kamaiwai*, he saved my life.

**Kaman**, already, long ago. *Ia kaman taunak*, he is burned already. *Ia kaman roko*, he is gone long ago.

**Kamaniyi**, to make a fool of, to deceive. *Ilkam kamaniyiai*, ye are making a fool of me.

**Kamarak**, to hurt. *Antai in kamarakego?* Who hurt thee?

**Kamate** [kamamat], to kill. *Ko berigiai in kamatego*, thou wilt make me kill thee. *Tia kamatai*, I kill myself.

**Kameriri**, a sieve.

**Kametoto**, to make firm. *Kametoto aru taitai*, make firm your speech, i.e. stick to what you say.

**Kamo**, to cause to drink, to suckle. *E kamoia in memam*, let it drink from your breast.

**Kamodi**, to cause to sneeze. *E kamodini te bai*, the thing causes me to sneeze.

**\*Kamuimui** [*kamoimoi*, K., *takamoi*, G.], molasses made from the liquor of the cocoa-nut tree.

**Kan**, people. *E b..agam a kaim kan ion te ap*, the people all over the land beg of thee. (See *kaan*, *kaen*.)

**\*Kana**, to eat; food. *Tia kanaia*, I am eating it. *Kanak*, eaten. *Kanam* thy food.

**Kana** [*kan*, *yana*], about to, going to. *Tia kana mo*, I am going to drink. *Kana bata te karu*, the rain is going to fall. *Kandroko* (for *kan' roko*), about to come.

**Kana** (G.), town. (See *kaan*.)

**Kanai**, if. *Kanai ko poai, tia kamatego*, if thou strike me, I will kill thee. (See *bain-gamai*.)

**Kananau**, to lengthen. (See *ananau*.)

**Kananwan**, to suffer loss, to be unfortunate. *E kanauwan e teua*, he is unfortunate. *Tia kananwan*, I suffer loss from it.

**Kanawa** (or *kanoa*), the inside, contents. *Kanawa ni maman*, the inside of your breast. *Kanawa ni miu* the substance of my dream.

**Kanawa-ni-mata**, eyeball.

**Kanawapo**, barren, unfruitful.

**Kanepu**, dragon-fly.

**\*Kau**, cocoa-nut tree; cocoa-nut wood. *E taitai te kau*, he is cutting the tree.

**Kaniag** (G.), offended.

**Kanim**, fit to drink. *E kanim te ran, the water is good to drink*.

**Kanim**, to stick, to cause to adhere. (See *nimtia*.)

**Kanako**, to cause to come. *Kanako mai e teua a kaiu*, send him here to me.

**Kanoko**, to cause to go, to send, to expel. *Tia kanoko e teua a kaia*, I send him to thee. *Tia kanokogo* I drive thee away.

**Kantia**, chew it.

**Kanta** (G.), to sing to one's self, to hum.

**\*Kayai**, to fill, to make full. *Kayaigo*, fill thyself.

**Kayere**, hair stick, hair-pricker.

**\*Kaykan**, palatable.

**Kayoriyori**, to cause to laugh.

**Kaora** (G.), cross, irritable.

**Kapani**, to finish, to complete, to do all.

**Kapara**, to open, loose, untie. *Kapara bairu*, open your hand.

**Kape**, to tie. *Tia kapeia i nuku*, I tie it around my waist. *Kape aroro*, tie your neck, i.e. hang yourself.

**Kapepe**, a knot, a way of tying.



**Kapurak**, lower story or ground floor of a house which has a *pura*, or loft.

**Kar, kakar**, to rub, to scrape. *Mai ikai ko na karai*, come and rub me.

**Kara**, a relative, relation, kindred. *Tia kamatiwe, au kara*, I will save him, he is my relative.

**Karamo**, elder brother or sister.

**Karamui**, younger brother or sister.

**Karapa**, to hide, conceal. *Karapaai*, hide me. *Ko na karapaia ia?* Where will you hide it? *Karapak*, hidden.

**Karapepa**, a kind of food prepared from the fruit of the pandanus.

**\*Karawa**, sky, heaven, weather. *Erawa taaik i karawa?* How many suns in the sky? *E buok a karawa*, the sky is troubled, or, the weather is bad.

**Kareve**, a syrup of molasses of the cocoa-nut, mixed with water.

**\*Kariati** [*Kanet*, K.], fish-hook of pearl.

**Karierie**, to believe, hope, expect.

**Karina**, to put. *Karina in te barea*, put it in the canoe-house.

**Karo** [*karonā*], to quiet, appease; to fix, arrange, settle; to make. *Karogo*, keep yourself quiet. *Karoia Tabuerik*, to appease Tabuerik. *Ko karo a nanam?* Have you settled your mind, or purpose? *Karo a te ati tenana*, make another fire-place. *Tia karoia*, I will arrange it.

**\*Karoro** [at Makin], black beads.

**Karu**, rain. *E beti te karu*, there is much rain.

**Karuak**, to cause to descend. *Karuak e teua*, send him down.

BI?Karun, fishing-net.

**Karuoruo**, "toddy,"—the fermented sap of the cocoa-nut tree.

**Kataitai**, to inquire, ask (lit. to cause to tell).

**\*Katama**, cat.<sup>1</sup>

**Katayi**, to cause to cry. *Antai katayai* don't make me cry.

**Kati**, to build, to erect, set up; to hoist sail; to put, place. *Ia tia te bat ko katiia*, is the house finished that you were building? *Tia kati te bani in te bat ari*, I will put cocoa-nut trees in that house.

**\*Katia**, to squeeze out with force; to shoot (a gun, pistol). *Ko katia te taya*, you shoot the cuirass.

**Katikitik**, rough, prickly.

**\*Katire**, to show, let see. *Katire witiām*, let me see what you have brought.

**Katoka** [*katok, kadug*], to cause to stay, to stop, to leave behind; to store up; to place, to put; to cure. *Tia katokia*, I will stop it. *Anokon i katokai*, gone and left me behind. *Te bat in katoka te amarak*, the house for storing the food. *Tia katokago i t'abunaya*, I will take you on my shoulder. *Tane katoka te orak*, a man who cures (stops) sickness.

**Katoka**, a landholder; one who has obtained land by conquest.

1 Ed. note: From the English word. The few cats on the islands had come from whale-ships.

**\*Katoro**, to set or lay down any thing,—hence, to trade, exchange. *Kator' iykan*, set it down there. *Katoro te amarak*, to barter food.

**Katuka** (G.), trowsers of matting worn as a defence, in fighting.

**\*Kau**, to wipe. *Kau a matamu*, wipe your eyes.

**Kaug**, crab.

**\*Kaue**, necklace of flowers.

**Kaun**, to cause to quarrel, to vex. *Ko kaunai*, you vexed me. (See *un*.)

**Kauoua**, second. (From *ua*, two.)

**Kaura**, to cut in two. *Tia kaurago*, I will cut you in two.

**Kauraura**, a light.

**Kauti**, to awaken. *Kuera ko kautiai?* Why did you wake me?

**Kawa** [*kav, kao, yar*] pity, sorrow; to regret. *Iakin kawa* (G.), no pity. *Tia kawa ala roko teua*, I am sorry he does not come. *Kaw gaya*, to have cause for sorrow, to regret. (See *gaya*.)

**\*Kawa**, town. *Apani te omat in te kawa?* Are all the people in the town?

**Kawa** [*Kaw, kao*], slave.

**Kawa**, to fish. *Tia noko ina kawa*, I am going a-fishing.

**\*Kawai**, pathj, road. *Titai-ni-kawai*, talking by the way, conversation.

**Kawakawa**, to creep.

**Kemair**, dirty. (See *mai*.)

**Keru** (G), to sleep.

**Kii**, come. *Kii mai*, come here.

**Kiap** (K.), ship.

**Kie**, mat. *Kien wiu*, sleeping-mat.

**Kieran te wa**, poles which unite the outrigger to the canoe.

**Kika, kiko**, cuttle-fish.

**Kimoa**, rat; a thief.

**\*Kino**, ant, emmet.

**Kina**, to dig. *Kina te rua*, dig a taro pit.

**\*Kipekipea**, to paddle; a paddle. (See *ikibekabi*.)

**\*Kipeua**, net, seine.

**\*Kiri**, dog.

**\*Kiro**, annoying, hurtful, bad.

**Kiwi**, porpoise.

**Kiwi**, a herald, messenger, news-bringer. *Ko uya ta kiwi*, do you hear the messenger?

**Kiwitai**, falsehood; to lie. *E kiwitai am tak a kaiu*, what you tell me is false. *Ko kiwitai*, you lie.

**\*Ko**, or *go*, thou, thee. *Kuera ko kamarakego?* Why didst thou hurt thyself?

**Ko**, a virgin.

**Koak**, thou wilt not. *Ko ogi, koak?* Wilt thou return, or not?

**Kogia**, blow it (as through a pipe).

**\*Koiriki**, to scrape.

**Kog**, or *kou*, to cause to return, to send for, to invite again. *Tia kogo*, I expect thee back. *Antai kogia*, don't send for him. (See *og*.)

**Koko**, (G.), jealousy.

**Kom**, a corrupt pronunciation of *nkam*, ye.

**Kon** (for *ka-on*), to fill. *Kou e te bain*, fill my hand. *Kon e te mauyg*, fill the cup.

**Konon**, song, verse. *Ia tian watut, konon in anene*, I have composed a song for singing.

**\*Kora**, cord, string. *Kora ni pai*, vein.

**Koro**, dart, javelin, spear.

**Korokoro**, strong. *Antai ia korokoro e run wakaki?* Who is the strongest among them?

**Kowar**[*gowar*], to go to, to come to. *Kowar am kara*, go to your relations. *Mai tia kowar a batam a teuana*, come let us go to your other house. *Tia rokon kowarigo*, I have come to you. *Kuera ko aki koarai?* Why did you not come to me?

**Kwananoa**, yesterday. *E mate teua kwananoa*, he died yesterday.

**Kuera**, why?

**Kuia** [*guia*], wood drifted to the islands.

**\*Kumete**, wooden dish, trencher.

**\*Kuna**, or *kona*, to be able; to endure, bear. *Ko kuna te uoua*, can you swim? *Tiaki kuna te uoua*, or *tiaki kuna uona*, I cannot swim. *Tiaki kuna te amarak*, I cannot bear food. *Tiaka konan kana te amarak*, I cannot bear to eat the food.

**\*Kuri**, ten thousand.

**Kurit**, to scratch. *Antai kuritai*, don't scratch me.

**\*Kuru**, to cut. *Antai kuruia*, don't cut it.

**Kurubuai**, to shave. (See *buai*.)

**Kuruibitu**, to cut in pieces. *Tia kuruibetugo*, I will cut you to pieces (Question: from *kuru*, and *bete*, many?)

**Kurukai**, to cut wood, to hew.

**\*Kurukuru** [*korokoro*], a cut, a wound.

## L

This letter does not properly belong to the language. In a very few words it was used by the interpreters, probably for some other letter,—r, n, or t.

**Lauti**, to pluck. *Ake' lautia*, has not plucked it.

**Li**, heard only in the single phrase, *kasa uti li auti* the Pleiades are going to rise,—probably used for *te*.

**Lina**, fish-line.

## M

\***Ma**, with, by, as. *Ko iri ma 'ntai?* With whom camest thou? *Tia iri ma teua*, I came with him. *Tia ananau ma uyo*, I am as tall as thou. *E mate te ni ma tit*, the tree was killed by lightning.

**Ma**, a fish-weir.

**Ma**, front; before. (See *mo*.)

**Maay** [*manayi, maayi*], dirt, litter. *Maayin t'ai*, dirt of the fire, ashes.

**Maay**, left, *sinister*.<sup>1</sup> *Te bai maay*, the left hand, i.e. the dirty hand,—that which is not used in eating.

**Maay**, bitter, sour. *E maay te ran*, the water is bitter. *Maayin te manam*, taro preserved in a sour state.

**Mag**, afraid; to fear. *Tia mag*, I am afraid. *Tia magego*, I fear thee.

\***Mai**, hither, come here. *Witia mai*, bring hither. *Mai ikai*, come hither. *Mai ko na mo*, come that you may drink.

**Mai**, and *maiu*, from. *Ko nako mai ia?* From whence comest thou? *Tia roko maiu tirirep*, I come from the football playing.

**Mai**, oven, hearth, cooking-place.

\***Maia**, rope.

**Maia** [*maia, mea*], leeward, westward. *Tia parau mai maia*, we have sailed from the westward.

\***Maiaki**, southeast. *E kakaya maiaki*, at the southeast there are cannibals.

**Maie**, necklace.

**Mainaina**, white, bright. *E mainaina tuitui i karaua*, the stars are bright in heaven.

**Mainak**, northward, or, perhaps, northwest. *Tia kana paraunok i mainak*, we are going to sail to the northward.

**Maio**, windward. *Tia kana paraunok i maio*, we are going to sail to windward (i.e. east, or east-southeast, see *io*).

**Maion**, through, out from. *E tayitayi rin te mat maion tau*, the dead man's bones are sticking up through the ground (from *mai* and *io*).

**Maipina**, cocoa-nut shell.

**Mairu**, from. *Taua te orak mairur*, keep sickness from us.

**Maiti** [*moiti*, G.], many, much; more. *Ia maiti te karu*, there is much rain. *E maita wau a kasam*, my canoes are more than yours. *E maiti nygoe* (G.), you have the most.

**Maiu** [*meiu, mea, meia, mau, maur*], to live, to heal, to get well; alive, well; good; life. *Aki maiu e teua*, he will not live. *Kanamaiu kai ni baiu*, the wound on my arm is going to heal. *E maiu apar ma apami*, our land is as good as yours. *Kananau maiuir*, prolong our lives.

**Maka**, branch of a tree.

**Makai**, jaw. *Kabua makaim*, shot your jaws. *Makai-bubura*, a scold (big-jaw).

1 Ed note: Left-handed, in Latin.

- \*Makniya** [*makaina*], moon.
- Make**, a small canoe.
- \*Makako**, a wound.
- Mam**, fresh water. *Te mam in te manop*, water from the well.
- \*Mama**, ashamed.
- \*Mama**, breast of woman, pap.
- Mama** (G.), mother (used daily by young children).
- Mamam** (G.), rotten.
- Mamas** [*memas*], weak, feeble.
- Mamona**, to mock, make fun of. *Ka mamanaai*, you are making fun of me.
- \*Man**, bird. *Ara man*, our birds.
- Man**, month. *Uaman te man*, two months. (See *aman*.)
- \*Manayi**, dirt, refuse. *Manayin te ai*, ashes.
- \*Manda**, polite, accomplished.
- Maniapa** [*manep, maniap*], council-house. *Tia roko mai te maniapa*, I come from the maniapa. (Question: *uma na apa*, house of the town, town-house?)
- Maniki**, footstep, track.
- Maninar**, mosquito.
- Maniyia**, foolish.
- Manop** [*Maniap*, G.], a well.
- \*Maniere** (Makin), much, greatly.
- Manu**, brother (of a woman); sister (of a man).
- \*Mayai-ni-wai**, little toe.
- Marak**, to be hurt; hurt, sore, in pain; pain. *Ko marak ia?* Where are you hurt? *E marak erigu*, my side is sore.
- Marandan**, slippery.
- Marawa**, lonesome, lonely, solitary.
- Marare**, heart of a tree.
- Mararo** (G.), strong, powerful. *Maroro e pai*, I am strong. *T'ay maroro*, strong wind.
- Marua** [*morua*], to lose; lost. *Ko marua aru tapa ia?* Where did you lose your knife? *E marua au ayara*, my axe is lost.
- Marua-gin**, to forget. *E marua-ginia*, I forget it. *Ko maruaginai?* Hast thou forgotten me?
- Maruru** (M.), soft, quiet.
- \*Mata**, eye. *Matau atai*, my right eye. *Matau maay*, my left eye.
- Mataki** (G.), blind.
- Matamar**, (G.), short-sighted.
- \*Matay** [*mata*], spirit (?). *Ba-ni-matay*, temple. *Wa-ni-matay*, ship<sup>1</sup>. *Matay America*, whites from America.

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1 Ed. note: See also "kaibuke."

**\*Matau**, fish-hook.

**Mate**, to die; dead, slain; dead person; death. *E mate teua kuananoa*, he died yesterday. *E mate run antai?* Killed by whom? *Teiti berigi matu*, those who seek my death.

**Mate** (G.), raw, not well cooked.

**Matemat**, wood.

**Matoto** (G.), hard, solid.

**\*Matu** (Kuria), to sleep. *Ko matu ia inaboy?* Where shall you sleep to-night? (See *keru*.)

**Maua** (G.), afraid.

**Mauli** (G.), to labor, to cultivate the ground.

**Mauna; e mauna ni makuiya**, absence of the moon (before the new moon).

**Mauyg**, to have a disagreeable smell. *Ia mauyg*, it smells bad.

**Mauyga** [*mau*, G.], a cup. *Iai te mauyga e teyana erum?* Have you another cup?

**Mauri**, wicked, bad. *E diriyia ina mauri*, I beat him because he is bad.

**Mauriyi**, to think of.

**Meauni**, rushes.

**Meg**, to dwell, to live, to be. *Ko meg ia?* Where do you live? *Taiiok a uygoe ko meg ar uea*, for friendship, be thou our chief.

**Mei**, breadfruit.

**Meo** [*meou*], dew; perspiration.

**\*Meo** [*mop*], Chine paper-tree.

**Metaro**, scuttle, hatch.

**Metaur** [Question: *mataora?*], to be troubled about. *Antai metauria*, don't trouble yourself about him.

**Meu**, good. (See *maiu*.)

**Mi**, to dream; to think; dream, revery. *Ibain ganai tia migo inaboy, tia duaygo kanawa ni miu*, if I dream about you to-night, I will tell you the substance of my dream. *Tia miia*, I will think of it.

**Mi**, or **\*mimi**, to wonder, to be surprised. *Tia mi rum*, I am surprised at you.

**Mimi**, *mingere*.<sup>1</sup>

**Miniti**, fat. *Minitin t'on*, fat of the tortoise.

**\*Mirimiri**, a babe.

**Mo**, or *moi*, to drink.

**Mo**, fore-part, front, face. *Mo-ni-pioto*, fore-part of the belly. *Teia mom*, wipe your face.

**Mo** [*ma, mon, man*], before. *Antai nea e mon teua?* Who was king before him? *Aki roko mon*, none came before me. (See *iramo, karamo*.)

**Mo**, chief, king. *Antai momi ungwa?* Who was your chief formerly? *Mon te apa* [*montcap*], chief of the land, king.

**\*Moa**, domestic fowl. *Mo'uman*, cock. *Mo'aiiue*, hen.

1 Ed. note: Latin word meaning: ...

**Modia?**, to sneeze. (See *kamodi*.)

**Moeti**, fat of meat, blubber. *E kaykan moetin te kiwi*, the fat of the porpoise is good.

**Mog**, dog.

**Mogur**, work, task, labor; to work. *E pani au magur*, my work is finished. *Tera go na mogur?* What are you going to do?

**Moi**, cooked, well done. *Ko kana te orora o ko kana te moi?* Will you eat it raw or cooked?

**Moko** (G.), rotten. *E moko uin*, his teeth are decayed.

**Mona** (G.), wet.

**Moui** (K.), the subterranean world(?).

**Mot** (G.), to break; broken.

**Mot**, a centipede.

**Mui**, after. *Aki roko muuu*, none came after me. *Antai momi e muin teiea?* Who was your king after him? (See *iramui*, *karaimui*.)

**\*Muimui**, **muimotu**, cocoa-nut.

**Miluku ni luti**, fathom, or, length from tip of finger to opposite shoulder.

**Mumut**, to vomit.

**Murimuri** (G.), to be slow, to delay.

**Muti**, to finish. *Ko muti te tai rum?* Have you finished your gathering, or crop?

**Mutigak**, determine, resolve. *A mutiguk takin teua ina kamatea*, they have determined to kill him.

## N

The interpreters sometimes interchanged this letter with *r*, as, *bairi* and *baini*, nose; *Mariap* and *maneap*, council-house. In some instances this was probably agreeable to the practice of the natives, as we find the *l* and *r* of many Polynesian and Malay words changed in Tarawan to *n*; as, *nayo*, fly, for *layo*; *nako*, to come, for *lako*, etc. We heard, also, at Taputeouea, *kanepa* and *karep'*, *umane* and *umare*, etc.

**\*Na**, sign of the future and of the subjunctive. *Tia na uria*, I shall sew it. *Mai ikai ko na ririai*, come here that you may teach me.

**Naar**, used only in the salutation, *ko naar?* which means, Where are you going?

**Nagegi**, to wink.

**Naip** (G.), flask or bottle made of a cocoa-nut.

**Nairanak**, "no matter;" "I don't care," etc.

**Naiwar**, to stab. *Antai naiwarai 'n te tapa*, don't stab me with the knife.

**Nakaki**, they (fem. of *wakaki*).

**\*Nako**, to come. *Nako mai*, come hither. *Ko nako mai ia?* Whence comest thou? *Nako* supplies the place of *roko*, in the imperative.

**Nan** [*nanu, nani*], the inside, the interior; the mind; within. *E marak i nanu*, there is a pain in my inside. *E ro nanam a uluat?* Is your mind at rest or not? *I nanan a panupanu*, within my breast.

\***Nayo**, a fly.

\***Nayi** or *rayi*, cloud.

\***Nayinayi**, to go.

**Nayinako** or *nayinoko*, to go or come. *Nayinako ot ina kalarago*, I am coming to oil you. *Tia mayinako*, I am going (salutation at parting).

\***Nayo**, stem of a leaf.

\***Naori**, to see. *Mai ko na maoria*, come that you may see it. Imperative, *aori; aori te tamune*, see the shadow. *Nanaoria*, let me see.

\***Nati**, son. *Natiu*, my son. *Natin t'uea*, son of the chief.

\***Newe**, tongue. *Newem*, thy tongue.

\***Ni** [*n', in*], of, in, at, among, for, from, with. *Pa ni popoi*, leaf of arum. *Nayi ni karaua*, clouds of the sky. *Kabuokego in te ai*, burn yourself in the fire. *Ko babak in anti*, thou art great among spirits. *Te bai ni kanak*, something to be eaten. *Tautauai in te ni-buok*, keep me from slander. *Atai n' umane*, man-child (Question: child among men?)

**Ni**, good. *Rub in te ni ni beniak*, clay from the mullet-pond.

**Ni**, tree.

**Ni** (for *ni ia*), whence. *Wa ni*, a canoe from whence?

**Nia**, she (when the person spoken of is not present).

**Niin** or *niyin*, she (present).

**Niire** or *niyin*, she, that lady (a respectful form of expression).

**Ni-kadaradara**, wooden beads.

\***Nima** or *yima*, to drink. *Ima nima*, let us drink, or, may I drink? *Akea bu nimak*, there is none,—it is all drunk up.

\***Nima**, five.<sup>1</sup>

\***Nimabui**, fifty.

**Nimatani**, a kind of shell-fish; the periwinkle.

**Nimtea**, to stick, to adhere.

**Nimti**, to lick with the tongue.

**Ninepo**, a paste made of the arum.

**Nini**, a lagoon in the centre of the island [rather atoll]. (See *ni*.)

**Nini**, fat, luscious (used only of fish). *E nini te ika*, the fish is fat and good.

**Niyabu** [*niyiabo*, K.], to-morrow. *Tia roko ma te wa niyiabo*, I will come with the canoe to-morrow. *Niyabu o ari o ari*, to-morrow and the day after and the day after.

**Niyan** (G.), to-morrow. *Niyan ari*, the day after to-morrow.

**Niu** (G.), cup made of a cocoa-nut shell.

**Niyin, niyire**,—(see *niin, ntire*.)

1 Ed. note: A typical example of the Gilbertese habit of changing the letter l for n; *lim* is the root-word for 'five' in all Malay-type languages.



**No** (G.), surf. *Oruak te wa in te no*, the canoe is lost in the surf.

**Nok**, breakers.

\***Noko**, to go, to proceed, to come. *Bainganai roko te ro, tia noko ina kawa*, if the fine weather comes, I will go a-fishing. *Tia noko ot?* Shall I come (or go) to you?

**Nokonoko**, to walk, to go. *Kuera ko akia nokonoko eúr?* Why do you not walk like us? *Antai a nokonoko*, don't go away.

**Noko** (G.), to come. *Enoko mai-e-yai run tamau*, I come from my father. (See *roko*.)

**Non**, *Morinda citrifolia*.

**Nono** (K.), surf. (See *no*.)

**Noria** (K.), to see. (See *naoria*.)

**Noráp** (K.), to see any thing. *Tiaki noráp*, I don't see any thing.

\***Ntapóa**, ornament of shell suspended from the neck.

**Nuk**, middle; waist. *E rewák te wa i nukan*, the canoe is split through the middle. *Tia kapeia i nugu*, I tie it round my waist.

**Nuo**, wave, billow.

\***Nuota**, string braided of human hair.

## Y<sup>1</sup>

Both Kirby and Grey had much difficulty in pronouncing this element; the first frequently substituted for it an **n**, and the latter a **k**.

**Ya**, where? which? *E ya wami?* Where are your canoes? *E ya ko tan?* Which do you like?

\***Ya**, a hundred.

**Ya**, a fathom.

**Yaboyiboyi**, to-morrow.

\***Yai**, I. *Yai ma teua*, I and he.

**Yaiya** [*yain, yai*, I., *kaina*, G.], day. *Eraboya te yaiya?* How many days? (Question: *iyaiya?*)

**Yainap** (K.), to-day, this day.

\***Yaira**, we. *Yair' o ara by*, we and our wives. *Tia korokoro yair e kaimi*, we are stronger than you.

**Ygebo**, last night. (See *iygoe*.)

\***Ygoe**, thou. (See *uygoe*.)

\***Ykan**, then. *iykán*.)

\***Yoyo**, to itch.

**Yôyô**, to speak. *Tiaki yôyô*, I will not speak.

\***Yieta**, spine, horn. *Hietan te ika*, the prickly spine of a fish.

**Yoriyori** [*yariyari*], to laugh.

1 Ed. note: The script used for this letter in Hale's original appears to be the Hebrew letter Yod.

*Yori-gin*, to laugh at. *Ko yori-ginai*, thou art laughing at me.

## O

*O*, and, or. *Epo wain o bain*, his legs and arms are struck (with disease). *E ro nanam o iduai?* Is your mind at rest or not?

\**O*, a fence, enclosure. *Pou a te o*, post of the fence.

*O*, to paddle. *O mai*, paddle this way.

\**Oanu*, eight. *Oanibui*, eighty.

*Ōgua*, tired.

\**Okua*, whale.

\**Oamata* [*omat*], a gentleman, a person of rank; a man, a human being, a person. *Kuera poko te oamata?* Why did the chief strike you? *Tiak te omat' e nan, bun te anti*, she is not a human being, but a spirit.

*Omri* (G.), to cook.

*On*, full. *On e batu*, my hand is full. (See *kon*.)

\**On*, tortoise; tortoise-shell.

*On* (G.), dew. (See *meon*.)

\**Ono*, Six.

*Onton* (G.), all.

*Ora*, shallow; ebb-tide, low water. *E ora te rawa*, the channel is shallow. *Iduai, n'or*, it is not yet low tide.

*Orara* (G.), wearied, tired.

\**Orak*, to be sick; sick; illness, disease. *Ko tian orak?* Have you been sick? *Taua te orak e mairur*, keep sickness from us.

\**Ori*, see! (See *aori, naori*.)

*Orora*, raw.

*Oruak* (G.), to destroy; destroyed, lost.

*Ot*, thither, to thee. *Nayinoko ot*, I am coming to thee. *Tia noko ot?* Shall I come where you are?

## P

No distinction is made between *b* and *p*, and the following words might have been inserted under the former letter. We have preferred, however, to retain them as they were originally written.

*Paikara*, what is it?

*Pani*, finished, complete. *E pani au mogur*, my work is done. (See *apani, kapani*.)

\**Panupanu* [or *panipani*], breast, bosom.

\**Payi*, chin.

*Papa*, a small board; a float-board. *E rereki te pap'*, the board is narrow.

- Papa**, cheek.  
**\*Papa**, the belly.  
**\*Papayi**, cannot, know not how. *Tia papaya uoua*, I cannot swim. (See *baya*.)  
**Papu** (G.), a preparation of taro and cocoa-nut.  
**\*Para**, cap, helmet; shell (of lobster).  
**Parau** [*prau*], to sail, to voyage. *Tia parau mai maia*, we have come from the leeward.  
**Pawaunok**, to sail away. *Tia kana paraunok i maio*, we are going to sail to windward.  
**\*Paro, poro**, a box, chest.  
**Pe** or *pei* (M), to be (Question: firm, fast. See *kape*.)  
**Pik**, excrement; to void excrement.  
**\*Pioto**, stomach, belly.  
**Po**, to strike, beat, pound. *Antai poir*, don't strike us. *Poia te karapepa*, pound the karapepa. *Ia tian poak*, it is pounded.  
**Poetua**, steering-oar, rudder, paddle. (See *bue*.)  
**\*Poipoi**, a paddle.  
**\*Poi**, to give.  
**\*Pu**, conch-shell.  
**Puti**, to blow with the mouth.  
**Puna**, voice. *Punam*, thy voice.  
**Pura**, loft or garret of a house. (See *kapurak*.)  
**\*Purai**, hair on the breast. (See *bure*.)  
**Puriti**, to pull. *Puriti te maia*, pull the rope. *Antai puritai*, don't pull me.

## R

This letter was occasionally confounded with *n* and *d*.

- Rab**, a basket.  
**\*Rabata**, body.  
**Rabona**, eel.  
**Rai**, plank. *E rapape te rai*, the plank is broad.  
**Rai**, a mat used in cooking.  
**\*Rama**, outrigger to a canoe.  
**Rama**, to paddle.  
**Rama** (G.), forehead.  
**\*Ran**, water. *Ran-ni-mata*, tears.  
**\*Ray**, cloud (see *nayi*.)  
**Ray**, slave; the slave caste. *Tera ko taitai-ni-kaurai? bun te ray wygor*, Why do you talk? you are but a slave.

**Rap** or **rapa**, good, right. *Te ruoia rap*, a good dance. *Ko rap*, you are good. *E rap' e teua n' karo e te wa*, he is good at making a canoe. *Ko aki rap in am tak*, you are not upright in your speech.

**\*Rapape**, broad, wide.

**Rara**, blood. *E baibete te rara rum*, there is much lood about thee.

**Raraunok**, in swoon; a fainting-fit.

**\*Raro**, far.

**Raru**, desert; land without trees.

**\*Rau**, thatch.

**Rau**, flask made of a cocoa-nut shell.

**\*Raurui**[*raoioi, raoiri*], good.

**Rawa**, channel, passage, entrance to a lagoon.

**\*Reby** or **repu**, thousand.

**Rerek**, narrow, thin.

**Retat**(G.), high. (See *ietat*.)

**Rewa**, to split. *Ia tian rewaia*, I have split it. *Rewak* (passive), split.

**Revata**, heavy.

**Ri**, to mix. *Riak*, mixed.

**Ri**, or **riri**, to teach. *Mai ikai ko na ririai ina ruoia*, come and teach me to dance.

**\*Ri**, bone. *Ri n'aya*, shoulder-blade, scapula. *Ri ni pareke*, clavicle.

**\*Ria**, lip.

**Ria** or **roa**, a scoop-net.

**Rik**, taken captive. *E rik in te buok*, taken captive in the war.

**Rin**, to go, to enter. *Antai rin in te bat ari*, do not go into that house.

**Rin**(G.), to touch.

**\*Riri**, cincture worn by the women.

**Riripi**, hot; heat, rays of the sun.

**Rô**, famine. *E mate nakaki in te rô*, they died in the famine.

**Ro**, peace, quietness; fair weather. *Tau e te ro*, keep the peace. *Teiti ro*, a man of peace. *Bain-panai roko te ro*, if the fine weather comes.

**\*Roko**, to come; to become. *Tia roko niai te naniapa*, I come from the council-house. *Tia kaw' ina kandroko* (for *kana-roko*), I am sorry that he is coming. *Bayagam ko na rok' ar uea*, we pray thee to become our chief.

**Roko**, sprout, shoot, sapling.

**Roko-bain** (or *ruku-baini*), to press noses by way of salutation.

**Ru**, from, by, about, with, among, belonging to. *Ko anaia e ru*, you received it from me. *E mate run antai?* Slain by whom? *Tia iayai erum*, among yourselves. *Iai te mauyga e teuana erum?* Is there another cup belonging to thee?

**Rua**, a taro-bed. A pit or trench in which the arum is planted.

**\*Rua**, nine.

**Ruak**, to come down. *Tiaki e ruak*, I will not come down. (See *karuak*.)

**Rud**, the spider-shell (*Strombus*).

**Rui-mata** (or perhaps *rua-mata*, two-eyes), the constellation Antares; hence Summer, which is reckoned from its rising.

**\*Ruoua**, to dance; a dance.

## T

It has been sometimes impossible to decide whether this letter, when initial, properly belongs to the word, or is the prefixed article *te*.

**\*Taai** [*taaik*, *K.*], the sun [Question: *te ai?*]. *E maroro taai*, the sun is strong (hot). *E baka taai*, the sun is setting. *Eraua taai i karawa?* How many suns in the sky?

**Taai**, a cup.

**\*Taari**, salt water; the sea. *Taari ai, te ran ai*, this is salt water, this is fresh. **Wawa taar**, to boil salt water.

**Taba**, the unripe fruit of the pandanus.

**Talagi**, to take up.

**Tabaki**, the hawks-bill tortoise.

**\*Tubonu**, the scull.

**\*Tabu**, a club.

**Tabu**, a spear.

**Tabueriki**, the principal deity of some of the Kingsmill Islands.

**Tabui**, to refrain, keep from; to spare, save up. *Tiaki tabuiia bain a kaim*, I will not keep my hand from thee. *Ko tabuiia*, are you sparing (saving) it.

**Tabuna**, to pray for, to intercede. *Ko tabunai, ko kamaiwai*, you prayed for me, you saved my life.

**Tabunaak**, praying, intercession, witchcraft.

**Tabunak** (G.), round.

**Tabutabu**. *Tabutabu punam*, you stutter.

**\*Tai**, to know. *Ko taia?* Do you know it?

**Tai**, crop of pandanus fruit.

**Tai** (G.), stop, cease, do not. *Tai te taitai*, stop the talking. *Tai mot an akaditc*, don't break his knife. (See *antai*.)

**Taimaru** (G.), mid-day, noon.

**\*Tairik**, evening.

**\*Taitai** [*tete*], talk, conversation, speech, command. *Tane uiti te taitai*, a man who carries speech, an ambassador. *Tia kaw' aki tauak am taitai i Kuria i eran Oneak*, we are sorry that thy commands are not done in Kuria as in Oneak. *Taitai te kani*, he is cutting the tree.

**Taitai**, by-and-by, presently.

**\*Taitai** [*taitoa*, G.], to tattoo. *Antai ia taitaigo?* Who tattooed thee? *Tane taitai or teiti taitai*, a tattooer. *Te tai ni taitai*, implement for tattooing.

**Taitara** (G.), current of the ocean.

**Tak**, talk, speech, saying. *Ia ban tuap am tak*, I have told him your talk (what you said). *Ko aki rap in am tak*, you are not upright in your speech.

**Takara** (G.), old, worn out.

**Takataka** (G.), song, to sing.

**Takatau**, beads.

**Taki** (G.), wood.

**Takibaba** (G.), bamboo. (See *kaibaba*.)

**\*Tama**, father.

**Tamano** (G.), council-house.

**\*Tamarua**, handsome.

**Tamotam**, to climb.

**Támune** [*tamie*, K.], shadow, shade, spirit.

**Tanai**, an axe.

**Tane, tan**, to love, like. *Tia iakaigo o tia tanego*, I respect thee and love thee. *E ya ko tan*, which dost thou like?

**Tane**, a man engaged in any business. *Tane witi te taitai*, a man who carries speech, an ambassador. *Tane kati te bat*, a man that builds houses, an architect. *Tane buok*, people that fight. (Same as *teiti*.)

**Tane-kaiwa**, a conjuror.

**\*Tano, tan**, earth, soil, ground. *Ion tan*, on the ground.<sup>1</sup>

**Tantan**, the sea-urchin, Echinus.

**\*Taya**, a beam in a house.

**\*Taya**, a cuirass, coat of armor.

**Tayana** (G.), same as *manam*.

**Tayata** (G.), to want, wish, desire; to love, like.

**\*Tayaun**, ten.

**\*Tayi, tayitayi, ndayindayi**, to weep, cry; lamentation, weeping.

**Tayi** (M.), to love.

**Tayiri**, to weep for, to be sorry for, to pity. *Tera ko tayiria?* What are you crying about? *Tia tayirigo*, I pity you.

**Tayitayi**, to stick up. *E tayitayi riu te mat maiou tan*, the dead man's bones are sticking up through the ground.

**Tapu** [*tap*], place. *Au tap' in te kawa*. my place in the town.

**Tapa**, a knife; to cut. *Antina tapa ai?* Whose knife is this? *Antina tapaia iaia?* Whose knives are these? *Antai tapago 'n te tapa*, don't cut yourself with the knife.

**Tapap**, a species of shark.

**\*Tara**, barbed spear.

**Tara**, sight, appearance. *Tiaki kuna taram*, I can't bear your sight.

**Taramaur**, offering of food to a god.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Tano also means 'land' in Chamorro.

**Taratarā**, to look, to see; seeing, awake. *Tiaki kunan taratarago*, I cannot bear to look at you.

**Tarawa**, a conical cap.

**\*Tari**, brother (of a man); sister (of a woman).

**\*Tau**, satisfied, enough.

**Tau** or **tawa**, to take, keep, take hold; to look after, take care. *Tau e te mo o kapeia*, catch the hen and tie it. *Taua te orak e mairur*, keep sickness from us.

**Tau** (G.), the game of boxing.

**Tau**, ready. *Ia tau parau*, ready to sail. (See *tawa*.)

**\*Taubere**, fly-brush.

**Taubuki**, top, roof, ridge.

**Taugara**, cinder.

**Tauna**, to bury. *Ko taunaia ia*, where wilt thou bury him? *Ia tian taunak*, he is buried.

**Taut**, stingy, penurious.

**Tautau**, to keep, protect, preserve, take hold of. *Tautauir in buirar*, keep us from sin. *Tautau maiuar*, save our lives. *Tautau nukau*, clasp his waist.

**Tautau** (G.), spot on the skin.

**Tautauna**, to smother, strangle. *Tia tautaunago*, I will smother thee.

**Tawa**, ripe, ready for gathering. *Iduai tawa te tai*, the crop is not yet ripe.

**Tawa**, to dry. *Ia tian tawaia*, I have dried it.

**\*Te**, one; a, an; the (numeral and article).

**Teberi**, to disturb, trouble. *Antai teberia*, don't disturb it. *Ko teberi*, you are troublesome.

**Tebu**, grandparent.

**\*Tebuina**, ten.

**Teia**, to wipe. *Teia mom*, wipe your face.

**\*Tekateka**, to sit.

**\*Teitei**, [titçi, ditçi], a boy; a person, one engaged in any employment, people. *Teiti katia bat*, a man who holds houses. *Teiti tan e te ro*, one who keeps the peace. *Teiti n'aiine*, a girl.

**Tekôe** (G.), elder.

**Tenana**, one; another.

**\*Teni**, three.

**Tenimuimui**, a small, young cocoa-nut.

**Tenikabuyabuya**, sea-urchin, *Echinus*.

**Tenikadaradara**, beads (made of wood and shell).

**\*Teyaun**, ten.

**\*Teua**, he, that man.

**Tewa**, to break. *Anoko ni tawaia te tabu*, go and break the club. *Tewak*, broken.

**Tewini** [Question: *wini?*], shooting star.

**Ti**, to stand. *Tia ti o tia tekateka*, shall we stand or sit? *E ti e taaik*, the sun is high.

*Ti* or *tii*, to resemble, correspond, agree. *Ti te bakir apar ma apami*, the size of our land agrees with yours. *Ti tuan o terau batar in rauirui*, our houses are one and the same in greatness. *Ti te eran yai ma teua*, I am equal to him. *Ti-te-eran*, the same, similar, equal.

\**Tia*, prefixed to verbs and verbal adjectives, is a sign of the first person, singular or plural. *Tia roko mai te maniapa*, I come from the council-house. *Tia roko yaira*, we come.

*Tiaki* (from *tia* and *akea*), I will not, I do not, &c.

*Tia*, done, finished. *Katia?* Art thou done? *Ia tia teua*, be is done.

*Tia*, with *n* or *ni* affixed, is used to express past time, or the completion of an action. *Totonia*, crush it; *ia tian totonia*, I have crushed it. *Ko tian totonia*, hast thou crushed it?

*Tianamak*, to wash.

*Tibitibi*, *E tibitibi waiu*, my leg is lame.

\**Tiboya*, priest.

*Tik*, a quick, darting pain; to feel a pain. *Tia tik inanu*, I have a pain in my inside.

*Tikara* (G.), what?

*Tiki*, pierced, hurt. *E tiki waiu in t'in*, my foot is pierced with a bit of coral. )Perhaps the same word with *tik*. See *katikitiki*.)

*Timat*, pumice.

*Tin*, the fibrous envelope of the cocoa-nut tree.

\**Tina*, mother.

*Tina*, a fleet of canoes.

*Tinaba*, bottle.

*Tinep*, daughter-in-law. *Tinepa*, my —. *Tinepam*, thy —.

*Tip* (G.), a mallet.

*Terigo*, flesh, meat. (See *irigo*.)

*Tiritiri*, to fight, to kill; be angry.

*Tiro*, paltry, mean, of little value.

*Titeran*, half, equal portion. (See *ti*.)

*Tivia*, throw it down.

*Tiyami*, albicore.

*Toka* (G.), top, summit.

*Toku* [*tok* or *tuk*], to stay, remain, stop; to reside, settle on land; to be full, as the moon (i.e. to stop increasing); rest, remainder. *Ko irai, ko tok?* Wilt thou go with me or stay? *Tia toka ion te wa*, I stayed on board the ship. *To tok' iniayai?* When did you get your land? (said to a *katoka*, or landholder.) *E toka ni makaiya*, the full (resting) of the moon.

*Tokotok*, an old and dry cocoa-nut.

*Toma*, to sip, suck up.

*Tonauti*, flying-fish.

*Toninta*, gravel.



**Tonu**, noon. *E but tanik in tonu*, the sun will be hot at noon.

**Toto**, a thief; to steal.

**Toton'**, to crush, squeeze. *Ko tiau totonia?* Hast thou crushed it?

**\*Tu, tu-ni-kaina**, fruit of the pandanus.

**Tuay**, to tell, to inform. *Ia tian tuay am tak*, I have told him your speech.

**\*Taitai**, star.

**\*Tu**, aged person. *Tu-ni-umane*, old man. *Tu-ni-aiine*, old woman.

**Tunta**, frock made of woven sinnet.

## U

**U**, a fish-trap, an eel-pot.

**\*Ua**, two.

**\*Uanu** or *oanu*, eight.

**Uayiyi**, very small.

**\*Uarerek**, small. *Te muimot uarerek*, a small cocoa-nut.

**\*Ua, uai**, nine (see *rua*.)

**Uea**, flower.

**\*Uea**, chief. *Antai uean apami?* Who is the chief of your land?

**\*Ui**, tooth. *Uiu*, my tooth.

**Ui**(G.), place. *Uin t'ai*, place of fire.

**Ui-kakaya**, cutwater of a canoe (sharp-tooth).

**Ui-katik**, sarcastic (piercing-tooth).

**Ui-n'anti**, slander.

**Uinuyinuy**, to whisper in the ear.

**\*Uki**, nail, claw. *Uki-ni-bai*, finger-nail.

**Ukuni**, snipe.

**Uma** (G.), house; (K.), house without a loft.

**\*Umane, umare**, man; male.

**Umara** (G.), to boil.

**Un, unun**, to fight. *Antai un, atai*, don't fight, children. *Teiti unun*, one who fights.

**Uniga**, a pillow (Question: *uruya?*)

**\*Unui**, spear armed with shark's teeth.

**Uy, uya**, to hear. *Ko uya te kiwi?* Do you hear the herald? *Tia uy*, I hear. *Tiaki uyap*, I don't hear at all. (See *norap*.)

**\*Uygoe**, thou (see *ygoe*).

**Uygwa**, formerly, long ago.

**\*Uoua**, to swim. *Uoua-mak*, to swim well.

**Uoiak**, to go eastward.

**Uoiag**, two months.

**Up**, a young cocoa-nut, before the pulp is formed.

**\*Ura**, red, like fire, glowing (see *anraura*.)

**Ur**, lobster (species of *Palinurus*).

**Uri**, spear set with shark's teeth.

\***Uta**, some, a little. *Uta ni tebeke*, a little tobacco.

\***Uteute**, grass.

**Uti**, to rise, appear, come in sight. *Kana uti taaik*, the sun is going to rise. *Iduai uti te bika*, the beach is not in sight.

\***Uto**, cocoa-nut.

**Utua**, kite-flying.

## W

\***Wa**, canoe.

**Wa-ni-matay**, ship.

\***Wa**, fruit.

\***Wai**, leg, foot.

**Waiwai**, reef.

**Waka**, root. *Wakan te kai*, root of the tree.

\***Wakaki**, they, them (masculine. See *nakaki*.)

**Wantai**, husk of the cocoa-nut.

**Warigi** (Question: *wiriki?*), to count. *Warigia te katoka in te kawa*, count the landholders in the town.

**Wei**, to sew. *Tia kana weia*, I am going to sew it.

\***Wari**, those.

**Win**, to lie down, to repose. *Nayinokou win*, I am going to lie down.

**Wirara**, rainbow.

**Witia** [*wudia, widia, eti*], to carry, bring, take, *Witia-mai te idu*, bring me the needle. *Ko korokoro in witiam*, thou art strong in thy carrying.

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**Document 1841P**

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**The Wilkes' expedition—The narrative of  
William Clark**

*Source: Ms. log, #M656, 1838V in Essex Museum, Salem.*

*Note: This Mr. Clark was aboard the storeship Relief, in company with the USS Vincennes in December 1841.*

**Extract from this logbook.**

7th [December 1841]

This day extremely hot weather, with little or no wind. This day has been changed by us from Wednesday the 7th to Thursday 8th to agree with the chronometer time. Nothing further occurred worthy of recollection until December 20th when an island [Wake] was discovered ahead. During most of this time we have lay [sic] to at night, fearing that we might run on some doubtful island or reef as it is said there are doubts respecting the true position of many of them. This island proved to be one of these coral islands so common both in the South and North Pacific Ocean. It is a low small island, having on it but little vegetable [sic], a few shrubbery and scrubby trees. Its extreme height from the water may be about twenty feet. Its shores are composed of coral rocks and from it a reef makes some distance out. Captains Wilkes and Hudson, in the gig, the scientific gentlemen and a number [of] officers landed on it and made observations relative to establishing its true position by chronometer time. They collected but few specimens of natural history on it; a few water bird[s], and shells were procured.

...

[Agrigan Island]

On the 29th [December] made the Island of Gregan, one of the Ladrone Islands, an early discovery of the Spaniards. They named it the Island for thieves from its isolated position they might secret themselves from detection. It is uninhabited, and has upon it nothing upon which animal life could subsist. It is very low, rising only a few feet above the surface of the water and can be seen only a few miles distant, from which circumstance it is a dangerous object for marines [sic].

On the 30th December, just as the glorious orb of day showered his [sic] rays upon the wide expanded deep, another island was soon lifting its head above the beating surges of the billows and, having a fine breeze, every moment brought it plainer in sight.

It looked solitary and alone, save [for] the wild aquatic birds that were hovering about its shores, watching to devour any small fish that might show itself above the surface. This island is another of the Ladrone Group and is called Assumption [Asuncion]. It rises out of the water in the shape of a cone, and is the work of coral insects [sic] which for ages and ages have been employed in rearing it to the present size. This is the opinion of some of [the] South Sea travellers who have studied and computed the time it would [take] for those animalcula to accumulate to such a prodigious size as many of the islands in the South Seas. It is about one mile long and a half a mile wide. On coming up with [it], three boats were lowered and sent to examine it. Captains Wilkes and Hudson with scientific gentlemen landed on it. Some shells and a few specimens of birds and coral rock were collected for the Government. Capt. Wilkes took bearings and made observations on it, by which means he established its true position. It was found a few miles out of the way on the chart. The scenes of the day were closed on board ship by exercising the Divisions with great guns, etc. etc.

On the 8th January passed through Bashas [Bashi] Straits...

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## Note 1841Q

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### The Wilkes' expedition—The letters of Lieut. William Reynolds

*Source: Letter N° 18, in: Anne Hoffman Cleaver & F. Jeffrey Stann (eds.). Voyage to the Southern Ocean (Annapolis, 1988).*

*Note: In 1841, Passed Midshipman Reynolds was serving aboard the schooner Flying-Fish, under Lieut. Samuel R. Knox.*

#### His lost letter, dated Honolulu, June 1841.

The above-mentioned book mentions the fact that Reynold's sister Lydia never received the letter sent from Honolulu in June 1841, the one letter that would have mentioned his cruise through the Gilbert Islands in April. The editors have therefore pieced the story together from other sources, including his Journal, which is to be found among the William Reynolds Papers, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, entitled: "Journal 1840, 1841, 1842, Peacock, Flying Fish & Porpoise... From the Fiji Islands to St. Helena."

#### Extracts from his journal

[Upon arrival off Utiroa, Tabiteuea atoll, he writes:]

My beard at this time has attained a darker hue than it had when I left home and I have suffered it to grow under my chin to a peak of some length. About all the natives that came alongside, young and old, noticed it most smilingly, stroking their faces and pointing to mine in a way to signify their admiration of my taste.

...

[He went surveying with Lieutenants Emmons and De Haven of the **Peacock**. When he returned to his schooner, he learned that the town was to be burned the next day.]

More war! it seems to me our path through the Pacific is be marked in blood.

[He had purchased a locally-made suit of armor which he hoped to present "to the Lancaster Museum, an establishment which afforded me so much entertainment during years which I shall never forget." On 24 April, he went ashore on Marakei Island with Lieut. Emmons, where he met Alfred Agate sketching one of the island gods, the

houses, and the people. When he heard that his schooner was aground, he was sorry that he had not stayed aboard her to help his commander.]

28 April.—Pitts [Makin] Island, the last of the group—To my infinite joy and satisfaction, after 25 days cruising that was just as dangerous as it was disagreeable... Eternity seemed nearer to me than all else and the gloomy passage of those long hours was to me whole years in duration... Here where the Heathen in their blindness bow down to Gods of Stone, the truth and beauty of the Christian belief steals over our hearts with a holy charm.

...  
[After leaving the northern Marshall Islands, the schooner was sailing alone to Honolulu.]

24 May.—Our long indulged suspicions have been verified! The water casks are full of dead mice... The Schooner kills me... it wearies my very soul... 1,500 miles from our port and wood enough for 2 days. We will either have to burn the spars or eat the horrible meat raw... The mice, the mice—the mice—and the cockroaches that are like so many Turkey buzzards... never a single night of sweet or refreshing rest for 6 months.

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## Documents 1841R

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# The voyages of Andrew Cheyne in Micronesia, 1841-1866

### R1. Summary of a book on his early voyages

*Sources: Ms. logbooks in the Mitchell Library, Sydney; edited by Dorothy Shineberg, as: The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne, 1841-1844 (Canberra, ANU Press, 1971).*

Andrew Cheyne was born in the Shetland Islands in 1817. By 1840, he was established in Sydney.

His first voyage to Micronesia was as supercargo of the brig **Diana**, Capt. Watson, 1841-42, from Sydney to Macao via Nauru, Guam, and Manila.

His second voyage was as Mate of the ship **Bull**, unnamed captain, 1842-43, from Sydney to Hong Kong, via Pohnpei and Manila; however, Cheyne stayed behind at Pohnpei, where he remained for five months. Some English merchants in China, his sponsors, sent the **Wave** to recover him in April 1843.

His third voyage was as Captain of the brig **Naiad** in 1843-44, from Macao to the Carolines and back; he visited Palau, Yap, Ngulu, Woleai, the Mortlocks, and Pohnpei.

His fourth voyage was with the same brig, and the schooner **Will O' the Wisp**, in 1844-45, from Macao; this narrative was left unfinished. It is known, however, that he visited Eauripik, Woleai, Ifalik, Chuuk, the Mortlocks, and Pohnpei, where he stayed two months; he then went to the southern Marshall Islands, where his brig was almost cut off at Ebon, in February 1845. Later that year, and in early 1846, he visited Bana-ba, Nauru, and Ngatik, before making his way to Melanesia where his brig had to be condemned as unseaworthy.

In the middle of 1846, he set out once again from Hong Kong for Melanesia (via the central Carolines) as captain of the **Starling**. In the years that followed, Cheyne was busy between Australia and England, where he got married and had his first book published (see below). During 1852, he returned to Tasmania as captain of the convict ship **Lady Montague**. In 1853, he was returning to England with this ship, via Pohnpei, Guam, Hong Kong, Manila, San Francisco, Callao, where the ship was sold, in June

1854. The couple reached Scotland in 1855. His second book, the *Sailing Directions*, was then published (but it was a second edition of his first book).

In October 1855, Cheyne left England as captain of the **Wild Wave** for China, where he was employed trading until 1859, when he visited Manila, aboard his very own ship, the **Black River Packet**.

Between 1861 and 1866, he was also the owner of the **Acis** and building a trading empire based in Palau. However, he became in competition with Captain Woodin, furthering the old rivalry between Koror and Artingal-Ngabuked...

After such a colorful career as a trader in Micronesia, Cheyne was murdered by natives at Palau in 1866.

## R2. A description of islands of the western Pacific Ocean

*Source: Andrew Cheyne. A Description of Islands in the Western Pacific Ocean, North and South of the Equator: With Sailing Directions, Together With Their Productions, Manners and Customs of the Natives. And, Vocabularies of Their Various Languages (London, J. D. Potter, 1852).*

*Note: A later edition is reproduced as Doc. 1853H.*

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The islands of Micronesia are listed from East to West, but the Gilberts and Kapingamarangi are not included, because they were not visited by Cheyne.



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## Ocean [Banaba] Island.

Ocean Island in lat. 0°48' S., long. 169°49' E., is about ten or fifteen miles in circumference, high in the centre, and of a circular form. It has neither harbour nor anchorage, and is steep to all round, clear of hidden dangers. Boats can generally land on the north and north-east part at all seasons; but a safe landing can seldom be effected on any other part of the island.

This island is very thickly inhabited by a fine-looking race, of a light copper complexion, and well formed features. Their hair is black and curly, and they dress it with a variety of perfumes mixed with cocoa-nut oil. The men go entirely naked; but the women wear a dress made of young cocoa-nut leaves, slit into narrow strips, and braided on a string at one end, which they tie round them; these dresses are only about a foot in depth.

Their food consists chiefly of cocoa-nuts, bananas, sugar-cane, and fish, but the island produces a little bread-fruit and wild tarro also.

Their houses are small, but neat. They are thatched with cocoa-nut leaves, and the sides are open, but they have a loft resting on the wall plates, on which they sleep. The lower apartment is paved with round stones, which makes it very cool.

Their canoes are built of thin plank sewed together, and generally carry from four to ten men each. They have no sails, but are propelled by paddles.

When I last visited this island<sup>1</sup> there were no less than seventeen white men living on shore, several of whom were runaway convicts from New South Wales, or Norfolk Island. Cocoa-nuts and fowls may be obtained from these natives at a moderate price; but strangers should be continually guarded against treachery, more especially at islands where reprobate white men are found domesticated with the natives.

Although I have landed on this island, I would not advise strangers to do so, nor would I advise them to allow any natives on deck.

Ocean Island can be seen twenty-five miles from a ship's deck, in clear weather.

## Pleasant [Nauru] Island.

Pleasant Island is situated in lat. 0°25' S., long. 167°4' E. It is about fifteen miles in circumference, rather low, covered with cocoa-nut and other trees, and of a circular form. A fringe reef projects from the shore about two hundred yards all round it. It has neither harbour nor anchorage, is steep to on all sides, and clear of hidden dangers. This island is thickly peopled by a good-looking race of able-bodied men, who are of a light copper complexion; and appear inoffensive in their manners to a stranger; but, notwithstanding their mild appearance, they are not to be trusted, as they succeeded in cutting off a whale ship some years ago. They had some runaway convicts residing among them at the time, who not only planned the attack, but assisted them to capture the vessel.

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1 Ed. note: In November 1845, he says in a summary article in the *Nautical Magazine*, vol. 17.

The houses and canoes of these natives, are similar in appearance to those of Ocean Island.

The dress of the females consists of a wrapper of native cloth, made of the fibres of the banana tree, and wove on a small loom. The males wear a short grass petticoat, similar to that worn by the women of Ocean Island.

The manufactures of these natives consist of sleeping mats, baskets, native cloth, small coir rope, women's dresses, neck-ornaments, and pandanus-tree hats. The sleeping mats are neatly made of pandanus-leaves, plaited, and form many variegated figures. The small rope is made from cocoa-nut husks; the women's dresses from the young leaves of the cocoa-nut, slit into narrow strips; and the hats are similar in every respect to the cabbage-tree hat usually made by sailors; indeed, they have learned the art of making them from runaway sailors who have been living amongst them.

Their food consists of cocoa-nuts, of which they have an abundance; bread-fruit, wild tarro, bananas, sugar-cane, and fish; arrowroot grows wild; and they make a delicious cake by mixing it with grated cocoa-nut, and molasses made from cocoa-nut toddy, which they knead together, and bake in an oven of heated stones, in which all their other food is cooked.

The articles of trade most sought after by these natives, are muskets, gun-powder, flints, lead, tomahawks, axes, adzes, chisels, gimlets, fish-hooks, calico, shirts, iron cooking-pots, tobacco, and pipes. Vessels touching here can always obtain a good supply of cocoa-nuts and poultry at a very moderate price; but strangers should be particularly on their guard, and not allow **any** natives on deck.

There were two white men living on shore when I last visited this island, in 1845.

1  
...

**Shank's Island**, said to lie in lat. 9°25' S., long. 163°0' E., does not exist: the person who reported it must have mistaken Pleasant Island for a new discovery. The mistake in all probability has been occasioned by the current, which runs sometimes at the rate of two miles and a half per hour near the equator.

### Covel's [Ebon] Group.

Covel's Group, in lat. 4°30' N., long. 168°42' E., consists of thirteen low coral islands, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and connected by coral reefs, forming a large lagoon inside. The group is thirty miles in circumference, has a good ship passage leading through the reef to the lagoon on the west side, and is thickly inhabited by an able-bodied race of men, who are of a light copper complexion. They have large canoes, or rather proas at this group, capable of carrying fifty men. I visited these islands in February, 1845, and before even getting to an anchor was attacked outside the reef by three large proas, carrying one hundred and fifty men. I had allowed too many of them on board, thinking they were friendly, and never supposing that they would attempt to

1 Ed. note: Here he repeats an article published in the Nautical Magazine (see Doc. 1841A).

take the ship outside the reef; but seeing us unprepared, they made a furious rush, yelling like fiends, and drove us all off the deck.

The following account of this skirmish is copied from my Journal, and will show the danger of putting the least confidence in the friendly professions of savages; and also the necessity of having the crew under arms, while holding the slightest intercourse with them.

“Brig **Naiad**, February, 23rd, 1845, a.m., fresh easterly winds, and gloomy; ship lying to, with her head to the northward. 4 a.m., made sail, and stood to the westward. Daylight saw Covel’s Group bearing from W. to W.N.W., hauled our wind to round the northern part of it. 8 a.m., standing to the westward along the reef, and keeping a good look-out from the mast-head for an opening into the lagoon. 9 a.m. observed three very large canoes coming out from the west side of the group, under sail. From this time until noon, we kept running along the reef to the south-west, but could see no channel leading to the lagoon. A few minutes after noon, we hove to, and one of the proas carrying fifty-one men, made fast to our stern. A number of her crew swam on board, who eagerly exchanged their neck ornaments, and native fish-hooks, for beads, and iron hoop. I was very much pleased with their appearance, as they had no arms whatever **that I could see**. Having learned from them that a good channel leading to the lagoon might be found by running some miles farther along the reef, and being anxious to get the vessel to an anchor before dark, I got them all (except three) to swim back to their proa, and made all sail along the reef to the southward. The three proas then made sail and accompanied us. While running along the reef, I had an arm-stand, which stood on the quarter-deck, filled with loaded muskets; and wads and shot placed by each gun, ready for loading. We got the boarding nettings seized to the rails, with lines rove to each yard-arm, ready for tricing out. The top arm-chests were also got on deck, and every preparation made which was necessary for defence. About 1 p.m., I saw a good channel from the fore-topsail-yard, leading to the lagoon. At 1h.30m. it commenced raining, **when we passed the muskets below**. At two o’clock, being then abreast of the entrance leading to the lagoon, and about half a mile from the reef, a violent squall of wind and rain came on, which obliged us to reduce our canvass to single-reefed topsails. While the men were aloft reefing, the three proas came up under our stern, and a number of natives came on board; but they brought nothing for barter, except native fish-hooks. They appeared to be labouring under great excitement, and were making a prodigious clamour. As soon as the topsails were set, I backed the main-yard; and gave orders to get the whale-boat out to sound the passage through the reef, before attempting to go in. While the men were clearing away the boat, I observed the natives stealing everything they could lay hold of; such as the binnacle-lamp, steering compasses, gun-rammers and sponges, and handspikes. Having observed several of the natives on deck to have large knives concealed under their dress, I gave orders to hold on the boat; and seeing the men in the proas passing paddles, clubs, and other offensive weapons to those on deck—which till now they had kept concealed in a small house

which they had on the platform of each proa—I thought it was time to get some of our people under arms; and therefore ordered five men to bring their muskets up. While they were doing so, the natives broke the outriggers off six new canoes which I had hanging round the brig's stern; and, also, the awning rails; with which they armed themselves; and immediately gave a horrible war-whoop, and rushed on the ship's company, whom they drove off the deck. They knocked down the five men who were armed before they had time to fire their muskets, and immediately disarmed them. The conchs sounded a charge from the proas at the same time; and a **woman**, whom they had in one of the proas, was seen standing on the platform at this time waving tappa, and shouting apparently to encourage them. The whole of our crew, forty-five in number, were driven out on the jib-boom, with the exception of myself, the gunner, and carpenter, who jumped down the companion-hatch, and fortunately got possession of the arms. We commenced firing on them from below; and after a few were shot, the crew rushed aft, and succeeded in gaining the half-deck-hatch, where they were supplied with arms and ammunition. We then rushed on deck, and after a few minutes [of] desperate fighting, in which many of the natives were killed, succeeded in clearing the deck, and got possession of the ship. Some of these natives must have evidently been at sea, as they appeared to understand the management of a ship very well. The moment they got possession of the deck, they put the helm up, and kept the brig away, right for the reef, with the intention of running her on shore. During the fight, the beach was lined with spectators.”

“We had four men dangerously wounded, and one slightly. We found four muskets broken, and three missing, which must have been carried off by the natives. There were only two dead bodies found on deck; the others, as they fell, were thrown overboard by their countrymen. The proas immediately made sail for the shore; and we stood off to sea, after having **saluted** them with a few discharges of round and grape.”

“This act of treachery surpasses any thing of the kind I ever witnessed; and makes me think that they must either have succeeded in capturing a ship on some former occasion, or been prompted by some renegade white men living amongst them; which is not an uncommon occurrence among these islands.”<sup>1</sup>

“I have no doubt that the drubbing we gave them will make them more careful in attacking another ship. They were a fine-looking race of men, tall and muscular. Their dress consisted of a bushy grass petticoat, dyed red, and reaching to the knee; under which they had their large Spanish knives [machetes] concealed. The woman they had in the proa, was very decently clad, with a wrapper of native cloth, which reached from the waist down to her ankles. The population of this group must amount to some thousands. Their proas were something similar in shape to the flying proa of the Ladrone Islands; and each had a very large triangular sail.”

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1 Ed. note: If no ship had been previously been cut off at Ebon, the natives had probably heard of such an attempt having been successful at Mili just 2 months before (in December 1844)..

## THE CAROLINE ISLANDS.

### Strong's [Kosrae] Island.

Strong's Island, in lat.  $5^{\circ}21'30''$  N., long.  $163^{\circ}0'42''$  E., is about sixty miles in circumference. It is of volcanic formation, moderately elevated, and may be seen thirty miles in clear weather. The island is surrounded by a coral reef, between which and the main are small passages for canoes. It is possessed of two good harbours; the one on the east side is formed by a small island situated on the margin of the reef, on which the king resides: this is the harbour usually resorted to by American whalers. The other is on the west side of the island, and is formed by the mainland. Both these harbours are safe; and ships touching at either can obtain abundant supplies of wood and water. A good supply of yams and fowls can also be obtained from the natives.

Two vessels were cut off at this island some years ago; but of late the natives have got the name of being friendly and hospitable. Strangers, however, should not allow too many of them on deck; and have their boats armed when wooding and watering. This island is very fertile; it produces bread-fruit in abundance; and it is clothed with many species of fine timber from the shore to its summits. Yams are extensively cultivated; but they do not grow to a large size. It is well inhabited by a race similar in complexion, form of government, manners and customs, &c., to that of the natives of Bornabi, New Carolines.

### MacAskill's [Pingelap] Islands.

MacAskill's Islands, situated in lat.  $6^{\circ}13'30''$  N., long.  $160^{\circ}48'$  E., are of small extent, covered with cocoa-nut trees, of coral formation, and connected with coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside, with a good ship passage through the reef on the west side leading into it. These islands are very low, and can only be seen about thirteen miles from a ship's deck. The group is about fifteen miles in circumference, and is well inhabited by a light-complexioned race, who should not be trusted no matter how friendly they may appear. They live chiefly on cocoa-nuts and fish. The reefs produce biche de mer; but not in any quantity.

### The Wellington [Mokil] Isles.

The Wellington Isles are situated in at.  $6^{\circ}39'40''$  N., long.  $159^{\circ}49'$  E. They are similar in size and formation to MacAskill's Isles; and form a small group of low islands, covered with cocoa-nut trees; and connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside, with a ship passage on the north-west side, leading to the lagoon. This group is thickly peopled by a light copper-coloured race, who are not to be trusted. They attacked a whaler some years ago, while running in the passage leading to the lagoon, and nearly succeeded in getting her on shore; therefore, strangers cannot be too much on their guard. The reefs produce biche de mer; and a good supply of cocoa-nuts may be obtained for trifles.

**Musgrave's Islets**,<sup>1</sup> said to exist in lat. 6°15' N., long. 159°15' E., have not been seen by me. I have several times passed near the position assigned to them in the charts, without seeing any appearance of land. I think their existence may be considered doubtful; for, if they did exist, it is probable the natives of Bornabi would know something about them, which they do not.

### The Island of Bornabi [Pohnpei].

The Island of Bornabi, is nearly eighty miles in circumference. The land is high, of volcanic formation, and may be seen in clear weather, forty miles from a ship's deck. It is surrounded by coral reefs, between which and the main land, are many islands. Some of these are small, and of coral formation; situated near the margin of the reefs, elevated a few feet only above the water, and covered chiefly with cocoa-nut trees. Others are of a larger size, moderately elevated, thickly wooded, and inhabited.

The island of Bornabi is possessed of several good harbours, the two principal of which are named Matalanien [Metalanim], and Roan Kiddi [Rohn-kiti]. The former is situated on the north-east side of the island, and the other on the south side.<sup>2</sup> Both these harbours are safe, and resorted to by whalers; but from December until April, the preference is always given to the south harbour, on account of the strong N.E. winds which prevail during these monthsm, and which render it impracticable for vessels to beat out of the one on the north-east side of the island. The other harbours are situated as follows:—

One at Lord [Lod] on the east side, which though small, has lately been resorted to by American whalers. The next is at Joquoits [Jokaj, or Sokehs]: this harbour was visited by me in the brig **Naiad**, in December, 1844, and I remained there nearly two months, collecting biche de mer. From December to April, the anchorage is safe, but it would not be prudent to anchor here during the other months, especially in September and October, when strong westerly winds frequently prevail. The water is very deep; I was obliged to anchor in thirty fathoms, muddy bottom, about four hundred and fifty yards from the shore, and under the high perpendicular cliff which terminates the island of Joquoits to the westward. I would by no means recommend this harbour to whalers, as a ship could not fetch the anchorage without tacking, unless the trade wind hangs far to the northward; and a large vessel would hardly have room to make a board, unless well inside.

There is another opening in the reef, near the island of Mant, on the north-north-west part of the island, which leads to a good harbour inside; but this place has never

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1 Ed. note: They are, in fact, the same thing as Pingelap.

2 Ed. note: Cheyne has twisted the chart counter-clockwise by about 40°; consequently, his directions for Pohnpei have to be adjusted. Is it possible that magnetic bearings to have been so different from true bearings in the 1840s?

been resorted to by any whaler. There are several other passages through the reefs, with anchorage inside, but they offer no inducement for vessels to visit them.

The harbour of Roan Kiddi is situated in lat. 5°48' N., long. 158°14' E. This longitude may be considered nearly correct, being the mean of many chronometrical admeasurements from Macao and Manila.<sup>1</sup>

A vessel bound to this harbour from the eastward, from December till April, should endeavour to get into the latitude of the island as soon as possible, after passing the Wellington Isles, and continue running to the westward on the same parallel of latitude, until the island is sighted, as strong westerly currents prevail at times during these months, with much hazy weather; and a stranger would be liable to get set past the island, if a proper allowance were not made for the current. After making the land, continue steering to the westward, until the reef is visible from the deck; at which time, if the weather is moderate, it is presumed a pilot will be alongside. Should no pilot, however, make his appearance, the entrance to Roan Kiddi Harbour may be found by attending to the following directions:—

Stand boldly in, until within one quarter of a mile of the reef, then steer to the southwestward, keeping along the edge of the reef at about the same distance off. When the centre of Bornabi bears about N.W., the vessel will be abreast of two or three small islets, situated on the margin of the reef, which will then be found to trend more to the westward; and shortly after passing these islets, the course along the reef will be W. by S. Two small islands will then be seen ahead, or a little on the starboard bow, which are called by the natives Nahlap; they bound the entrance to the harbour on the west side; and a sand-bank with a few bushes on it, situated on the edge of the reef, and bearing about E. by N. from Nahlap, distant half a mile, forms the eastern boundary of the channel; the entrance to the harbour being between Nahlap and the sand-bank, which forms a deep bight. On passing the sand-bank, give it a berth of about a cable's length, then haul more up, and keep the reef on the starboard hand close aboard on running in. The channel now becomes contracted by sunken rocks, which must be left on the port hand. The course to pass between these rocks and the starboard reef is about N.W. by W. The narrowest part of the passage is between these rocks and the starboard reef, the channel at that place for about two hundred yards being only forty fathoms wide. This forms the entrance to the basin or harbour, and a vessel must now haul her wind, and steer about north, which is the mid-channel course from the inner part of the narrows to the anchorage, near the head of the basin. The best anchorage is in 7 or 8 fathoms muddy bottom, where a ship will lie completely land-locked, and perfectly safe from all winds.

A stranger, before attempting to enter this harbour, and to make sure work of it, should send a boat in, and place buoys on the rocks, and east side of the channel; but if the weather is clear, and the sun not **ahead**, a careful officer at the mast-head, can see all dangers from aloft, and avoid them. The best time to enter this harbour is on the

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1 Ed. note: Cheyne was only 4 minutes off from true.



first of the flood, as, should a vessel unfortunately get on shore, through a sudden shift of wind, while passing the narrows, she will stand a much better chance of getting off without injury, than at any other time.

Roan Kiddi River, is about a quarter of a mile from the anchorage, from whence a plentiful supply of good fresh water can always be procured, and an abundance of firewood can be easily obtained on the low land at the mouth of the river. It is high water at this place, on full and change of the moon, at four hours, rise and fall, five and a half feet.

The anchorage at Matalanien Harbour is situated in long. 158°20' E., and is perfectly safe and sheltered from all winds. This harbour has a wide entrance on the north side of the island of Nah, and the only hidden danger to be avoided when running in, is a sunken rock, some distance within the entrance, which lies nearly in mid-channel. The sea sometimes breaks on it; but it can always be avoided by keeping the starboard side of the channel close aboard. The barrier reef at this place, extends a long distance from the mainland, and between which, are many coral flats, with deep water channels amongst them in some places. The harbour is formed by the main land, and is similar, in shape, to a horse-shoe; and the channel through the reefs, which leads to it, runs nearly in a direct line from the entrance in the barrier reef, to the heads of the harbour; and lies in a S.W. and N.E. direction.

This harbour may be easily known to vessels standing in from sea, by a remarkable peaked hill, resembling a spire or sugar-loaf, which is situated on the north shore, within the harbour. An abundant supply of firewood, and excellent fresh water, can always be obtained at this place. Strong N.E. winds prevail from December till April, with much hazy weather, and frequent squalls, attended with rain. During these months, strong westerly currents are generally experienced. From March to August, the winds are generally light and variable, but chiefly from the eastward, with much fine weather. In September, October, and November, strong westerly winds, with severe squalls and rain, may be expected; and strong easterly currents are frequently found during these months. On the whole the climate must be considered very moist, as scarcely a day passes without rain, especially in the winter months. These continual showers produce rapid vegetation, and keep up a constant run of fresh water from the mountains, the chasms, and rivulets, between the hills.

The **Ant Islands**, marked on the charts Frazer's Island, lie in a S.W. direction from Roan Kiddi Harbour, and are distant from it about twelve miles. They form a group of four low coral islands, covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, and connected by a coral reef, forming a lagoon inside, with a passage leading into it, between the two large islands on the east side of the group. This group is eight or ten miles in length, in a N.E. and S.W. direction; and seven miles in breadth, in a N.W. and S.E. direction. These islands belong to the chiefs of Roan Kiddi. They have no permanent inhabitants; but are resorted to from May till September for the hawk's-bill-turtle fishery. They are

also visited at other times to procure supplies of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit. The N.E. part of this group is situated in lat. 6°42' N., long. 158°3' E.

**Pakeen** [Pakin] is the only other group near the Island of Bornabi. It bears about west from Joquoits, distant twenty-two miles; and its centre is situated in lat. 7°10' N., long. 157°43' E. It is composed of five small coral islands, surrounded by a coral reef, forming a lagoon inside, into which there is no passage through the reef. The group is about five miles in length from east to west, and about three miles in breadth from north to south. The islands are very low, and produce abundance of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit; and the lagoon plenty of excellent fish, to supply the wants of the inhabitants. The westernmost island is inhabited by a Bornabi chief, his family and servants, in all about thirty souls: and this chief claims sovereignty over the whole group.

This place is celebrated for its canoe sails, which are manufactured from the leaves of the pandanus tree, and are eagerly sought after by the natives of Bornabi. Ships touching here, can generally procure a good supply of cocoa-nuts and fowls. In fine weather the natives frequently visit Bornabi in their canoes, for the purpose of obtaining tobacco, and other foreign commodities.

The Island of Bornabi is mountainous in the centre, and more or less hilly from the mountains to the shore throughout. The whole island is thickly wooded, and produces many varieties of good timber, fit for house, ship-building, and other purposes. The shores are fronted with mangrove trees, growing in the salt water, which form an impenetrable barrier to boats landing, except in the rivers, and other small canals or channels, formed amongst them by nature. Many of these are so narrow as scarcely to admit of oars being used; they answer every purpose, however, as all the houses situated near the shore, have generally one of these channels leading to them.

Near Matalanien Harbour, are some interesting ruins, which are, however, involved in obscurity; the oldest inhabitants being ignorant of their origin, and have no tradition bearing any reference to their history. That a fortified town once stood upon this spot, and not built by savages, cannot be doubted, the style of the ruins giving strong proofs of civilisation. Some of the stones measure eight to ten feet in length, are hexagonal, and have, evidently, been brought thither from some civilised country, there being no stones on the island similar to them.<sup>1</sup> Streets are formed in several places, and the whole town appears to have been a succession of fortified houses. Several artificial caves were also discovered within the fortifications.

This town was doubtless, at one time, the stronghold of pirates, and as the natives can give no account of it, it seems probable that it was built by Spanish buccaneers, some two or three centuries ago.<sup>2</sup> This supposition is confirmed by the fact that, some

1 Ed. note: Cheyne is mistaken on this score. Although he had spent two months anchored below Sokehs Rock, he failed to note the source of those basaltic stones.

2 Ed. note: 250 years was exactly the time since one of Mendaña's ships ended up shipwrecked there in 1595.

ten or twelve years ago, a small brass cannon was found on one of the mountains, and taken away by **HMS Larne**. Several clear places are also to be seen a little inland, at different parts of the island; some of which are many acres in extent, clear of timber, and perfectly level. Upon one of these plains, called Kipar, near Roan Kiddi Harbour, (and which I have frequently visited,) is a large mound, about twenty feet wide, eight feet high, and a quarter of a mile in length. This must, evidently, have been thrown up for defence: or, as a burial place for the dead, after some great battle.

Similar ruins are to be found at Strong's Island, of which the natives can give no account.

The soil is composed of a rich red and black loam, and would, if properly cultivated, produce every variety of tropical fruits and esculent roots; together with coffee, arrow-root, and sugar-cane. The woods throughout the island are very thick, and often composed of large and fine trees; among them are tree-ferns, banyan, pandanus, sassafras, and several species of palms. The trees do not branch out until near the top; the trunks of many of them are covered with climbing plants and vines; and the lower part of the trunks enveloped with ferns, of which there are many varieties. Many beautiful sweet-scented white and yellow flowers are to be found. These are much esteemed by the natives, and are strung into wreaths, which both sexes wear round their hair at feasts and on other occasions. These wreaths are exceedingly handsome.

The bread-fruit tree is very abundant, and grows here to a large size. The cocoa-nut and wild orange are also found in great numbers. A small species of reed or cane is very common, and is used for making floors and side wicker-work for the houses. Wild ginger and arrow-root also abound. The cultivated plants and trees are, bread-fruit, of which they have many varieties; cocoa-nut, beet-root, tarro, bananas, arrow-root, and sugar-cane; the latter is only used for chewing; also, yams, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, tobacco, in small quantities; and kava (*piper myhisticum*). The latter is cultivated to a large extent throughout the island, and daily used at their feasts. They pay very little attention to the cultivation of arrow-root; yet, what I have seen made, appeared to be of a very superior quality.

Yams are plentiful all over the island; but whale ships get their supplies chiefly from the north side, where they are cultivated to a much greater extent than at any other place: they are, however, of rather a small size, and of an indifferent quality. The cultivated ground does not extend far from the coasts, near which all the villages are situated. There are no inhabitants inland, and few of the natives have ever visited the centre of the island. No traces are to be found of any native quadruped, except rats, which are very abundant. The flying-fox, or vampire-bat, is also plentiful, and very destructive to the bread-fruit.

Wild pigeons abound all over the island. They appear to be in best condition and most plentiful from December till April. A vessel recruiting here, may obtain a daily supply of them for all hands by giving a couple of native boys fowling pieces, or muskets, with ammunition. These youths are excellent shots, and, in half a day, will procure a sufficiency for a whole ship's company. No fear need be entertained of their

stealing the fowling pieces; as I have never heard an instance of it during my many visits to this island. A stick of tobacco each, will sufficiently remunerate them for their labour; and numbers will be found daily volunteering their services.

Poultry is plentiful all over the island. The usual price of one dozen fowls is twenty-four sticks of negro-head tobacco, or four yards of cheap calico. Yams can be purchased from the natives for ten sticks of tobacco per hundred; bread-fruit, ten sticks per hundred; cocoa-nuts, the same; bananas, two sticks per bunch; and all other productions of the island at an equally low rate. Fish are taken on the reefs in great abundance and variety. Mulletts are very numerous, and are frequently seen leaping from the water in immense shoals. The small fish are chiefly caught in hand nets, and the others in various other modes.

These islands furnish abundant supplies for the refreshment of whalers; but, as yet, there are few articles which can be made available in commerce. The islands produce about 600 lbs. of tortoise-shell annually; the whole of which is purchased from the natives, at a very low rate, by the Europeans living on the island, and sold by them to whale ships at an advance of 500 [sic] per cent! They take their payment chiefly in spirits, tobacco, muskets, and gunpowder. The introduction of these articles, and their abuse by the vagabonds on shore, have tended much to demoralize the natives.

This is the only article of merchandise which can be at present procured (except biche de mer) beyond the immediate wants of the visitors. Ginger, arrow-root, sassafras, coffee, sugar, and many species of excellent timber, might, however, be easily added to the list of exports.

Whalers procure annually about fifty tons of yams, and abundance of bananas, bread-fruit, and poultry. Pigs are only to be obtained from the Europeans. The natives reared them formerly; but, through being too lazy to fence in their plantations, they ultimately killed them all, and substituted dogs as an article of diet instead.

The description of goods most sought after by the natives, as returns for what these islands furnish, are, red serge or camlets, of which they are passionately fond; muskets, gunpowder, lead, flints, cartouch-boxes, cutlasses, broad axes, tomahawks, fish-hooks, butcher's knives, adzes, chisels, plane-irons, hand-saws, gouges, gimlets, bullet-moulds, calico, drill, gaudy cotton handkerchiefs, negro-head and Cavendish tobacco, pipes, files, serge and cotton shirts, trousers, small beads of all colours, Jew's-harps, straw-hats, blankets, iron-pots assorted, small boxes or chests, with locks and hinges, fowling pieces and small shot, needles and thread, scissors, &c.

The complexion of these natives is of a light copper-colour. The average height of the men is about five feet eight inches, and the majority of them would be considered small. The women are much smaller in proportion than the men, with delicate features, and slight figures. Many of the chiefs' sons are exceedingly well formed; they are also of a much lighter complexion than the generality of the natives, owing to their not being so much exposed to the weather; and would be considered fine-looking men in any part of the world. Their features are, in general, well formed. The nose is slightly aquiline, but a little broad at the base; the mouth rather large, with full lips, and beautiful white

teeth. The lobes of the ears are perforated in both sexes; but are seldom distended to any size.

Both sexes wear handsome ornaments, composed of small beads, &c., attached to the ears. They have, also, handsome necklaces made of the same materials. Both men and women have beautiful black hair, which they take no little pains in dressing with a variety of perfumes, mixed with cocoa-nut oil; and the chiefs and their families ornament their heads with beautiful wreaths of sweet-scented flowers. They also anoint their bodies (especially the females) with turmeric, in order to give them a whiter appearance; which it undoubtedly does. They consider that this adds much to their beauty.

The men wear neither whiskers nor beard; they extract the hairs, as soon as they make their appearance, by means of tweezers, made either of a small piece of tortoise-shell, bent double; or a pair of small cockle-shells. The generality of the women are handsome; but, as they marry at an early age, they soon lose all claim to beauty. The complexion of the young girls is much lighter than that of the men, and similar to a South American brunette. This is owing to the use of turmeric, before alluded to; and to their wearing an upper article of dress, formed by a cotton handkerchief, as a shelter from the sun; which covers their breasts and shoulders, and which has a slit in the centre, to allow a passage for the head. Both sexes, the females, particularly, are very handsomely tattooed.

Many of these natives, especially the lower classes and fishermen, have their skins disfigured, in a singular manner, by a sort of scurfy disease, similar to the ringworm, or rather to a person whose skin was peeling off from the effects of the sun. They do not appear to experience any inconvenience from this complaint, and for which I cannot account, unless it be attributable to raw fish, which they eat in large quantities. This disease prevails more or less, over all the islands near the equator; and I have also met with it at the Pallou Islands. I had a Bornabi boy at sea with me for four months, whose skin was completely covered with this disease; but who lost all traces of it after living a short time on salt provisions.

With regard to the general character of this people, the most favourable feature is the affection which both sexes bear towards their offspring, and the respect which is paid to age; two qualities in which most of the other islanders I have visited are sadly deficient. They are, also, good-humoured, desirous of pleasing, and exceedingly hospitable; as a proof of which, I may mention, that upon every occasion of my visiting the king, or a chief of high rank, I was treated with the most marked distinction; a feast was prepared for me, and on one occasion a hundred roots of kava were laid at my feet, together with heaps of yams, bread-fruit, bananas, and cocoa-nuts. As a shade upon this picture, it must be admitted that they are indolent, covetous, and deceitful; and but little confidence can be placed in their professions. I must not forget, however, that I am writing of savages; and so much that is praiseworthy appeared in their conduct, and such capabilities of improvement by civilisation, as must rank them far above all other savages with whom I have had intercourse.

During the whole period of my stay on this island, and subsequent visits, I never experienced an instance of theft on their part, unless when instigated so to do by the white reprobates who are domesticated with them. In short, unless when prompted by these vagabonds, I have found them strictly honest in their dealings, paying me punctually for any goods I may have advanced them. Owing, however, to the influence which the Europeans have obtained over the natives, by speaking their language fluently; by teaching them to distil spirits from the cocoa-nut toddy; and assimilating themselves, as far as possible, to their habits, the character of the latter has become greatly deteriorated. They have already become adepts in lying; and will soon—unless these fellows be removed from the island—become habituated to every species of vice and immorality.

The Island of Bornabi is divided into five tribes, independent of each other, and each having a sovereign of its own. These tribes are named as follows:—

**Roan Kiddi, or Wonah; Matalanien; Nut; Joquoits; and Awack.**<sup>1</sup> The first two being more powerful and of much greater extent than the others. Each king has his prime minister, whose power nearly equals that of the sovereign. His title is **Nannikan** [Nahnken]. Next in rank to the king are the nobles, whose titles are as follows:—

**Talk; Wajy; Nanaby; Noach; Shou Shabert; Gro-en-wane;**<sup>2</sup> and many others; being chiefs of inferior rank, who are not of noble birth; but who have been made chiefs and obtained land by acts of bravery, or the favour of the nobles. On the demise of the sovereign, the noble who holds the rank of Talk, succeeds to the throne and the other chiefs rise a step. The prime minister holds office either for life or during the king's pleasure; and, although possessed of much power, is inferior in rank to the nobles. The government is carried on in the most simple form; the king contenting himself with receiving the tribute due to him, and rarely interfering in the administration of affairs, unless in matters of serious importance. Each chief has power over his own dependents, and can punish them for slight offences; but in cases of importance, the decision is made, and the punishment ordered, in council.

There is in every village a large council-house, with a raised platform in the centre, for the accommodation of the chiefs, when discussing the affairs of the tribe. These meetings are always attended with feasting, and kava drinking, at the expense of the chief in whose village the meeting is held. Along each side of the house each family of rank has a sleeping berth, formed by wicker-work bulkheads; something similar to the state rooms of a vessel's poop. The space from the platform to the end of the house, is occupied by the slaves or servants, who are busily employed, during these meetings, in preparing kava and food for the visitors.

When a meeting is deemed necessary, messengers are sent to the different chiefs to request their attendance. This, in cases of emergency, is done by blowing conchs. The chiefs having assembled, the object of the meeting is laid before them by the king, or

1 Ed. note: In other words: Ronkiti, Metalanim, Not, Sokehs, and Awak, or U.

2 Ed. note: In other words: Dauk(?), Wasahi, Nahnpei, Noahs, Sou-..., , ... en Wene.

head chief, and every one is at liberty to give his opinion. These discussions are, at times, very animated, especially when they have indulged freely in kava; and on several of these occasions, I have witnessed violent quarrels between different speakers, which were only prevented from terminating in blows by the interference of the other chiefs. The opinion of the majority upon the subject under consideration having been ascertained, the discussion is terminated.

On the death of a chief, the king has power to give his land to whoever he pleases. He generally, however, bestows it upon his sons; or, failing them, to the chief next in rank to the deceased.

The power possessed by each king over his dependents,—though rarely taken advantage of,—is, in every respect, unlimited; the lives and property of his subjects being completely at his disposal. To shed blood within the precincts of the palace, is certain death; and the most abject homage is paid to him by all classes, not even the nobles being allowed to stand upright in his presence.

As soon as the bread-fruit season sets in, the nobles send the first-fruits as a present to the king; and, whenever a chief has a new turtle or fishing net made, the produce of his fishery must be sent to the king for a certain number of days, before he can appropriate any of the fish to his own use. Another mark of respect shown to the king, as well as by all classes of inferior rank to their superiors, is, that the former, on meeting the latter, in their canoes, invariably sit down until they have passed, and present the side of the canoe opposite the out-rigger, towards them when passing, in case they should wish to board them.

With regard to the population of Bornabi, although I have visited all parts of the island, I have had no correct means of ascertaining the number; but from personal observation, I reckon it to be about seven or eight thousand souls. In 1846, there were upwards of sixty Europeans residing on the island, chiefly bad characters; being composed of runaway convicts and sailors.

The canoes of this island are hollowed out of a large tree, and are very neatly made. The out-rigger is attached to the canoe by many projecting pieces of light wood, neatly squared and painted. They have a platform in the centre for the chiefs to sit on. These canoes are painted red, look exceedingly handsome, and are furnished with a mast and triangular sail. They sail very fast, and carry from four to ten men.

The houses of these natives are decidedly better constructed than any I have hitherto met with at the islands. They all form an oblong square, and are built as follows:—

A foundation of stone work is raised to the height of from three to six feet above the ground, for the frame of the house to rest upon. In the centre of this, a space of about four feet square, and two in depth, is left for a fire-place; and the remainder of the floor is covered with a species of wicker-work, made of small cane, or reeds, neatly seized together. The sides are about four feet high, and are also covered in with this wicker-work, having several open spaces left for windows, and for which they have shutters made of the same materials. The whole frame of the house is made of squared timber, and the uprights are all morticed into the wall-plates. The rafters are formed of small



straight rickers, about two feet apart, which reach from the ridge-pole to the wall plates on each side, and are seized to both with small sennit. The thatch is made of pandanus leaves, sewed to a reed, which forms a long narrow mat, about six feet in length, by one in breadth. In thatching, they commence at the eaves, placing the mats lengthways, keeping each mat about an inch above the other, and seizing them to the rafters as they proceed. When they have reached the ridge, they commence again at the eaves with another length of mats, overlapping the ends where the two lengths join, and keeping each mat about an inch above the other as before mentioned, and so on until the thatching is completed.

A house so constructed, will last for many years. This style of building is peculiarly adapted to the climate; the interstices between the canes forming the sides, admit a free current of air, and render these houses both cool and refreshing; and, although devoid of ornament, have a neat and even elegant appearance. They are exceedingly clean and comfortable dwellings, even for an European to live in.

Their manufacture consist of *loaches*, or sleeping mats, belts, dresses, neck and head ornaments, baskets, and canoe sails; also blankets or bed-covers, and small coir rope or sennit. The loaches are made principally at Joquoits, Nut, and Awack, and are manufactured of pandanus leaves, sewed together. They are about six feet in length and of various breadths; the end of the mat rolled up forms a pillow. Their blanket or bed-cover is made of tappa, and thrumbed with some soft substance, similar to flax. Belts are wove in hand looms, and are made of fibres of the banana tree, dyed red and yellow; they form many variegated figures, and are exceedingly handsome. They are generally about six feet in length, and five or six inches in breadth.

The dress of the males is made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut, bleached, and slit into narrow strips, and fastened at one end with a string; it is about two feet in depth, and reaches from the hip to the knee. A man when well dressed, has about six of these tied round him. This dress is light and elegant, and readily yields to any motion of the body. The belts also form a part of the men's dress; they are worn similar to the wrapper of the other islanders, and the upper edge of the belt reaches above the navel.

The women's dress consists of the *likou*, being a fathom of calico, wrapped round the loins, tucked in at one side, and reaching to the knee. They always dye the white calico with turmeric, which gives it a yellow appearance. Their upper dress is generally composed of a handkerchief as before described; except on gala days, when those who can afford it, substitute for the above, red cloth dresses, nicely trimmed with white calico.

Both sexes are very fond of ornamenting themselves. They manufacture beautiful head bands, of various coloured beads; also necklaces, of the same description, intermixed with small round beads, made of shell, and cocoa-nut wood, about the size of a small shirt button or mould. This and their ear ornaments are decorated with threads of red cloth, made up into tassels.

The food of the natives consists of bread-fruit, yams, wild tarro, cocoa-nuts, bananas, sugar-cane, dogs, pigeons, turtle, fish, biche de mer, which they eat raw; and many



species of shell-fish. Of the bread-fruit tree, they have various kinds, distinguished by fruits of different sizes; the largest of which is the sweetest and most agreeable to the taste. Nature seems to have been very bountiful in her supply of this fruit, for the different varieties follow each other throughout the year. They have a peculiar method of preserving it, of which the following description may give some idea:—

When the bread-fruit is ripe, it is prepared by paring off the outer rind, and cutting it up into small pieces; holes are then dug in the ground to the depth of three feet; these are thickly lined with banana leaves, in order to prevent the water from penetrating. They are then filled, to within a few inches of the top, with the sliced bread-fruit, thatched over with the same description of leaves, and covered with stones to press it down. This renders the holes both air and water tight; after a while fermentation takes place, and it subsides into a mass, similar to the consistency of new cheese.

Their chief reason for preserving the bread-fruit in this manner, is to provide against famine, as they have a tradition that a violent hurricane took place at the island about a century ago, which blew the trees down, and caused a great scarcity of food.<sup>1</sup> It is said that it will keep in these holes for several years; and although it emits a sour and most offensive odour when taken out, the natives consider it an agreeable and nutritious article of diet, equally palatable as when in its fresh state. It is principally used at their feasts, and is consumed in large quantities. When taken out of the pits, it is well kneaded, wrapped up in banana leaves, and baked in ovens of hot stones. These ovens are prepared by heating a quantity of small stones, and placing a layer of them on the ground; on which the food is laid, having previously been well wrapped up, in clean banana and wild tarro leaves, to keep it clean, and prevent it from burning. The remainder of the hot stones, are laid over it, and the whole closely covered up with leaves, mats, &c., to prevent the steam from escaping. In a couple of hours the things will be sufficiently cooked; and a person unacquainted with this South Sea mode of cooking, would be surprised to find the food so well done. I consider this to be the best mode of cooking yams and bread-fruit; and much superior to our plan of baking and boiling them.

These natives cultivate yams to a considerable extent throughout the island; but they are so lazy, that they merely make a hole in the ground sufficiently large to admit the seed; and do not even loosen the earth around it, which prevents the yam from growing to any size. They generally have them planted near trees; and have strings fastened to the branches for the vines to entwine round.

Bread-fruit being the chief food of these natives, they have, from the little time occupied in cultivating their vegetable productions, a great deal of leisure, of which feasting occupies the greater part. Their feasts generally claim priority to every thing else. The king makes an annual visit to every village in the tribe, at which time the greatest festivities take place; the chiefs then vieing with each other who shall entertain him the best. Immense quantities of bread-fruit and yams are cooked on these occasions; and kava drinking is also carried to excess. The latter appears to act on them similar to

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: A similar typhoon was to take place with similar results, in 1875.

opium, but without its bad effects. These festivities generally last for two days at each village; but feasting on a smaller scale is of daily occurrence. No chief visits another without a feast being prepared for the reception of the guest; which the visitor of course returns, whenever his friend may return the compliment.

The only musical instrument they have, is a small flute, made of bamboo: the sound is produced by inserting one end in the nostril—breathing through it gently, and varying the notes by the fingers. The Bornabi drum is made of a piece of wood hollowed out, and covered over the ends with shark's skin, and is similar in shape to an hour-glass; they beat it with the fingers of the right hand, the drum resting on the left knee. It sounds something similar to the tom-tom of the Hindoos. The drummer sits cross-legged, and accompanies it with singing.

Their dances are by no means indecorous, and are unaccompanied by those lascivious gestures generally witnessed at other islands. The dancers consist of the unmarried men and girls, who stand in a row on a long plank. They keep time with their feet to the song, and accompany it with graceful movements of the arms and body. At times the arms are thrown out from the body, when they give a rapid quivering motion to the fingers, and clap their hands together. Every movement is made in perfect unison, and at the same moment, by the whole party.

The tattooing of these natives is performed by old women, who make it a regular profession. The age at which it is performed, is from ten to twelve in both sexes. The colouring matter is obtained from the kernel of some nut; and the operation is performed by an instrument made of bone, similar to the teeth of a small comb, which is made to enter the skin by a slight blow of a stick. Both sexes are tattooed from the loins to the ankles, and from the elbows to the knuckles.

The natives of Bornabi are very regular in their habits. They rise at daybreak, bathe in fresh water, then take their morning meal, and afterwards anoint their bodies with turmeric and cocoa-nut oil. They then proceed to their occupations for the day, and continue at them until about noon, when they return home, again bathe, and take another meal. The remainder of the day is either spent in feasting or visiting. At sunset they take their evening meal, and wash themselves for the third time. They have no torches, or any other means of lighting their houses; and, unless when dancing or fishing, retire early to rest.

Much respect and attention is awarded to the females at this island; and they are not made to do any work but what rightfully belongs to them. All outdoor labour is chiefly performed by the men, whose employment consists in building houses and canoes, planting yams, fishing, and bringing home the produce of their plantations; also planting kava, and cooking. The women seldom assist at any outdoor employment, except it may be fishing and weeding the ground: but employ their time chiefly in manufacturing head-dresses, weaving belts, sewing mats, making hand-baskets, and taking care of the house and children. The work of both sexes is, however, very light, and much of their time is passed in idleness.

Chastity is not regarded as a virtue among these natives, nor is it considered as any recommendation in the choice of a wife. Promiscuous intercourse before marriage is quite common; and is practised without the least feeling of shame, by either the parties themselves, or their relations; and a father or brother will openly offer his daughter or sister for prostitution, on board any vessel which may touch at the island. But after marriage, the women are obliged to be more guarded in their conduct; as a want of duty in this respect would be severely punished by the husband. The introduction of European *likous*, Jews'-harps, and beads, have no little influence in perpetuating licentiousness among the females, to whom foreign finery is a great temptation.

These natives, especially the females, are exceedingly given to prattling, or have rather a tattling disposition; for they cannot keep even their own secrets; and a crime is divulged nearly as soon as committed.

The courtesies of life with these people are few, and are usually confined to the simple inquiry on meeting of, "Where are you going?"—or, "Where do you come from?" They do not appear to have any words in their language for—"How do you do?"—or, "Good-bye;"<sup>1</sup> but merely say when parting, "I am going." "Are you going to stop?" On meeting a chief, the natives, if of lower rank, either stoop, or squat down—according to his rank—until he passes.

They have pretty shades for the face, made of cocoa-nut leaves, which encircle, and project from, without covering the head. This head-dress is chiefly worn by the fishermen, to keep the sun off their face.

With regard to their marriages, I never had an opportunity of witnessing one, and know little respecting the ceremony; but I have been told that when a native wishes to get a wife, he makes the girl's father a present, and that his suit is considered as accepted if he receives it. A feast is then prepared, and, on its termination, the bridegroom takes his wife home. In the event of her death, the widower must marry her sister, if she has any; and on the death of the husband, his brother, if he has one, becomes his widow's husband. First cousins are not allowed to marry at this island. A man is at liberty to put his wife away, and marry another, on certain conditions; but the woman cannot leave her husband without his consent, unless she is of higher rank. In that case she can do as she pleases. The chiefs generally have a plurality of wives, and polygamy is allowed to any extent, and only limited by the ability of the person to support them.

Their funeral ceremonies appear to have undergone some change since their intercourse with Europeans. Formerly the bodies of their dead were wrapped in mats, and kept in their houses for a considerable time; but, latterly, they have adopted our custom of burying them in the ground.

On the death of a chief, or any person of note, the female friends of the deceased congregate together for a certain number of days, and express their grief by loud and melancholy wailings during the day, and dancing by night. All the relations of the de-

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1 Ed. note: In modern times, at least, they say *kasehlie*, for both Hello or goodbye, as the Hawaiians say *aloha*.

ceased cut their hair short as a token of mourning. Whatever property may have belonged to the deceased person, is carried off by those who can first obtain possession of it; and this custom too is so universal, that things so obtained are considered lawful prizes.

The weapons of these islanders consist, chiefly, of muskets and spears. The spears are made of hard wood—about six feet in length, pointed with the tail-bone of the sting-ray, and when used are thrown by the hand; but there is scarcely a man of any note on the island who has not a musket, and many of the chiefs have three or four, with plenty of ammunition. I should suppose that the natives of Bornabi have fully fifteen hundred muskets amongst them. They have procured them chiefly from whalers, as payment for yams and tortoise-shell; and since their introduction, the tribes have seldom been at war. They are now well aware of the deadly effects of firearms, and live more harmoniously in consequence. The tribes of Matalanien and Awack, were at war, in the year 1843, but the dread of firearms kept them generally out of musket reach, and they shortly afterwards made peace. It is only able-bodied men who form the war party, and they act pretty honourably, as they seldom kill women or children. When one party is desirous of peace, some roots of kava are sent to the king of the other tribe, by some neutral person, which, if received, ends the war, and a succession of friendly visits are then interchanged betwixt the chiefs of the two tribes, attended with great feasting and kava drinking.

The kava is not chewed at this island, but the roots are pounded on a large stone, and, after being moistened with water, the juice is squeezed out into small cups,—made of cocoa-nut shells,—which are passed round by the attendants to the chiefs. The first cup is presented to the highest chief, or chief priest if present, who mutters some prayer over it before drinking.

Their prayers are usually addressed to the spirit of some deceased chief, petitioning it to grant them success in fishing, an abundant crop of bread-fruit and yams; and praying for the arrival of ships, and a bountiful supply of the good things of this life. The priests pretend to foretell future events, and the people put much faith in their predictions. The natives believe that they get inspired by the spirit of some deceased chief; and that whatever they may say while labouring under the agitation into which they work themselves, is dictated by the spirit; and that such prophecies will be sure to come to pass. Should any of their predictions, however, not happen to correspond, they will cunningly pretend that some other spirit has interfered and prevented it.

The religion of these people is very simple. They have neither images nor temples, and, although they believe in a future state, they do not appear to have any religious observances. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and that their Elysium is surrounded by a wall, having a bottomless ditch around it. The gate is guarded by an **old woman**, whom the spirit has to encounter on jumping across the ditch, and who attempts to throw it into this dark abyss. Should it, however, master the woman, and gain an entrance through the gate, it is forever happy; but should the woman succeed in throwing it into the ditch, it sinks into an abyss of eternal misery.

Their diseases when grown up appear to be but few, except the cutaneous or scurfy disorder before alluded to, which prevails more or less all over the island, and affects the females as well as the men. This disease produces a most disgusting appearance; but it does not appear to affect the general health of those subject to it. The children are almost all subject to a disease in infancy, resembling the yaws, called *kench* [i.e. *kens*]; but it generally leaves them when about four or five years of age. The sores when healed leave marks on the skin, similar to those caused by vaccination. Declines are of frequent occurrence. Dysentery made its appearance at this island in 1843, and carried off a great number of the natives; and, in 1845, the influenza prevailed in some districts, but with no great violence.

These natives are not cannibals, nor ever have been, as far as I could ascertain; but look upon cannibalism with as much abhorrence as we do.

**Bottomley's Group**, and St. Augustine's Isles, of the charts, do not exist; Pakeen and the Ants being the only groups near the west side of Bornabi.<sup>1</sup>

### Nuteck [Ngatik] or Raven Islands.

The Raven Islands are of coral formation, low, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside.

The group consists of four principal islands, and three islets, and is of a triangular form. The south side of the reef lies nearly east and west with an island on each extremity, and another about two and a half miles to the westward of the easternmost one. From the east and west islands, the reefs trend to the northward, coming to a point, on which the north island stands. The west island is the only inhabited one. I landed on it in 1846, and found four Englishmen and about twenty Bornabi natives, male and female, residing there. They rear pigs, which they sell to the whale ships. I have visited this group three different times, and make the west island in lat. 5°40' N., long. 157°14' E.

### Bordelaise [Oroluk] Island.

Bordelaise Island is a small, low, coral island, covered with bushes and palm trees, and can only be seen about ten or twelve miles from a ship's deck. A dangerous reef projects from it to the south-east, fully fifteen miles, forming a lagoon inside. A Mr. Édouard du Pernet, master of an Oahu schooner,<sup>2</sup> (who gave me this information,) was wrecked on this reef in 1843, and remained on the island five months; during that time, they built a small craft, which carried them safe to Guam. His opinion was, that Jane's, Meaburn's, and Bordelaise, were one and the same, and he was pretty sure no other is-

1 Ed. note: St. Augustine, however, corresponds to an island in Tuvalu (See HM16:186), misplaced on the old English charts.

2 Ed. note: The schooner named Shaw.

land existed near it. Vessels passing should be particularly on their guard, as the island cannot be seen from the south-east part of the reef. Lieut. Raper<sup>1</sup> places it in lat. 7°38' N., long. 155°20' E.

A dangerous reef lies in lat. 8°10' N., long. 154°34' E., from the authority of Capt. Wishart of the **Countess of Minto**<sup>2</sup> (see *Nautical Magazine*, for 1843, page 131).

Of **San Raphael's Island** I have no knowledge; Lieut. Raper places it in lat. 7°18' N., long. 153°54' E.<sup>3</sup>

**D'Urville's Isles** [Losap] consist of three low, coral islets, covered with cocoa-nut trees, connected by a coral reef, forming a small lagoon inside, situated in lat. 7°4' N., long. 152°37' E.

### Cook's [Hall, or Murilo-Nomwin] Group[s].

This group consists of a number of low coral islands, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside, with a passage in the reef leading to it on the south side. These islands were discovered by a Captain Cook in 1835.<sup>4</sup> Lieut. Raper classes them into two groups in his *Table of Maritime Positions*. The northern or Mourilleu Group extends E.N.E. and W.S.W. seven leagues. The N.E. island is situated in lat. 8°42' N., long. 152°26' E. The southern group is named Namolipifian [Nomwin], and lies N.W. and S.E. five leagues. The south or Namouyin islet, is situated in lat. 8°25' N., long. 151°49' E.

### Hogoleu [Truk, or Chuuk].

Hogoleu is of great extent, the group being composed of five large islands, and a number of small ones, the whole surrounded by coral reefs, forming a very large lagoon inside. All the low islands are situated on or near the barrier reef, and are of coral formation; but, the five large and high islands are situated in the lagoon, near the south side of the group, and are of volcanic formation. Many good ship passages are to be found through the barrier reef, leading to the lagoon; and anchorage can be got within the reefs, or near the shore, at the large islands. Vessels entering this lagoon, or sailing through it amongst the islands, should have a careful officer at the mast-head, as it is studded with dangerous coral patches in many places, which can only be seen from aloft, and which have no soundings near them.

These islands are thickly inhabited, and I reckon the population of the whole group to amount to fifteen or twenty thousand souls. The natives are of a light copper com-

1 Ed. note: In his *Table of Maritime Positions* (see below).

2 Ed. note: Since called the Minto Reef.

3 Ed. note: Probably Nama Island, which is in fact 1° west of the stated position.

4 Ed. note: Rather, they were discovered by Capt. Hall, in 1824.

plexion, and are a cruel and treacherous race. The reefs abound with biche de mer of the first quality, but no vessel should visit this group for the purpose of collecting it, unless well manned and armed, as the natives are too lazy to work, and will be certain to attack any vessel which they may find in a defenceless state. Merchant ships passing near this group should be particularly on their guard, and have no intercourse with the natives; nor should strangers put the slightest confidence in the friendly professions of any of the Caroline Islanders. They are all more or less treacherous, with the exception of the inhabitants of Bornabi.

I visited this group in October 1844, with two vessels, a brig and schooner,<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of collecting biche de mer. The natives at first appeared very friendly, and assisted us to erect houses on shore for curing the slug. They managed so completely to take me off my guard, that I left the schooner to take charge of the station we had formed, and removed my brig to another village, intending to form another curing establishment; but the second morning after my departure, they attacked the schooner with an immense force, supposed to be not less than two thousand men. After a desperate engagement they managed to beat them off, but with a loss of six men killed, and five severely wounded. They lost their long boat, and had to slip, thereby losing an anchor and 75 fathoms of cable. My vessel was at anchor about five miles from the schooner, to windward of a high promontory, which prevented us from seeing or knowing anything about the attack, until the schooner hove in sight round the point with signals of distress flying. During the flight a few natives were quietly assisting some of my crew to fill water casks on shore, abreast of the vessel, so that I had not the slightest suspicion that anything was wrong. The moment the schooner hove in sight, they gave a shout, and disappeared in the bush, which made it appear evident that they knew all about it, and acted thus to take us off our guard. We got underweigh immediately with the schooner in company, and anchored close to the enemy's town with springs on our cables, and commenced firing on it. We attempted to force a landing at the same time with our boats, but did not succeed for nearly two hours, the beach being lined with natives, who kept up a continual shower of missiles on the boats. Towards sunset they were obliged to give way, when we effected a landing, and recovered the schooner's long boat, which we found concealed in a house five hundred yards from the beach. It being then dark we returned on board, after having set fire to a few houses.

On the following morning, we found the town deserted, the whole inhabitants having fled to the mountains. We burned the greater part of the town, and broke up all their proas and war canoes. We observed many of the natives armed with brass hilted cutlasses, and a great number had large Spanish knives. They are very expert in sling-stones, and can throw the spear with great precision. I have no doubt the drubbing we gave them will make them more careful in future.

The barrier reef which surrounds the whole Hogoleu group, has in formation some resemblance to an isosceles triangle, its base being the southern part of the group. The

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1 Ed. note: The Naiad, and the Will O' the Wisp.



islands on its extremes are situated as follows:— Pis Island in lat. 7°43' N., long. 151°24' E.; Torres Island in lat. 7°20' N., long. 151°24' E.; East limit, three islets in lat. 7°20' N., long. 152°1' E; Givry, or South [sic], Island in lat. 7°8' N., long. 151°52' E., according to Norie, but in lat. 6°58' N., long. 151°58' E., according to Raper.<sup>1</sup>

### The Royalist [Kuop] Islands.

The Royalist Islands consist of a group of low coral islands, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside. These islands are thickly peopled by an able bodied race, similar in character, appearance, and language to the inhabitants of Hogoleu. I passed close to this group, after leaving Hogoleu, in October 1844, and found it correctly placed in Norie's chart. The centre is in lat. 6°47' N., long. 152°8' E. Strangers should hold no intercourse with these natives.

### Hashmy's [Namoluk] Group.

Hashmy's Group consists of five low islands, covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, and connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside, to which there is no [ship] passage through the reef. The group is fifteen miles in circumference, of a circular form, and may be seen twelve miles from a ship's deck. The reef may be approached to within 300 yards, as no hidden dangers exist. These islands are thickly inhabited by a light complexioned race, who although wearing the mask of friendship, are by no means to be trusted. I touched at this group in July 1846, and made the centre in lat. 5°47' N., long. 153°6' E., by two good chronometers, measured from Hong Kong.

### Young William's [Satawan] Group.

Young William's Group, or Mortlock's Isles, consist of a number of islands, connected by coral reefs, forming a large lagoon inside. The two southernmost are the largest; they are each about eight miles in length, in an east and west direction, and not more than half a mile in breadth. All the islands of this group are low, of coral formation, and covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, visible about thirteen or fourteen miles from a ship's deck. This group is thickly inhabited by a light complexioned, and able bodied race, who are exceedingly lazy and unwilling to work, and who would not hesitate to cut off a vessel provided they had a fair opportunity. Ships touching here should be constantly on their guard, and not allow any natives on deck.

I first visited this group in April 1844, and again in October following. I found a good passage through the reef on the south-west side, and anchorage in the lagoon near the entrance, but the bottom was very uneven and rocky. We anchored in 25 fathoms, in the brig **Naiad**, about three quarters of a mile to the northward of the entrance, abreast of a small islet, bearing from us southwest one quarter of a mile, where we lay

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The difference is due to the fact that Givry I. is the northernmost of the Kuop atoll, and not the same as South I.



for three weeks, during which time we built a biche de mer house on the small islet, but could not get the natives to collect the slug, and consequently were obliged to leave. The reefs are well covered with biche de mer; and the islands produce abundance of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit. Fowls are also very plentiful. During my stay at this place in 1844, I purchased about forty dozen of fowls, for fish-hooks, knives, &c. The goods most suitable are cheap knives, chisels, iron-hoop, fish-hooks, beads, and calico or American drill.

The last time I visited this group was in July 1846, and by observations then, agreeing with former ones, I place the N.W. extreme, in lat.  $5^{\circ}27'$  N., long.  $153^{\circ}24'$  E.; and the S.W. extreme, in lat.  $5^{\circ}8'$  [rather  $5^{\circ}18'$ ] N., long.  $153^{\circ}38'$  E., measured from Hong Kong, by two good chronometers.

### Naiad [Etal] Group.

Naiad Group (discovered by me [sic] in the brig **Naiad**, in 1844) consists of several low, coral islands and islets, connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside. The group is fifteen miles in circumference, and has a clear passage five miles wide betwixt it and Young William's group. The islands are thickly peopled, and are covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. They can be seen about thirteen miles from a ship's deck. I made the centre in lat.  $5^{\circ}39'$  N., long.  $153^{\circ}32'$  E.

### Monteverde [Nukuoro] Islands.

Monteverde Islands, are of coral formation, and consist of several low islands, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside, with a good passage through the reef on the west side of the group. The barrier reef is about fifteen miles in circumference. These islands are thickly peopled by an able-bodied race, who are by no means to be trusted. Strangers should hold no intercourse with them. The centre is situated in lat.  $3^{\circ}27' 30''$  N., long.  $155^{\circ}48'$  E.

### Pulowat [rather Pulusuk].

Pulowat, or Poulousouk, is a low coral island, two miles in length, in a north and south direction, by three quarters of a mile in breadth, thickly wooded, well inhabited, and surrounded by a fringe reef, which extends about 300 yards from the shore in some places. I visited this island in 1844, and found it correctly placed in Norie's chart. Its position is lat.  $6^{\circ}40'$  N., long.  $159^{\circ}23'$  E. I was told by the master of a whaler, that a shoal projects from it a considerable distance to the north-west, having irregular soundings of from ten to thirty fathoms on it, which terminates in a dangerous reef,<sup>1</sup> on which the sea almost always breaks, and that when near the reef Pulowat could just be seen from the topsail-yard. I passed near the south end of this island, and had therefore no

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The Manila Reef.

opportunity of ascertaining the truth of his statement. A bank<sup>1</sup> is also said to exist about twenty miles to the eastward of Pulowat; but, although I passed near the position assigned it in Norie's chart, I saw no appearance of any shoal.

### St. Bartholomew [Pulusuk also].

St. Bartholomew Island is laid down in Norie's chart in Lat. 6°35' N., long. 148°47' E. I have not seen it, but it is said to be of coral formation, low, covered with coconut trees, well inhabited, and similar in size and appearance to Pulowat. It does not appear in Lieut. Raper's Table of Maritime Positions, and I have some doubts of its existence. I passed fifteen miles south of its position on the chart, in a clear moonlight night, but saw no appearance of land.

### Enderby's [Puluwat] Isles.

Enderby's Isles are two low, coral islets, connected by reefs, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and well inhabited. A coral shoal, having seven fathoms least water, extends six miles in a W.N.W. direction from the N.W. islet. They are situated, according to Raper, in lat. 7°19' N., long. 149°18' E.

### Martyr's [Pulap] Isles.

Martyr's Isles form a group of three small islands, connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside. The group is about twelve miles in circumference. The islands are low, of coral formation, and well inhabited. The north island, Olap, is situated in lat. 7°37' N., long. 149°31' E.; and the south island, Tamatam, in lat. 7°32' N., long. 149°30' E.

### Pigali [Pikelot] Island.

Pigali, or Coquille, Island, is only one third of a mile in diameter, covered with cocoa-nut trees and brushwood, surrounded by a coral reef, and uninhabited. It is situated in lat. 8°12' N., long. 147°40' E.

A coral shoal, half a mile in extent, is said to lie in lat. 5°53' N., long. 145°30' E., with only eight feet water on it in some parts.

### Litke [E. Fayo] Island.

Litke Isle is about three quarters of a mile in diameter, low, of coral formation, and surrounded by a coral reef. It is situated in lat. 8°33' N., long. 151°26' E., and is uninhabited.

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1 Ed. note: The Uranie Bank.

## Litke [Namonuito] Group.

Litke, or Namounouyto, Group, extends in an east and west direction forty miles, and consists of a number of islands, connected to and surrounded by coral reefs. The north extreme, according to Lieut. Raper, is situated in lat.  $8^{\circ}59'$  N., long.  $150^{\circ}16'$  E.; the west extreme, or Onoune Islet, in lat.  $8^{\circ}36'$  N., long.  $150^{\circ}32'$  E.

**Lydia Island** [same as Pikelot], according to Raper, is situated in lat.  $8^{\circ}38'$  N., long.  $147^{\circ}14'$  E.; and a coral bank, with fifteen fathoms water on it, in lat.  $8^{\circ}6'$  N., long.  $147^{\circ}15'$  E.

**Fayeou Island** [same as E. Fayo also], is situated on a reef, which extends an E.N.E. and W.S.W. direction, five miles, and is in lat.  $8^{\circ}3'$  N., long.  $146^{\circ}50'$  E., according to Lieut. Raper. The islet is covered with wood.

## Tucker [Satawal] Island.

Tucker Island is only about a mile in extent, of coral formation, low, and covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. It may be approached to within a third of a mile, as no hidden dangers exist. The population amounts to about three hundred and fifty souls. I landed on this island in June 1846, and found the natives hospitable, but much inclined to pilfer. They are of a light copper colour, and their food consists entirely of cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and fish. I made the island in lat.  $7^{\circ}22'$  N., long.  $146^{\circ}57'$  E.

## Swede [Lamotrek] Islands.

Swede Islands I have not seen. They are six in number, and are described, in Lieut. Raper's Table of Maritime Positions, as extending W.N.W. and E.S.E., six miles. The south and east islet is in lat.  $7^{\circ}27'$  N., long.  $146^{\circ}31'$  E.; and the **Elato Isles**, which I suppose to be part of the same group,<sup>1</sup> in lat.  $7^{\circ}30'$  N., long.  $146^{\circ}19'$  E., extend north and south six miles.

**Olimarao Isles**, according to the above authority, extend N.E. and S.W. two miles. The north-east islet is situated in lat.  $7^{\circ}44'$  N., long.  $145^{\circ}57'$  E. These may probably be the Five Islands laid down in Norie's chart in lat.  $7^{\circ}32'$  N., long.  $145^{\circ}31'$  E.<sup>2</sup>

## Farroilep [Faraulep] Isles.

Farroilep Isles, according to Lieut. Raper, consist of three small islets, connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon about two miles in diameter. He places the south point in lat.  $8^{\circ}35'$  N., long.  $144^{\circ}36'$  E.

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1 Ed. note: It is not, but very close to it.

2 Ed. note: The five islands in question are most likely the Elato atoll, including the Lamolior atoll south of it.

### Evalook [Ifaluk].

Evalook forms a small group of three low, coral islands, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside. The reefs form a circle about two miles in diameter. There is a good boat passage through the reef on the south side betwixt the two southern islands. The two largest islands are inhabited, and the population amounts to about one hundred and forty souls. They speak the same language as the natives of Ullieye. I visited this little group in 1844, and found biche de mer of the first quality on the reefs. Lieut. Raper places this group in lat. 7°14' N., long. 144°30' E.; but I made it in lat. 7°11' N, long. 145°8' E.

### Ullieye [Woleai].

Ullieye consists of thirteen low, coral islands, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and connected by coral reefs, forming a lagoon inside, with a wide entrance to it on the south side of the group, which has a bar across it, and on which we had not less than five fathoms water when going in, but we deepened suddenly to seven, nine, and twelve fathoms after crossing the bar, and anchored in nine fathoms, coral and sand, near the north-east island. The western part of the lagoon is not navigable for a ship, being interspersed with coral patches. Nine of the islands are inhabited, and the population amounts to about fifteen hundred souls.

The natives are of a light copper complexion, and although friendly in appearance, are not to be trusted. Their arms consist of Spanish knives, spears, clubs, slings, and stones. They are possessed of large proas, similar to the flying proa of the Marianne Islands, in which they trade backwards and forwards to Guam, and the Caroline Islands. Their food consists of cocoa-nuts, fish, bread-fruit, tarro, bananas, and sugar-cane. Ships passing should not allow any of these natives on deck, as they are most cunning and treacherous. I visited this group in September 1844, and made the entrance to the lagoon in lat. 7°15' N., long. 144°2' E., by two good chronometers. This longitude agrees with the Russian navigator Kotzebue's position; but he is twenty miles wrong in his latitude! The reefs produce biche de mer of the first quality.

### Kama [Eauripik] Islands.

The Kama Islands were visited by me in September 1844. I made them in lat. 6°35' N., long. 142°59' E.; Lieut. Raper places them in lat. 6°40' N., long. 143°11' E. They consist of two low, coral islands, each about a mile in length, connected and surrounded by coral reefs, forming a lagoon of an oval shape. The islands can be seen twelve or thirteen miles from a ship's deck. The population amounts to about one hundred and fifty souls, who live chiefly on cocoa-nuts and fish.

### Philip [Sorol] Isles.

Philip's two isles are low, of coral formation, covered with cocoa-nut trees, and connected by coral reefs, forming a small lagoon. The islands are situated on the south and east side of the lagoon. These islets are often visited by the natives of Yap and Ullieye, from the former of whom I obtained the above information. Lieut. Raper places them in lat. 8°6' N., long. 140°52' E.

**Feys** [Fais], or Tromelin Isle, is, according to Lieut. Raper, one mile in extent, low, covered with timber, has no lagoon, no anchorage, and bad landing; situated in lat. 9°46' N., long. 140°35' E. This island was searched for by a tender belonging to the United States Exploring Expedition, in December 1841, but they saw no land in the position assigned to it.<sup>1</sup>

### Mackenzie [Ulithi] Group.

Mackenzie Group is of great extent, and consists of a number of low coral islands, covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, connected by coral reefs; forming a large lagoon inside, with several good passages through the reef, leading to it. This group is thickly inhabited by an able bodied race, of a light copper complexion, whose manners and customs are similar to those of the inhabitants of Yap, which island they often visit. These natives, although appearing mild and friendly to a stranger, are by no means to be trusted, as two Manila vessels were cut off at this group some years ago. The reefs produce biche de mer of a superior quality. Captain Wilkes of the United States Exploring expedition, had this group examined by one of his tenders, who places the eastern extremity in lat. 10°8' N., 139°55' E. Lieut. Raper places the north extreme in lat. 10°6' N., long. 139°46' E., and the west extreme in lat. 10°3' N., long. 139°37' E.

**Hunter's Reef** is situated in lat. 9°57' N., long. 138°13' E.

### Matelotas [Ngulu] Isles.<sup>2</sup>

The Matelotas consist of three small coral islets, connected by reefs, which are very extensive and dangerous. The eastern reefs are in detached patches, and with a westerly wind the sea does not break on them. The reef extends fully six miles in a northerly direction from the north-eastern islet. These islets can only be seen about eleven miles from a ship's deck, and should always have a good berth in passing, particularly with

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1 Ed. note: This tender was the Flying Fish, Capt. Knox, on the way from Hawaii to Manila.

2 Ed. note: Matelotes, or Matalotes, was the name originally given to Fais, by its Spanish discoverers (see Cumulative index, vol. 20). After many migrations on European charts for centuries, its position was finally fixed, i.e. assigned, to Ngulu. Many other island names suffered the same fate, San Bartolome being the one that travelled the longest distance on the charts.

hazy weather, or in a dark night, as strong currents sometimes prevail in the vicinity of the islands.

I visited this group in August 1843, and found the southern islet inhabited by a few Yap natives, amounting to about thirty-five souls. It is situated in lat.  $8^{\circ}17'$  N., long.  $137^{\circ}33'$  E., and the north-eastern islet, in lat.  $8^{\circ}35'$  N., long.  $137^{\circ}40'$  E. The other islet is situated on the N.W. part of the group, where the reefs are very extensive and dangerous. There is a passage leading to the lagoon, near the N.W. part of the south islet, but I could find no safe anchorage inside. The southern islet may be approached pretty close on the south side, as no hidden dangers exist. The inhabitants live entirely on cocoa-nuts and fish. The reefs produce biche de mer, and the lagoon is well stocked with excellent fish.

## The Island of Yap.

The Island of Yap is about ten miles in length in a north and south direction, and seven or eight miles in breadth, surrounded by a coral reef, which extends from its southern end two or three miles. It is possessed of an excellent harbour on the south-east side, formed by reefs. The entrance is about 200 yards wide, and can easily be discerned from the mast-head when standing along the reef. After getting inside, the channel widens a little, and trends to N.N.W. In some places it is nearly one third of a mile in width. The anchorage off the village of Tomal [Tomil] is quite safe; the holding ground is good, and the depth of water moderate.

This island is moderately elevated in the centre, and slopes gradually towards the shore all round. It can be seen about twenty-five miles in clear weather, and makes in three hummocks, which would lead a stranger passing, to mistake it for three small islands. The centre of this island is situated in lat.  $9^{\circ}35'30''$  N., long.  $138^{\circ}8'$  E., according to Horshurgh. A shoal laid down in the charts as Hunter's reef, is said to lie fifteen or twenty miles to the northward of Yap. This is the only danger near it that I am aware of.

Very little timber grows inland. The shores are lined with mangroves, which grow in the salt water, and the low lands between the villages, are covered with small wood. In consequence of the scarcity of large timber on this island, the natives get their proas built at the Pallou Islands,<sup>1</sup> which they frequently visit. The villages are situated near the shore, amongst groves of cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and betel-nut trees, of which they have an abundance.

Their houses form an oblong square, and are well constructed. The roof is thatched with palm-leaves sewed to reeds, and neatly seized to bamboo rafters; the sides are covered in with wicker-work.

The canoes and proas of these islanders, are formed of planks sewed together, and are similar in shape to the flying proa of the Ladrone Islands. The bottoms of these proas are formed like a wedge, and the keel being similar in shape to a crescent, they draw a good deal of water. Those in which they perform their voyages to the other islands, are of a large size, rigged with a triangular sail, and generally have a small house built amidships on the platform. They are very weatherly, and sail exceedingly fast in smooth water.

The betel-nut tree is cultivated with the greatest care. It is a beautiful slender palm, and grows amongst the cocoa-nut trees, which it resembles in appearance. The nuts are pulled before they are ripe, and are chewed with the usual condiments, lime and aromatic leaves, by both sexes. The natives are an able bodied race, well formed, and of a light copper complexion. They are more advanced in civilization than any of the other Caroline Islanders, their villages being regularly laid out in streets, which are neatly

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: I agree with Shineberg, in saying that Cheyne was mistaken about Yapese canoes being built at Palau.

paved. They have also well constructed stone wharves and piers. Each village has a large square, where the chiefs assemble for consultation.

Many of the women are handsome, and of a much lighter colour than the men, owing I presume to their not being so much exposed to the weather, and to their wearing, when out of doors, a *mantilla*, or upper article of dress. Both sexes allow their hair to grow to a great length, and wear it tucked up in the form of a knot, on one side of the head. The dress of the males, if such it may be called, is slovenly in the extreme. They wear the *maro* next them, and by way of improvement, a bunch of bark fibres dyed red, over it, the ends of which hang down to their knees, before and behind. The females are more decently clad; their dress consists of the *oung*, or grass petticoat, formed of long grass, or banana fibres, braided to a string at the upper part, and made wide enough to meet when tied round the body; the women when dressed wear several of these, one above another, which form a bushy petticoat. These dresses are dyed of various colours, and are worn of different lengths, the dress of the unmarried girl hardly reaching to the knee, while that of the married woman hangs down to the ankle. They have also an upper article of dress which they wear when out of doors, or when exposed to the sun, as before mentioned. Both sexes wear conical hats, formed of palm leaves sewed together; they are similar in shape to the hats of the Chinese, and protect their heads effectually from both rain and sun. Many of the men are handsomely tattooed on the breast, arms, and shoulders, but tattooing does not appear to be much practised among the women. The latter enjoy greater privileges and exemptions from labour than most of the women at other islands. They seldom do any outdoor work, but merely manage their household affairs; and, on the whole, appear to be well treated.

With respect to the general character of these people, little can be said in their favour. They are exceedingly cunning and treacherous, and should an opportunity offer, would not hesitate to cut off any vessel which might visit the island. Foreign finery, however, is a great temptation to savages, and excites their covetous disposition to attempt obtaining by force, what their indolent habits prevent them from procuring by fair and honest traffic.

These natives, like all savages, are exceedingly superstitious. I have often wondered, when sitting in their houses, where they generally have good fires, at seeing both men and women labouring away to procure a light by the friction of two sticks, and they sitting close to the fire at the time. On inquiring their reason for this unnecessary labour, their reply was, that were they to light their cigars from the fire, some calamity would be sure to happen. They do not smoke their tobacco in pipes, but roll it up in leaves, similar to the paper cigars of the Spaniards.

Their food consists of cocoa-nuts, of which they have an abundant supply, bread-fruit, bananas, tarro, sugar-cane, fish, and turtle. They catch the latter when small, and feed them in a pond until they get fat and reach their full growth.

The implements of warfare in use among these people, are, spears, clubs, knives, slings, and stones. The spears are made of hard wood, jagged at the points, and are in consequence very dangerous weapons.



As the following extracts from my private journal, during my visit to this island in 1843, may be found useful and interesting, and will more fully illustrate the character of the Yap natives, I shall insert them without further comment:—

**Brig Naiad, August 21, 1843.**

A.M., light breeze from N.E., and fine clear weather. Daylight the south point of Yap bore E.N.E. distant seven miles; working up along the reef during the forenoon. Noon, rounded the southern part of the reef, and stood to the northward, the wind veering round to the S.E. quarter. 4 p.m., discovered a clear passage through the reef, leading to the harbour. 4h.30m., abreast of it; hove to, loaded the guns, sent the top arm-chests aloft, saw the anchors clear, and boarding nettings ready for tricing out. 5 p.m., completed our arrangements, and bore away for the entrance, accompanied by about twenty large proas, full of men. When about entering the channel, they surrounded the brig, evidently with the intention of boarding; but having taken the precaution of stationing hands by the guns, and small-arm men round the vessel, before bearing up, they did not venture nearer than twenty yards whilst running through the narrows. At 5h.45m. came to in eighteen fathoms for the night, abreast of a village called Rule [Rull]. After furling sails and tricing out the nettings, a high chief, named Leok, from the town of Tomal, with his followers, was permitted to come on board; and through our Pallou Island interpreters, we stated to him that the sole object of our visit was to procure a cargo of biche de mer. On receiving a present, he went on shore, promising to pilot us up to the head of the harbour on the following morning, where we intended mooring the brig. An officer and ten men in the watch during the night, and every precaution taken to guard against surprise.

22nd.—

Light variable airs, and fine pleasant weather. 6 a.m., Leok arrived, attended by a large retinue. I allowed him and a few of the principal chiefs to come on board. &, weighed, and made sail, with a light air from the eastward. 9, anchored off the town of Tomal, to the westward, and within 400 yards of a woody island.<sup>1</sup> Moored ship with both bowers. Before noon we were surrounded by large proas and canoes from all quarters, who came more out of curiosity than with any intention of trading, having nothing in their canoes but a few cocoa-nuts. They appeared to be an able bodied race, and were all armed with clubs, spears, and large Spanish knives. In the afternoon I held a conference with Leok, the prime minister, and the other chiefs, and informed them that we had come from the Pallou Islands, and had a present on board from Abba Thule for their king, in charge of a Koroar chief, who was also the bearer of a message. I requested Leok to summon a meeting of the chiefs, when the message and present should be delivered; to which he agreed, and appointed the following day for that purpose. He informed me that a grand religious ceremony had to be observed for almost a month, before we would be allowed to hold any intercourse with the town, or see the king, dur-

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1 Ed. note: Called Bi, or Obi, Island.

ing which time the ship would be under a strict taboo. I examined the reefs in the evening, and found an abundance of biche de mer. An officer and six sentries on duty, day and night, the boarding nettings triced out, no natives allowed on deck, and all canoes ordered off at sunset.

23rd.—

Light N.E. winds and fine. At 9 a.m., the premier and chiefs of Tomal came on board to receive their present, sent by Abba Thule, for their king, which consisted of nothing more or less than a round stone, with a hole in the centre, similar to a small upper millstone. These stones are very rare, and consequently highly prized, being only found in the mountains of the Pallou Islands. When the chiefs were seated on the quarter-deck, the Koroar chief came forward, and placing himself opposite, addressed them as follows:—

“High chiefs of Yap, I am the bearer of a message from the great and powerful Abba Thule, King of Koroar: who instructed me to proceed with this English ship to your village, for the purpose of procuring a cargo of biche de mer. The English are the friends and allies of Abba Thule; and he expects that you will receive and treat **his** friends as **your** friends and brothers. Abba Thule and his predecessors have ever been most friendly with the English; and whenever the ships of that nation visit Koroar, he considers it his duty not only to protect them, but to supply their wants as far as lies in his power. He has always found the English honourable in their dealings, and no quarrel has ever arisen between them since his predecessors' first intercourse with the subjects of that country until the present day; and he would impress on you the propriety of treating the crew of this and all other vessels with hospitality, and protection from the depredations of those of your subjects who may be incited to evil. The English are a most powerful nation, and will assuredly allow no outrage committed on any British ship to pass unpunished. I am also deputed by Abba Thule to present to your king this present of money, as a small token of his friendship for his brother of Yap.”

Leok, on receiving the present, made the following reply:—

“Etelokul, we have heard your message, and accept your present. We desire you to convey our thanks to Abba Thule for this token of his regard, and also for sending this English ship to our island. This is the first ship of that nation which has ever anchored in our harbour. Biche de mer is plentiful on the reefs, and of no use to us; why then should we keep it? We are very poor, and our island produces little beyond cocoa-nuts. We are glad to hear the English are your friends, and would wish them to be ours also.”

On the conclusion of Leok's reply, I made them a present, and addressed them, through my interpreter as follows:—

“High chiefs of Yap, I have come on a friendly visit to your island, recommended by our mutual friend Abba Thule, for the purpose of bartering with you for biche de mer. Although my ship, as you will perceive, is well manned and armed, still I wish to impress on your minds that I have not come here with any hostile intention—far from it—I have come as your friend, and will use my utmost endeavour to conduct our trading on the most amicable footing. You must be well aware that I cannot procure a cargo

of biche de mer by fighting; and that the success of my voyage depends on keeping on friendly terms with you. My ship is armed merely for the purpose of protecting the lives and property entrusted to my charge, and I hope that no breach of faith on your part may interrupt our friendly intercourse. I have cautioned my crew to take nothing from any of your subjects without payment. Should I find them act contrary to orders, I shall assuredly punish them."

After having partaken of refreshments, I showed them the vessel. They took particular notice of the great guns, and expressed a wish to see them fired, in which I gratified them, to their no small astonishment. The scene was both ludicrous and amusing. After the first discharge, they held their hands over their ears, shouting the whole time, apparently distracted with the noise, and filled with terror on seeing the shot tearing up the sea at the distance of a mile from the vessel. About the time we ceased firing, a messenger arrived from the town to entreat us to desist, as we had caused such an alarm, that the women were almost distracted. The chiefs promised before leaving, that although the taboo prohibited a regular intercourse with the vessel, they would set their slaves to work in preparing thatch for a biche de mer house. At sunset, sent down top-gallant yards and masts. Observed our usual precautions with regard to the watches, and allowed no canoes alongside after a specified hour.

24th.—

Light N.E. winds, and fine. Unbent sails, and stowed them below; rigged the boats and sampans. A number of large proas and canoes round the vessel. In the forenoon I visited a village named Rule, near the entrance of the harbour, where I met with a kind reception. On my landing the chiefs assembled, and took their seats in the council square; they expressed themselves much disappointed that I had not anchored at their village instead of Tomal, but I gave the latter the preference, on account of their being the most powerful. On my requesting permission from the chiefs of Rule to form an establishment at their village, they immediately acceded, and granted me the use of their large council house to cure the biche de mer in. It was arranged that a boat's crew from the vessel should be sent on the following day to fit it up. Whilst there, I learned that the religious taboo, before alluded to, had no reference to any village but Tomal. The inhabitants of Rule appeared much more straightforward and hospitable than those of Tomal.

25th.—

Fresh northerly winds and fine. 9 a.m., started for Rule, taking with me the gunner, a tindel [sic], and eight Lascars to fit up the curing house. I found on looking round the village that a great scarcity of firewood existed, the only wood to be procured for burning being mangrove trees growing in the salt water, with which the shores were fronted. I remained until near sunset, by which time we had fixed the pots, and finished part of the lower **batter**. I left the gunner, tindel, and four Lascars, in charge of the establishment. I learned, on returning on board, that an immense number of proas and canoes had visited the ship, during my absence.

26th.—

Fresh northerly winds, and cloudy. Landed with the third mate and a party of men, on the small island abreast of the vessel, and cleared a place for a biche de mer house near the water's edge. The prime minister and several chiefs were present. They promised before leaving to commence the house on Monday. Employed on board cleaning small arms and inspecting our fighting gear, &c. Sent a boat to Rule in the afternoon. They returned about sunset, and informed me that the house was almost ready.

27th.—

Fresh northerly winds, and fair weather. 9h, mustered all hands in clean clothes. No work done, being Sunday, and no liberty allowed on shore.

29th.—

Northerly winds, and fair weather. The natives commenced bringing bamboo, and thatch for the house. The third mate and a shore party of twenty men cutting firewood. The natives of Tomal appear a very dilatory set, and do not work with any spirit. I went to Rule in the afternoon, and stayed there until sunset, by which time the platforms were finished, and every thing ready for fishing. I left two of the Pallou Islanders with the gunner, to assist, and act as interpreters.

30th.—

Northerly winds and squally, with rain. Little or nothing done by the Tomal natives. In the afternoon we commenced putting up the frame of the house, on the small island; its dimensions being, sixty-five feet in length, twenty in breadth, and seven in height.

31st.—

Strong N.E. winds and fair weather. Twenty-five men at work on the island, cutting spars and rafters for the house, and putting the frame up. A number of chiefs and natives looking on, chewing betel-nut, but rendering no assistance. In the afternoon two small canoes brought some plaited cocoa-nut leaves for thatch, from one of the slave villages.

September, 1st.—

Fresh northerly winds and fine weather. A number of our crew at work on shore, putting up the frame of the house, and cutting firewood, and bamboo. Visited Rule in the evening; found the gunner and his men busily engaged curing biche de mer. He said there appeared to be abundance of the first quality on the reefs. The lower **batter** was quite full of fish, but the firewood was so wet, that he had great difficulty in keeping up a proper degree of heat under it. The gunner complained sadly of the laziness of the natives. He said they would neither assist to cure the biche de mer, nor help to cut firewood.

[Manila ships cut off at Ulithi and Yap, ca. 1836]

2nd.—

Variable winds, with passing showers. The shore party at work on the small island as usual. Finished the frame of the house by sunset. Employed cleaning small arms, and examining the charges of the guns. During the afternoon, a young lad came on board,

dressed in the Yap costume, who represented himself as being a survivor from one of the Spanish vessels cut off at this island some years ago. I learned through my interpreter, that this lad, who was a boy in the vessel at the time of the massacre, was spared by the natives, and had been kept in a state of slavery ever since. The poor fellow appeared much distressed; he threw himself down at my feet, and crying bitterly, implored me to keep him on board. His name was Lorio, a native of Manila. He said the natives had prevented him from communicating with me previously, and would if he returned kill him. I told the poor lad he was welcome to remain, and that he could consider himself under my protection. He corroborated all that I had previously heard regarding the treachery of the natives; and, much to my astonishment, assured me that Leok and the chiefs of Tomal had it in contemplation to cut us off when running in the passage, on the evening of our arrival, and were only deterred from making the attempt, by seeing the precautions I had taken. He warned me against forming any more curing establishments on shore, as the natives, he said, had it still in contemplation to cut us off, and were merely pretending friendship to take us off our guard. He said the biche de mer was very plentiful, but the natives so exceedingly lazy, that he was confident they would never collect a cargo for me; and he strongly advised me to leave the island at once.

The following was Lorio's account of the capture, and massacre of the crew, of the Spanish brig he belonged to:—

“About the year 1836, two Manila vessels, one a brig, armed, and manned with a crew of fifty Manila men, the other an armed schooner, carrying forty men, went to the island of Yap (having been there the year previous) to procure a cargo of biche de mer. The schooner after having stayed a few days, took a number of Yap natives on board, and proceeded to Mackenzie's [Ulithi] Group, to the N.E. of Yap, where, through some quarrel with the natives, she was captured, burnt, and the crew massacred. The brig remained at Tomal, (the same village we were anchored off,) and the natives assisted her crew to erect curing houses at five different villages, together with a biche de mer house on the small island abreast of the vessel, (the same on which we were now erecting our establishment) among which they had forty of their crew distributed, leaving only the captain and nine men on board. Things went on quietly for a month, when a conspiracy was formed by the chiefs of the different villages to massacre the whole of the shore parties, and capture the vessel; and to prevent suspicion, it was resolved that the brig should be taken solely by the Tomal chiefs, who were to go on board in a friendly manner, and overpower the captain and the few men remaining with him, whilst the shore parties were to be murdered at the same moment. On the day appointed, Leok, with nineteen chiefs went on board, having no other weapons than a short club of iron-wood, concealed in their betel-nut baskets, which they usually carry in their hand. They sat on deck for some time, chewing betel-nut, until they saw the crew completely off their guard, when they rushed on them and murdered the whole, with the exception of the boy. The captain was an European Spaniard. He was asleep on a couch on the quarter-deck when they made the rush, and Leok was the person who had the honour of

despatching him, which however he did not accomplish without receiving a severe wound in the thigh from the captain's dagger, who, on awaking, made a desperate struggle for his life. All the shore parties were murdered at the same time. The vessel was then dismantled and burnt."

Lorio assured me that they had had no previous quarrel with the natives, but that it was solely an act of treachery on their part, for the sake of plunder. The foregoing statement confirmed what Abba Thule had told me regarding the character of the Yap people, whom he represented as being possessed of great cunning, treacherous in the highest degree, and men in whose professions no confidence should be placed.

Nothing particular occurred from the 2nd till the 20th, when I was informed by Leok that the taboo would be taken off on the following day. Owing to the excessive laziness of the natives, the biche de mer house was not thatched until the 15th, so that we were not ready for curing the slug until the afternoon of the 18th, on which day we commenced operations.

21st.—

This being the day appointed for the grand festival or ceremony which was to terminate the taboo, I had the ship decorated with flags at an early hour. At 9 a.m., a messenger arrived requesting my presence on shore. In addition to my usual boat's crew—who were fully armed—I took with me three European sea-cunnies, and Etelokul the Koroar chief. On landing we were received by one of the chiefs, and conducted to seats in the council square, where we found the prime minister and nobles assembled, in their gala dresses. The prime minister then intimated that the boat's crew must be called up, and the oars, &c., put into the council-house, until the ceremony was over. This had rather a suspicious aspect; but, on being assured by Etelokul that no treachery was intended, I thought it advisable to comply with their request. On this, the nobles left us, having intimated that they were going to the palace to join in the procession which was to accompany the king to the council-square. In a few minutes a flourish of conchs announced to us that the procession was formed, and had left the palace. It soon hove in sight in the following order:—First came two men blowing conchs; then the high priest carrying palm leaves and water in a calabash; next, the king, followed by the nobles, walking two and two abreast; lastly, the sons of the nobility and the inferior chiefs. We rose on their approach, and continued standing until all were seated. The prime minister placed me in front of the king, by the side of the high priest. A procession of females followed. First, all the maidens of high rank in their best dresses—their hair decorated with beautiful sweet-scented flowers, and carrying bouquets—walked past in single file, and seated themselves opposite the pavement; next, the nobles' wives, followed by the inferior chiefs' wives and concubines—all in their gala dresses, carrying palm leaves and flowers—walked past in single file, and seated themselves, according to rank, near the maidens. When all were seated, the high priest stood up, and made a long oration or prayer, responded to by the nobles. Towards its conclusion, he sprinkled me with water from the calabash, touching me gently on the shoulders with palm leaves, several of which he tied with a peculiar knot, and put round my neck. These leafy collars were

also worn by the king and nobles, and each of them presented me with one. At the conclusion of the ceremony, we—accompanied by the high priest and his conch-blowers—returned on board. The high priest—after walking three times round the deck, striking the gunnel with palm leaves, and praying the God of the Sea to depart from the ship, preceded by two men blowing conchs—broke a cocoa-nut on the main-mast, and proclaimed the ship released from taboo.

The purport of this magnificent and imposing ceremony—of which I have only given a brief outline—was to propitiate the God of the Sea to return to his native element; they having a superstitious belief that he had followed the ship to the island, and would depart at the expiration of a month after her arrival. The king, during the taboo, had been residing inland, daily propitiating the Gods, by prayers and offerings, to avert any calamity happening during the observance of the monthly taboo.

I was much pleased with the appearance of the town from the little I could see of it while on shore. The houses appeared to be well built, and the surrounding scenery beautiful. When all was over, we fired a salute of nine guns, to the no small astonishment of the natives.

22nd.—

Fresh westerly winds and fine weather. Went on shore in the forenoon with a present to the king, whom I found seated in a square pavement in front of his house, attended by the queen, his children, and several of the nobles. He desired me to sit down, and, after some conversation held through my interpreter, was graciously pleased to accept my present. He, in return, sent down a quantity of cocoa-nuts, bananas, and tarro to the boat; but seemed to take little interest in what I said respecting the biche de mer, intimating that he left that entirely to the chiefs. I invited him on board; but he declined visiting the ship, alleging that it was against the rules of the island for him to go afloat. He appeared to be from forty to fifty years of age, of moderate stature, pleasing features, and presented altogether rather a prepossessing appearance. He was handsomely tattooed about the breast and shoulders, had fine glossy black hair, and his wrists and neck were decorated with green palm leaves; but his dress presented nothing which could distinguish him from the other chiefs. On leaving the palace, I walked over the town with the prime minister, and was entertained at his house with boiled tarro, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and fish. Whilst there, I observed two old rusty muskets standing in a corner, which I supposed to have been obtained from the Manila vessel cut off at this place.

On walking down to the landing place, I found all the chiefs assembled in council, and took the opportunity of stating to them what the king had said regarding the biche de mer. After a long discussion, they informed me, that the taboo being now taken off, they were ready to commence, and would do so on the following day if the weather permitted; but that no-one except the chiefs and nobles would be permitted to fish for a certain number of days. I remonstrated with them on the absurdity of this arrangement, and tried to impress on them the value of time, and the great expense incurred by keeping the vessel here so long doing nothing; but I only received for answer, that this was



etiquette, and that we would have to conform to their customs. They fixed the term of their monopoly at ten days; and said, that at the expiration of that time, all the natives would be at liberty to fish for us.

On the 24th.—

We experienced a most severe storm from the S.W., which lasted twelve hours. It commenced to blow strong about noon, the barometer then being at 29.75 inches. Sunset, blowing a fresh gale, bar. 29.65. At 9 p.m., gale increasing, accompanied with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning; sent the topsail-yards on deck, and pointed the lower yards to the wind, the barometer having fallen to 29.55. Midnight, blowing furiously, bar. 29.50, expected the vessel to bring home her anchors every moment, but could do nothing more, having no room to pay out cable, the reef being within a hundred yards of the brig's stern. 1 a.m., still blowing with unabated violence, bar. 29.55. At 2h., the gale commenced moderating, bar. 29.60. 3 a.m., gale moderating fast, and the sky clear, bar. 29.75. [End of quote from his journal].

This could have been a cyclone, as the wind did not veer a point from its commencement until it ceased.

This small volume having been already enlarged beyond its original design, and as I have still some remarks to insert on the winds and currents of the Pacific, I shall finish these extracts by briefly enumerating a few of the occurrences which tended to hasten our departure from the Island of Yap.

On account of the confirmed laziness of the Tomal natives, and seeing no chance of procuring a cargo at this place, I was induced, through the representation of a chief belonging to the north-east part of the island, to form a curing establishment at his village, where, on examination, I found the biche de mer plentiful. This station I left in charge of a sea-cunny and five Lascars. I formed a fourth curing establishment, on the 3rd of October, near the south end of the island, with the same number of men in charge. I visited Rule the following day, and while there, the chiefs made use of every argument they could think of to induce me to remove the brig from Tomal to their village; but, although the slug was more abundant, and of a better quality, at the latter place, I could see little prospect of gaining much by the exchange, as they appeared equally lazy and unwilling to work. It was therefore evident that my only chance of procuring a cargo, was by having an establishment at each of the principal towns. The Rule chiefs thought I incurred great risk in forming any so far from the ship as the north-eastern village; as its inhabitants were in league with the Tomal natives, who had it in contemplation to attempt our capture on the first favourable opportunity. They said Leok was a cunning scoundrel, and had long been tampering with my crew, enticing them by promises of land and wives to desert from the vessel. I paid little attention to their caution at the time, thinking they had some sinister motive in view, but before I left the island, I found they had told me nothing but the truth.

On the 7th of October, the Manila boy Lorio was informed by a native belonging to one of the slave villages, that Leok was organizing a force of 600 men to attack the



vessel, and that the shore parties were to be murdered at the same time; also, that the priests had been consulted as to the cause and origin of the influenza—which had unfortunately broke out amongst them about the latter end of September,—and they had prophesied that I had bewitched them and brought the sickness. Leok, he said, had long had it in contemplation to capture the vessel; but the attack had been delayed in the hope of getting more of our people distributed over the island. The native could not tell Lorio how soon they intended making the attempt; all he knew was, that messengers had been dispatched to the western villages some days previous; and since then, they had been busily engaged equipping their large proas, and making warlike preparations.

On the morning of the 9th, observed a number of large proas, full of men, coming towards the vessel from the south end of the island; recalled the shore-party, and got every thing in readiness for defence. About noon they came alongside, accompanied by Leok, who was very anxious that I should allow them to come on deck and inspect the brig; but seeing them armed with clubs, spears, and Spanish knives, I declined doing so. They hovered round us till sunset, and then landed at Tomal.

On the following day, I went to Rule in the whale boat, to get her repaired; the carpenter being in charge of that station. On my arrival, I hauled her on the wharf, and set him to work to put a new plank in her bottom. I observed many of the natives labouring under influenza; but they made no complaint as to the cause of it. About two hours afterwards, I was sitting in the curing-house, giving the Lascars directions as to the drying of the biche de mer, when I was much alarmed at seeing twelve men at the east door of the house, armed with knives, clubs, and spears. After consulting for a moment, they entered, walked up to where I was seated, and squatted down. I had my pistols and sword as usual, and the carpenter a musket and cutlass. We kept close together, with our arms ready, and sat facing them for fully half an hour, without a word being spoken on either side. They at last got up and walked out; and a more ferocious set of villains I never beheld. It was evident they had come to murder us; but were deterred by our determined appearance and presence of mind. On their departure, the head chief of the village came in, and informed me—much to my astonishment—that the party who had then left us, and who belonged to a village on the west side of the island, had been hired by the Tomal chiefs to murder me; also, that Leok intended attacking the brig that very night, with the large proas which had visited us on the previous day. He assured me that I had no cause for alarm, as he was my friend, and had ordered those emissaries of Leok to leave his village the moment he was aware of their intentions. As the broken plank had been taken out of the boat's bottom, the chief proposed to send me on board in a canoe; but after what I had heard and witnessed, I had no notion of trusting myself to their mercy, and thought it would be safer to remain until the boat was repaired. I set the carpenter to work at her bottom, and wrote a note to my chief officer acquainting him of the intended attack, instructing him to recall the shore party from the small island without delay, and to make every preparation for the defence of the brig; but to be careful to act only on the defensive. At the same time, I acquainted him of the critical situation in which I was placed; but advised him on no account to

weaken his force by sending a boat, as there were already by far too many men out of the ship. One of the chiefs undertook to convey this note on board; and I lost no time in despatching him with it. At 5 p.m., he returned with a hurried note from my chief officer, assuring me that no time should be lost in acting up to my instructions. The boat was finished by sunset, when we launched her, and returned on board, taking with us all the cured biche de mer.

We immediately made preparations for sea; and, during the night, succeeded in bringing all our men safe on board from the different stations.

On the 14th of October we sailed from this inhospitable island for Ascension, where we arrived on the 23rd, having had a fine run of only nine days. We experienced strong easterly currents during the passage, and had the wind from W.N.W. to S.W.

## The Pallou [Palau] Islands.

I have visited these islands several times, and by chronometrical admeasurements from Macao and Manila, found the whole group placed fifteen miles too far east in Norie's and Horsburgh's charts. I made Angour in lat.  $6^{\circ}53'30''$  N., long.  $134^{\circ}6'$  E.; Bablethouap, east point, lat.  $7^{\circ}41'$  N., long.  $134^{\circ}40'$  E.; Kyangl, lat.  $8^{\circ}3'30''$  N., long.  $134^{\circ}35'$  E.

Lieut. Raper, in his Table of Maritime Positions, places them as follows:—

Angour [Angaur], south point, lat.  $6^{\circ}55'$  N., long.  $134^{\circ}8'$  E.

Pellelew [Peliliu], south point, lat.  $6^{\circ}58'$  N., long.  $134^{\circ}13'$ ;

Errakong [Eilk Malk] Island, lat.  $7^{\circ}11'$  N., long.  $134^{\circ}23'$  E.

Babelthouap [Babeldoab], east point, lat.  $7^{\circ}41'$  N., long.  $134^{\circ}43'$  E.

Kyangl [Kayangle] Island, lat.  $8^{\circ}8'$  N., long.  $134^{\circ}35'$  E.

...

The King's interpreter was an American named John Davey, who had been residing at Koroar for a number of years. He was a seaman on board of an American schooner which had been wrecked at the Matelotas Isles.<sup>1</sup> Several of their crew wer murdered by the natives of those islets; Captain Keating and the survivors reached the Pallou Islands in the whale boat, and were very hospitably entertained by Abba Thule. After remaining at Koroar a few months, they got a passage to Manila in some Spanish vessel. Davey was the only one who remained behind; and he told me he had been very kindly treated during his stay amongst them.

I immediately went on board with the King; who advised me through his interpreter, to bring the vessel into the harbour; and erect a biche de mer house on the Island of Malackan, and promised if I did so, that he would use his utmost endeavours to collect me a cargo.

At 10 a.m., weighed and stood in through the passage in the reef, and at Noon anchored in 15 fathoms, about 500 yards from the Island of Malackan, near the Spanish Brig **Magallanes**, Captain Some, moored ship with both bowers, and sent the top-gallant masts on deck.

...

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1 Ed. note: The Dash, shipwrecked at Ngulu in 1834.

## Vocabulary of the Bornabi [Pohnpeian] Language.

Note: Throughout this Vocabulary a is to be sounded as in hat; e as in ever; i as in equity; and u as in supple.

		[Modern spellings]
<i>Arramas.</i>	Men.	<i>Aramas.</i>
<i>Aramas a mal.</i>	A slave, or labourer.	<i>Aramas mwhal.</i>
<i>Ari.</i>	Enough. That will do.	<i>Eri.</i>
<i>Allatcher.</i>	There is no more.	
<i>Aleck.</i>	Reeds, or small bamboo.	<i>Ahlek.</i>
<i>Atinieye.</i>	Smoke.	<i>Edinieie.</i>
<i>Broto.</i>	Come back.	
<i>But a but.</i>	White.	<i>Pwetepwet.</i>
<i>Bout.</i>	A wife.	<i>Pwoud.</i>
<i>Bui bui.</i>	A fool.	
<i>Bong</i>	Night.	<i>Pwohng.</i>
<i>Bit a bit.</i>	Quick.	
<i>Bukha buhka.</i>	To like.	<i>Poakpoake.</i>
<i>Chywy, or kywy.</i>	Pull away.	... <i>waik.</i>
<i>Chaap.</i>	Land.	<i>Sahpw.</i>
<i>Cho.</i>	No.	<i>Soh.</i>
<i>Cholaar.</i>	Is there no more?	<i>Soher.</i>
<i>Chila.</i>	A chisel.	<i>Sisel.</i>
<i>Chila banga banga</i>	An axe.	<i>Sile.</i> [+ Eng. Bang, bang]
<i>Edgatum.</i>	What name?	<i>Ahd dahme(?)</i>
<i>Ea.</i>	Where?	<i>Ia.</i>
<i>E-jug.</i>	A water-jug, bottle, or calabash.	[Eng. Jug]
<i>E-ting.</i>	To write, or tattoo.	<i>Nting.</i>
<i>Enting.</i>	A book.	<i>Nting.</i> [Now Pwuhk, Eng.]
<i>Etch.</i>	Which, or who?	<i>Ihs.</i>
<i>Etch kowa.</i>	Who are you?	<i>Ihs kowe</i>
<i>Ey eo.</i>	Yesterday.	<i>Aio.</i>
<i>Erring.</i>	Old cocoa-nuts.	<i>Ering.</i>
<i>Gola.</i>	To go.	<i>Koh-.</i>
<i>Gola nan chaap.</i>	Go on shore.	<i>Koh-... .. sahpw.</i>
<i>Gotawy,</i>	Go up.	<i>Koh-...</i>
<i>Goteewy.</i>	Go down.	<i>Koh-...</i>
<i>Go leya.</i>	Where are you going?	<i>Koh-...</i>
<i>Hugowy.</i>	You go away.	[Eng. mimic?]
<i>Huta.</i>	Rise up.	<i>Pwouada.</i>
<i>Huti mas.</i>	Stop a little.	<i>Uhdi mahs.</i>
<i>Honi.</i>	A departed spirit.	<i>Ngehn.</i>
<i>Iron pot.</i>	Iron pot.	[Eng. mimic]

<i>Ikah.</i>	I don't like.	
<i>Jobyti.</i>	A chief.	<i>Sohpeidi.</i>
<i>Jobyti Lappelap.</i>	A high chief.	<i>Sohpeidi lapalap.</i>
<i>Jyrrimaun.</i>	A boy.	<i>Seri mwahn.</i>
<i>Jyrripeyn.</i>	A girl.	<i>Serepein.</i>
<i>Jhob.</i>	A ship.	<i>Sohp.</i>
<i>Jou mow.</i>	Sick.	<i>Soumwahu.</i>
<i>Jownabung.</i>	The moon.	<i>Sounpwong.</i>
<i>Jherryk.</i>	A mat sail.	<i>Serek.</i>
<i>Jacho.</i>	Kava, or grog	<i>Sakau.</i>
<i>Jacho in wy.</i>	Distilled spirits.	<i>Sakau ...</i>
<i>Koto.</i>	To come.	<i>Koh-.</i>
<i>Kyto.</i>	Come here.	
<i>Kajinibut.</i>	Tortoise-shell.	<i>... pweht.</i>
<i>Kachalell.</i>	Handsome.	
<i>Karuchia.</i>	All, or every one.	<i>Koaruhsie.</i>
<i>Koba.</i>	A trunk, or box.	<i>Kohpwa.</i>
<i>Kaal.</i>	A man's dress.	
<i>Kowa.</i>	You.	<i>Kowe.</i>
<i>Kowa gola wata ny war.</i>	You go fetch my canoe.	
<i>Katchin.</i>	A little.	
<i>Kita.</i>	Give me.	<i>Kih-.</i>
<i>Kowa gola wata hatchyn piel.</i>	You go bring a little fresh water.	
<i>Kiang.</i>	To give.	<i>Kih-.</i>
<i>Kowa kiang.</i>	You give.	<i>Kowe kih-.</i>
<i>Kummela.</i>	To kill.	<i>Kemehla.</i>
<i>Kajinieye.</i>	Fire.	<i>Kisiniei.</i>
<i>Katerpin.</i>	The sun.	<i>Ketipin.</i>
<i>Kow.</i>	A mast.	<i>Kehu.</i>
<i>Kiam.</i>	A basket.	<i>Kiam.</i>
<i>Kaput.</i>	A knife.	<i>Kehpit.</i>
<i>Kojack.</i>	A musket.	<i>Kesik.</i>
<i>Kijack lappilap</i>	A cannon.	<i>Kesik lapalap.</i>
<i>Kelaneyo.</i>	A long time ago.	
<i>Kaap.</i>	Yams.	<i>Kehp.</i>
<i>Kara kara.</i>	Hot. <sup>1</sup>	<i>Karakar.</i>
<i>Katchyn chou.</i>	Sugar-cane.	<i>... sehu.</i>
<i>Kajiniong.</i>	Turmeric.	<i>Kisin- oahng(?)</i>
<i>Kappen.</i>	Captain.	<i>Kepin. [Eng. mimic]</i>
<i>Kappen ban kara kara.</i>	The Captain is angry.	<i>Kepin ... karakar.</i>

1 Ed. note: Also means "angry" (see below).

<i>Kalang.</i>	To look.	<i>Kilang.</i>
<i>Kowa kalang.</i>	You look.	<i>Kowe kilang.</i>
<i>Katchyn mata.</i>	Fish-hooks.	<i>Kesing mete(?)</i>
<i>Katchyn koteu.</i>	A bow, or arrow.	<i>Kesingketieu.</i>
<i>Koteu.</i>	A spear.	<i>Ketieu.</i>
<i>Kajang.</i>	A musical instrument.	<i>Keseng.<sup>1</sup></i>
<i>Katow.</i>	Rain.	<i>Keteu.</i>
<i>Katow ban koto.</i>	The rain is coming.	<i>Keteu ... kohto.</i>
<i>Kajiniang.</i>	The wind.	<i>Kisinieng.</i>
<i>Koletti.</i>	Hold on.	<i>Kol-.</i>
<i>Katerpin ban kara kara.</i>	The sun is hot.	<i>Ketipin ... karakar.</i>
<i>Lappilap.</i>	Great.	<i>Lapalap.</i>
<i>Li.</i>	A woman.	<i>Lih.</i>
<i>Likou.</i>	Calico.	[Eng. mimic]
<i>Kilouti.</i>	A woman's dress.	<i>Likouli.</i>
<i>Loach.</i>	A sleeping-mat.	<i>Lohs.</i>
<i>Lockup.</i>	Tomorrow.	<i>Lakapw.</i>
<i>Lokya.</i>	To speak.	<i>Lokaia.</i>
<i>Lyppirap.</i>	To steal.	<i>Lipirap. [Lit. Thief]</i>
<i>Lead.</i>	Lead.	<i>Leht.</i>
<i>Lakumpot.</i>	A liar.	<i>Likamwpiht.</i>
<i>Lekapasina.</i>	Red biche de mer.	
<i>Longan.</i>	Inferior biche de mer.	
<i>Monti.</i>	Sit down.	<i>Mwohndi.</i>
<i>Merilah.</i>	To sleep.	
<i>Maam.</i>	Fish.	<i>Mwahmw.</i>
<i>Menika.</i>	Biche de mer.	
<i>Mahi.</i>	Bread-fruit.	<i>Mahi.</i>
<i>Mejiwate.</i>	Bad.	
<i>Mamow.</i>	Good	<i>Mwahu.</i>
<i>Maryry.</i>	Long.	<i>Reirei.</i>
<i>Mutamut.</i>	Short.	<i>Mwotomwot.</i>
<i>Malout.</i>	Large.	<i>Ahlap.</i>
<i>Matoto.</i>	Plenty.	<i>Tohto.</i>
<i>Munga.</i>	Food.	<i>Mwenge.</i>
<i>Mejilaar.</i>	Dead.	
<i>Menta.</i>	What do you mean?	
<i>Mat.</i>	A reef.	<i>Mad.</i>
<i>Melell.</i>	It is true?	<i>Mehlel?</i>
<i>Malyk.</i>	A domestic fowl.	<i>Malek.</i>

1 Ed. note: Cheyne said earlier that their only musical instrument was the nose flute.

<i>Muri.</i>	A pigeon.	<i>Mwuroi.</i>
<i>Majeck.</i>	Afraid.	<i>Masack.</i>
<i>Malolo.</i>	Scarce.	<i>Malaulau.</i>
<i>Menika wytata.</i>	<i>Red biche de mer.</i>	
<i>Matap.</i>	Smooth black biche de mer.	
<i>Meyn.</i>	First-quality biche de mer.	
<i>Nanjyt.</i>	Salt water.	<i>Nansed.</i>
<i>Namenam.</i>	To eat.	<i>Neminem.</i>
<i>Naniim.</i>	A house.	<i>Ihmw.</i>
<i>Ny.</i>	Me.	<i>Ngehi.</i>
<i>Num.</i>	Your.	<i>Noumw.</i>
<i>Nono.</i>	Mother.	<i>Nohno.</i>
<i>Nibung.</i>	To-night.	<i>Ni-...</i>
<i>Nyeyeriraniki.</i>	I know.	
<i>Ny tyraniki</i>	I don't know.	
<i>Nanamariki.</i>	A king.	<i>Nahnmwarki.</i>
<i>Nanikan.</i>	A prime minister.	<i>Nahnken.</i>
<i>Ny bukka bukka.</i>	I like.	<i>Ngehi poakpoake.</i>
<i>Oot.</i>	Bananas.	<i>Uht.</i>
<i>Oach.</i>	Thatch for a house.	<i>Oahs.</i>
<i>Ounapella.</i>	Wild ginger.	
<i>Peyn</i>	Cocoa-nuts.	<i>Pehn.</i>
<i>Piel.</i>	Fresh water.	<i>Pihl.</i>
<i>Pyn.</i>	Payment or price.	<i>Pwain.</i>
<i>Pukita.</i>	What for?	<i>Pwekida.</i>
<i>Paba.</i>	Father.	<i>Pahpa.</i>
<i>Piig.</i>	A pig.	<i>Pwihk.</i> [Eng. mimic]
<i>Pig.</i>	Sand.	<i>Pihk.</i>
<i>Pawda.</i>	Gun-powder.	<i>Pauta.</i> [Eng. mimic]
<i>Paina.</i>	Coral.	<i>Pahi.</i>
<i>Pypo.</i>	A tobacco-pipe.	[Eng. mimic]
<i>Payjang.</i>	Let go.	<i>Pweisang.</i>
<i>Penapen.</i>	Speckled biche de mer.	
<i>Piil kara kara.</i>	Boiling water. <sup>1</sup>	<i>Pihl karakar.</i>
<i>Py.</i>	Pearl oysters.	<i>Pwai.</i>
<i>Rieye.</i>	Brother.	<i>Rie-...</i>
<i>Rieye li.</i>	Sister.	<i>Rie- lih.</i>
<i>Rack a rack.</i>	A saw.	<i>Rasaras.</i>
<i>Raan.</i>	Morning.	<i>Rahn.</i>
<i>Raanawit.</i>	To-day.	<i>Rahnwet.</i>

<sup>1</sup> This name is usually given to hot tea.

<i>Shaal.</i>	A rope.	<i>Sahl.</i>
<i>Shorup.</i>	A hat.	<i>Soarop.</i>
<i>Togota met.</i>	What is that called?	[See Koh- above]
<i>Tongata.</i>	To come.	<i>Duhdu.</i>
<i>Tutu.</i>	To bathe.	<i>Da.</i>
<i>Ta.</i>	What?	<i>Toantoal.</i>
<i>Tontol.</i>	Black.	<i>Takai.</i>
<i>Tacky.</i>	A stone.	<i>Dohr.</i>
<i>Tuur.</i>	A native belt.	<i>Da ... pwain?</i>
<i>Ta ban pyn.</i>	What is the price?	<i>Tuhke.</i> [Tree, Eng. mimic]
<i>Tui or tuka.</i>	Timber.	<i>Tipaker.</i>
<i>Tabakkyr.</i>	Tobacco.	<i>Tuhke komou(?)</i>
<i>Tuka pomow.</i>	Sandal-wood.	
<i>Ta me coto in wea.</i>	What do you want?	
<i>Togato.</i>	What do you mean?	<i>Ohl.</i> [See Aramas]
<i>Ulyn.</i>	A man.	<i>Usu.</i>
<i>Uchu.</i>	The stars.	<i>Ohl ...</i>
<i>Ulyn wy.</i>	A white man.	<i>Wendi.</i>
<i>Wenti.</i>	Lie down.	<i>Weitahta.</i>
<i>Wytata.</i>	Red.	<i>Wahr.</i>
<i>War.</i>	A canoe.	<i>Wahr me laud.</i>
<i>War ma lout.</i>	A war canoe.	<i>Wahr me tikitik.</i>
<i>War ma digedig.</i>	A small canoe.	<i>Wada(?)</i>
<i>Wata.</i>	To bring.	
<i>Wawy.</i>	Take it.	[Now Sapwake]
<i>Wea.</i>	A hawk's-bill turtle.	<i>Wiahda.</i>
<i>Wiata.</i>	To make or build.	<i>Wen tuhke(?)</i> [=Dance wood(?)]
<i>Wan tuka.</i>	Beads.	

### Numerals.

<i>Aat.</i>	One.	<i>Ehd.</i>
<i>Ari.</i>	Two.	<i>Ari.</i>
<i>Echiil.</i>	Three.	<i>Esil.</i>
<i>Abang.</i>	Four.	<i>Epeng.</i>
<i>Eliim.</i>	Five.	<i>Alem.</i>
<i>Oan.</i>	Six.	<i>Aun, oun, wen-.</i>
<i>Eteh.</i>	Seven.	<i>Eis.</i>
<i>Ewal.</i>	Eight.	<i>Ewel.</i>
<i>Atuu.</i>	Nine.	<i>Adu.</i>
<i>Katingoul, or e jack.</i>	Ten.	<i>Koadoangoul, eisek.</i>
<i>Ri e jack.</i>	Twenty.	<i>Rieisek.</i>
<i>Chiil e jack.</i>	Thirty.	<i>Silihsek.</i>
<i>Pa e jack.</i>	Forty.	<i>Pahisek.</i>



<i>Liim e jack.</i>	Fifty.	<i>Limeisek.</i>
<i>Oan e jack.</i>	Sixty.	<i>Weneisek.</i>
<i>Etch e jack.</i>	Seventy.	<i>Isihsek.</i>
<i>Ewal e jack.</i>	Eighty.	<i>Welihsek.</i>
<i>Atun e jack.</i>	Ninety.	<i>Duweisek.</i>
<i>A buki.</i>	One hundred.	<i>Epwiki.</i>
<i>Ri a buki.</i>	Two hundred.	<i>Riepwuki.</i>
<i>Chiil a buki.</i>	Three hundred.	<i>Silepwiki.</i>
<i>Pa a buki.</i>	Four hundred.	<i>Paepwiki.</i>
<i>Liim a buki.</i>	Five hundred.	<i>Limepwiki.</i>
<i>Oan a buki.</i>	Six hundred.	<i>Wenepwuiki.</i>
<i>Etch a buki.</i>	Seven hundred.	<i>Isepwuiki.</i>
<i>Ewal a buki.</i>	Eight hundred.	<i>Welepuiki.</i>
<i>Atun a buki.</i>	Nine hundred.	<i>Duwepuiki.</i>
<i>Ket.</i>	One thousand.	<i>Kid.</i>
<i>Ri a ket.</i>	Two thousand.	<i>Riakid.</i>
<i>Chiil a ket.</i>	Three thousand.	<i>Silakid.</i>
<i>Pa a ket.</i>	Four thousand.	<i>Paakid.</i>
<i>Liim a ket.</i>	Five thousand.	<i>Limakid.</i>
<i>Oan a ket.</i>	Six thousand.	<i>Wenakid.</i>
<i>Etch a ket.</i>	Seven thousand.	<i>Isakid.</i>
<i>Ewal a ket.</i>	Eight thousand.	<i>Ewelakid.</i>
<i>Atun a ket.</i>	Nine thousand.	<i>Dunakid(?)</i>
<i>Nun.</i>	Ten thousand.	<i>Nen.</i>

## [Examples.]

<i>Ri a ket, liim a buki, eliim.</i>	2,505
<i>Liim a ket, atuu e jack.</i>	5,090
<i>Pa a ket, pa a buki, pa e jack.</i>	4,440
<i>Chiil a ket, chiil e jack.</i>	3,030
<i>Atuu a ket, etch a buki, pa e jack.</i>	9,740
<i>Oan a ket, oan a buki, oan e jack.</i>	6,660
<i>Etch a ket, ewal a buki, atuu.</i>	7,809
<i>Nun, ri a buki, ri e jack.</i>	10,220
<i>Nun, pa a buki, chiil e jack.</i>	10,480
<i>Nun, atuu a buki, atuu e jack.</i>	10,990

## Vocabulary of the Yap language.

<i>Arumasiep</i>	A knife.
<i>Athue</i>	A man's dress.
<i>Betur</i>	A boy.
<i>Beyot.</i>	A musket.
<i>Brungatu.</i>	Black.
<i>Coconang.</i>	I understand.
<i>Delack.</i>	A spear.
<i>Enep.</i>	To-night.
<i>Eyou.</i>	Cocoa-nut leaves.
<i>Fakak.</i>	A friend.
<i>Fowap.</i>	Yesterday.
<i>Fanou.</i>	To go.
<i>Fafilrain.</i>	White.
<i>Gheak.</i>	Me.
<i>Kuer.</i>	You.
<i>Kabuul.</i>	To-morrow.
<i>Kytmy</i>	Enough.
<i>Kohue.</i>	To look.
<i>Kirtow</i>	Tattoo.
<i>Kapung.</i>	A cannon. [Onomatopoeia]
<i>Kassie.</i>	I don't want it.
<i>Lokuul.</i>	Biche de mer.
<i>Langeleth</i>	The day after to-morrow.
<i>Lute.</i>	Firewood.
<i>Moy.</i>	To come.
<i>Minniefithingam.</i>	What name?
<i>Mangenenum.</i>	By and by.
<i>Minmillie.</i>	Kill him.
<i>Mal.</i>	Tarro.
<i>Muu.</i>	A canoe, or proa.
<i>Moke.</i>	To speak.
<i>Moer.</i>	Bamboo.
<i>Munum.</i>	To drink.
<i>Mocoy.</i>	To eat.
<i>Maat.</i>	Calico.
<i>Manafeet.</i>	To bring.
<i>Meylor.</i>	A glass bottle.
<i>Neu.</i>	Cocoa-nuts.
<i>Naun.</i>	A house.
<i>Navu.</i>	Fire.

<i>Ow.</i>	Twine.
<i>Oung.</i>	A women's dress.
<i>Penock.</i>	Give me.
<i>Pelung.</i>	A chief.
<i>Papeen</i>	A woman.
<i>Pemmoun.</i>	A man.
<i>Pennageam.</i>	Quick.
<i>Pakah.</i>	Large.
<i>Peejeejeek</i>	Small.
<i>Poar.</i>	Plenty.
<i>Puel.</i>	The moon.
<i>Pringaboot.</i>	Sit down.
<i>Rukuth.</i>	A girl.
<i>Rugullien.</i>	I'll kill you.
<i>Raan</i>	Fresh water.
<i>Rou.</i>	Red.
<i>Surie.</i>	To go.
<i>Sorok.</i>	It is time.
<i>Thamupea.</i>	I don't like.
<i>Thackunang.</i>	I don't know.
<i>Toar.</i>	To-day.
<i>Tupe</i>	Green cocoa-nuts.
<i>Tohock.</i>	Yams.
<i>Tow.</i>	An axe.
<i>Tal.</i>	A rope.
<i>Tulong.</i>	Rise up.
<i>Trueah.</i>	Beads.
<i>Venow.</i>	A village.
<i>Wasy.</i>	A chisel.
<i>Walaw.</i>	The teeth.
<i>Yam.</i>	Dead.
<i>Yar.</i>	A sail.

### Numerals.

<i>Tarape.</i>	One.
<i>Arou.</i>	Two.
<i>Thaliep.</i>	Three.
<i>Anengake.</i>	Four.
<i>A-lal.</i>	Five.
<i>A-neal.</i>	Six.
<i>Madaliep.</i>	Seven.
<i>Mearuhe.</i>	Eight.
<i>Meareap.</i>	Nine.

*Arakak.*

*Rahie.*

*Bhuiou.*

Ten.

One hundred.

One thousand.

## Vocabulary of the Pallou [Palau] Island language.<sup>1</sup>

		[Modern spellings]
<i>Amsal.</i>	By and by.	
<i>Amingowl.</i>	A concubine.	<i>Mengol.</i>
<i>Aolt</i>	The wind.	<i>Eólt.</i>
<i>Apuel.</i>	The moon.	<i>Búil.</i>
<i>Agaleth.</i>	Biche de mer.	...
<i>Arthiel</i>	A woman.	<i>Redil.</i>
<i>Asakkal.</i>	A man.	<i>Chad.</i>
<i>Arrakath.</i>	Men.	"
<i>Athungan.</i>	Firewood.	<i>Idúngel.</i>
<i>Alukas.</i>	A reef, or shoal.	...
<i>Atutow.</i>	Daylight.	<i>Oltáut.</i> [Light (fire)]
<i>A-rack.</i>	A friend.	... [See Sekeléi below]
<i>Akeel.</i>	A rope.	<i>Keóll.</i>
<i>Are ingee.</i>	There is.	...
<i>Boyus.</i>	A musket.	<i>Bóes.</i>
<i>Bouk.</i>	Betel-nut.	<i>Búuch.</i>
<i>Babee.</i>	A pig.	<i>Babíi.</i>
<i>Bumgeeay.</i>	Sit down.	<i>Bo mkiéi.</i>
<i>Base.</i>	A boat.	<i>Bos.</i>
<i>Biskow.</i>	Give you.	...
<i>Biskak.</i>	Give me.	...
<i>Deak mathingay.</i>	I don't know.	<i>Díak medengéi.</i>
<i>Deak ateck.</i>	I do not like.	<i>Díak ...</i>
<i>Deak ateem.</i>	You do not like.	<i>Díak ...</i>
<i>Deak ateel.</i>	He does not like.	<i>Díak chetíl.</i>
<i>Dayseeshew.</i>	All the same.	...
<i>Eelwy.</i>	A very stout woman.	...
<i>Engara.</i>	What?	<i>Ngárang.</i>
<i>Engara mu karaal?.</i>	What price?	<i>Ngárang ... char.</i>
<i>Et mollock</i>	Deep.	<i>Dmolech.</i>
<i>Guay.</i>	He.	<i>Ngíi.</i>
<i>Gualack.</i>	Children.	<i>Ngálek.</i>
<i>Imly.</i>	A canoe.	<i>Mlái.</i>
<i>Karrathow.</i>	Go away.	...
<i>Kybakle.</i>	A chisel.	...
<i>Karr.</i>	Gunpowder.	...
<i>Kakeray.</i>	Small.	<i>Kekeréi.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: To be compared with the first vocabulary of the Palauan language in HM15:675 et seq.

<i>Kow.</i>	You.	<i>Káu.</i>
<i>Kyroko.</i>	A fish-hook.	<i>Chirócher.</i>
<i>Kosond.</i>	A comb.	<i>Osóngd.</i>
<i>Kyleeseep.</i>	Yesterday.	<i>Elíseb,</i>
<i>Kalakang.</i>	To-day.	<i>Élechang.</i>
<i>Kasuse.</i>	To-night.	<i>Klebeséi.</i>
<i>Kapasingay.</i>	To-night, evening.	"
<i>Klukuuk.</i>	To-morrow.	<i>Klúkuk.</i>
<i>Ynous.</i>	The day after tomorrow.	<i>Ngiáos.</i>
<i>Kakamangal.</i>	Long.	<i>Kemánget.</i>
<i>Kakathape.</i>	Short.	<i>Kedéb.</i>
<i>Kalmull.</i>	Barrier reef.	<i>Chelmóll.</i>
<i>Kaeltang.</i>	Which?	<i>Ngaráng.</i>
<i>Kabue.</i>	Betel-nut leaves.	<i>Kebúi.</i>
<i>Karaal.</i>	Payment.	<i>Char. [Price]</i>
<i>Klallo.</i>	Goods, or things.	<i>Klálo.</i>
<i>Klallo kleak.</i>	My goods.	<i>Klálo ...</i>
<i>Klallo kleam.</i>	Your goods.	<i>Klálo ...</i>
<i>Klallo Klel.</i>	His goods.	<i>Klálo ...</i>
<i>Klubaguel.</i>	A club.	<i>Cheldebéchel.</i>
<i>Killseekill.</i>	What for?	<i>-uchull(?)</i>
<i>Keeth.</i>	Us, or we.	<i>Kid.</i>
<i>Kow muur.</i>	Where are you going?	
<i>Klow.</i>	Large.	<i>Klóu.</i>
<i>Klow rupack.</i>	A king.	<i>Klóu rubak.</i>
<i>Klow boyus.</i>	A cannon.	<i>Klóu bóes.</i>
<i>Leek.</i>	Mine.	...
<i>Leem.</i>	Yours.	...
<i>Leel.</i>	His.	...
<i>May.</i>	To come.	<i>Méi.</i>
<i>Murrah.</i>	To go.	<i>Meráel.</i>
<i>Mathangay.</i>	I understand.	<i>Medengéi.</i>
<i>Mungah.</i>	To eat.	<i>Mengáng.</i>
<i>Murrakathow.</i>	Quick.	<i>Meréched.</i>
<i>Myrrakoro</i>	A thief.	<i>Merechórech.</i>
<i>Milliem.</i>	To drink.	<i>Melím.</i>
<i>Muur.</i>	Cocoa-nuts.	<i>Mengúr.</i>
<i>Malokoy.</i>	To speak.	<i>Melekói.</i>
<i>Mal.</i>	Very.	<i>Kmal.</i>
<i>Mammuth.</i>	Calico.	<i>Mámed. [Cloth]</i>
<i>Mathey.</i>	Dead.	<i>Mad-.</i>
<i>Mul may.</i>	To bring.	<i>Melái.</i>

<i>Merakung.</i>	Enough.	...
<i>Macneat.</i>	Bad.	<i>Mekngít.</i>
<i>Mackywuy.</i>	To sleep.	<i>Mechiuáiu.</i>
<i>Mopath.</i>	To lie down.	<i>Mo bad.</i>
<i>Millsang.</i>	Give him.	...
<i>Maruel</i>	To make.	<i>Merúul.</i>
<i>Mews.</i>	To pull, or paddle.	<i>Meiús.</i>
<i>Moduck.</i>	Strong.	<i>Medúch.</i>
<i>Murra maketh.</i>	Go on shore.	<i>Mo er a ked.</i>
<i>Maketh.</i>	Shore, or dry land.	<i>Ked.</i> [Open field]
<i>Murra key.</i>	Go fishing.	<i>Mo er a chei.</i>
<i>Malaamuk.</i>	To chew.	<i>Melámech.</i> [Chew betel nut]
<i>Motuuk.</i>	Plenty.	<i>Betók.</i>
<i>May keeth a murra pelew.</i>	Come we will go to town.	
<i>Marial.</i>	Go on, or walk on.	<i>Meráel.</i>
<i>Momace.</i>	To look.	<i>Omés.</i>
<i>Memakesang.</i>	Let me look.	...
<i>Ngou.</i>	Fire.	<i>Ngáu.</i>
<i>Nekill.</i>	Fish.	<i>Ngíkel.</i>
<i>Nak.</i>	Me.	<i>Ngak.</i>
<i>Narakay.</i>	Where?	... [where = ker]
<i>Ouse.</i>	Lime, or chinam.	<i>-áus.</i>
<i>Oleiss.</i>	A knife.	<i>Olés.</i>
<i>Olokang.</i>	An iron pot.	<i>Olekáng.</i>
<i>Pachasuel.</i>	A lie.	...
<i>Ply.</i>	A house.	<i>Blai.</i>
<i>Pelew.</i>	A village.	<i>Belúu.</i>
<i>Put deas.</i>	Rise up.	...
<i>Peath.</i>	A stone.	<i>Bad.</i>
<i>Posoas.</i>	A paddle.	<i>Besós.</i>
<i>Pukeek.</i>	My wife.	<i>Buch-ík.</i>
<i>Pukeem.</i>	Your wife.	<i>Buch-ím.</i>
<i>Pukeel.</i>	His wife.	<i>Buch-íl.</i>
<i>Ralm.</i>	Fresh water.	<i>Ralm.</i>
<i>Ringa ringa.</i>	A fool.	<i>Rengul a rengul.</i>
<i>Rial.</i>	A road, or passage.	<i>Ráel.</i>
<i>Rassack.</i>	Blood.	<i>Rásech.</i>
<i>Rupack.</i>	A chief.	<i>Rubak.</i>
<i>Say.</i>	There.	<i>Séi.</i>
<i>Swack.</i>	I like.	<i>Sáuch(?)</i>
<i>Swam.</i>	You like.	<i>Sáum(?)</i>
<i>Swal.</i>	He likes.	<i>Soál.</i>

<i>Sukaleek.</i>	My friend.	<i>Secheléi-</i>
<i>Sukaleem.</i>	Your friend.	"
<i>Sukaleel.</i>	His friend.	"
<i>Towel?</i>	A fork.	<i>Táod.</i>
<i>Thouap.</i>	Salt water.	<i>Daób.</i>
<i>Tokoy.</i>	Custom, or fashion.	<i>Tekái.</i>
<i>Tiang.</i>	Here.	<i>Tiáng.</i>
<i>Takankleck.</i>	What is my name?	[Ngákl- = name]
<i>Takanklem.</i>	What is your name?	
<i>Takanklel.</i>	What is his name?	
<i>Tealang.</i>	How many?	<i>Teláng.</i>
<i>T-deal.</i>	A ship.	<i>Diáll.</i>
<i>Ungeel.</i>	Good.	<i>Ungil.</i>
<i>Wysy.</i>	That is the way.	...
<i>Waa.</i>	Holloa [sic]	...
<i>Weead.</i>	A light.	...
<i>Yosell.</i>	Three days hence.	...
<i>Yars.</i>	A sail.	<i>Eûrs.</i>

### Numerals.

<i>Te-tang.</i>	One.	<i>Tang.</i> <sup>1</sup>
<i>Te-rou.</i>	Two.	<i>Orúng.</i>
<i>Te-they.</i>	Three.	<i>Odéi.</i>
<i>Te-wang.</i>	Four.	<i>Oáng.</i>
<i>Te-em.</i>	Five.	<i>Oím.</i>
<i>Malong.</i>	Six.	<i>Malóng.</i>
<i>Te-weeth.</i>	Seven.	<i>Uíd.</i>
<i>Te-eye.</i>	Eight.	<i>Teái.</i>
<i>Eateem.</i>	Nine.	<i>Itú.</i>
<i>Maccoth.</i>	Ten.	<i>Machd.</i>
<i>Loeak.</i>	Twenty.	<i>Llúich.</i>
<i>Oguthy.</i>	Thirty.	<i>Okedéi.</i>
<i>Oguwang.</i>	Forty.	<i>Okouóng.</i>
<i>Ogeem.</i>	Fifty.	<i>Okeím.</i>
<i>Ogolong.</i>	Sixty.	<i>Okólem.</i>
<i>Ogweeth.</i>	Seventy.	<i>Okeuíd.</i>
<i>Ogeye.</i>	Eighty.	<i>Okái.</i>
<i>Ogateem.</i>	Ninety.	<i>Oketú.</i>
<i>Thirt.</i>	One hundred.	<i>Dart.</i>

1 Ed. note: The prefix -te applies when counting people; other prefixes apply for other things.



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**Document 1842A**

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**Note on Phoebe Island, by Henry Foster,  
formerly with the whaler Sussex**

*Source: Nautical Magazine, 1854, p. 111.*

**Letter of Captain Henry Foster to the Admiralty****Phoebe Island,—Pacific.**

I, Henry Foster, Chief Mate of the **Jamaica**, do certify that I have cruised for several months together, in the years 1842-4, among the islands known as the Kingsmill Group, situated in about long. 175° E., and lat. 1°30' to 2°30' S, and, during that time, had opportunities of correcting the places of several of the islands of that group; and do also state that the island called Phoebe Island, which is laid down in long. 176° E. and lat. 0°12' N., is not in east longitude at all, but lies in 176° West., for in the vessel to which I then belonged (the barque **Sussex**, of London, whaler, Captain George Hammer,) we shaped our course from Byron Island some twenty or more different times and always failed in our attempts to discover the island which would be impossible if the island was laid down correctly on the charts...

I have no doubt but that this statement would have been made before had not both Captain and Chief Mate died shortly after our return to England; I was then an apprentice.

...  
Henry Foster

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## Document 1842B

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# Logbook of the Massachusetts, Captain Seth Nickerson

*Source: Ms. in the Falmouth Historical Society; PMB 784; Log Inv. 3157.*

*Note: This whaling ship had a capacity of 360 tons and was owned by George C. Gardner of Nantucket.*

### Extracts from the log

...  
 [The ship went by the Indian Ocean, via the Shetlands Is., off New Zealand, in 1842, then on the west coast of Australia, where she remained for a while. Then, via the Timor Straits to Copang, crossed the Banda Sea, and to the Pacific Ocean in August 1842, working her way eastward along the Equator.]

...  
 Wednesday 14. Lat 4°27 Long. 163°13 Qualan Island.<sup>1</sup>

...  
 [In November 1842, the ship headed for Nauru.]

...  
 Thurs. 17. Lat. 2°06 [S.] Long 169°20 [E.]

... Spoke **Potomac** Hussey Nt [= Nantucket]. 12-1/2 months 700 Sperm.

...  
 Sunday 20 Lat 1°45

... Ship **Martha**, Sayer, Fairhaven 14 mo. 200 Sperm in sight.

### Pleasant & Ocean Islands.

Sat. 26

Moderate weather. First part Made Ocean [Banaba] Isles. Latter part three sails in sight. Some canoes off aboard.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This did not correspond to Kosrae, however, as the ship was cruising near the Solomon Islands.

Sun. 27

Fine breeze. First part Starboard Boat went ashore. Made no trade. Latter part saw Grampusses 4 Sails in sight. Productions of Oce. Isl. A scarcity of fowl & cocoanuts.  
**Hats & Mats.**

Mon. 28

Moderate. Latter part, spoke & gammed with the **Ed. Cary**, had taken 100 bbls oil since we saw her. Three other sail in sight.

Tues. 29

Calm, or light breezes heading NE by [blank] Spoke **Obed Mitchell** Coffin N[antucke]t 14 mos. 650 S. **Omega** Hagerty Nt. 26 mo. 1100 S. Saw Blackfish. Omega took 2, E. Cary 1 Blackfish.

...

Frid. 2 [December 1842] Lat. 3°06 N.

Brisk breezes from SW Steering NE Spoke **Potomac** learned that Bark **Canton** had whales. Latter part saw Canton boiling.

...

Wednes. 7

Fine weather. At 2 P.M. saw P. [Nauru] Isle bearing S.W. At 5 saw Sperm whales going to Leeward-Eastward. Lowered & each boat took 1 20-bbl whale alongside at 8. Some rain. Latter part fine finis[hed] cutting at 11.

Thursd. 8

Light winds with showers. 5 canoes off from the Isle. Latter part picked up 3 canoes that had lost sight of land. Wore ship & stood in shore.  
Trying out... Breezes.

Frid. 9

Strong breezes & Squally. Stood in within 2 leagues of the land & sent the canoes off. Moderate. Finished boiling at 8 A.M.

Sat. 10

Squally. Disagreeable weather. Saw a fin back.

Sun. 11.

First part Moderate. Middle squally & windy. Latter part strong breeze & rugged. At 1/2 past 10 saw whales. Lowered away Star. Boat got a whale (16:) Wat. Boat 1 (20 bbls).

...

Sun. 25. Lat. 0°52 S.

Christmas. Fine weather. Land bearing N.Easterly. Pn. Isle 4 Leagues. Treat: Chickens & Cocoanuts plenty.

Mon 26. Lat. [blank]

Fine weather. Latter part spoke the **Young Phoenix** Shearman N. B. 21 mo. 1880 Sperm. Gammed with her.

...

Mon. 2. [January 1843]

Moderate with occasional showers. First part spoke the Bark **Grasshopper** of London 37 mo. 1200 Sperm. Gammed. Hears of **E. Cary** 3 days since with 450. **Y. Phoenix** in sight.

Tues. 3.

First part rainy, Spoke **E. Cary** with 450 Sperm. Mortally wounded a porpoise. Latter part P. Island in sight. Saw a sail steering Eastward.

Wednes. 4. Lat. 0°02 S. Long. [blank]

Light winds first part. P. Isle in sight. Middle & Latter part principally calm West-erly wind Steering N. E. C. in sight. Saw blackfish & Grampus(?).

### **Bound to Ascension.**

...

Wednesday 11.

Fresh breezes steering W & N & W1/2N.

At 6 P.M. saw Wellingtons [Mokil] Isle SW & W passed to Northward of it. Middle part took in sail & backed M. Top sail steering W. Latter part made sail & hove to 1 League to windward of the Isle & set signal for a Pilot.

Thursday 12.

Strong wind & rugged sea. At 4 P.M. took pilot & steered round for the harbour. Latter part Made 2 attempts to get in but wind light & scant did not succeed.

### **Lying at Ascension S.W. Harbour**

Frid. 13.

Pleasant weather. Shot inside the reef & let go anchor Streamed a kedge & commenced warping ship. Latter part Finis. warping. break out Employ casks.

Sat. 14

Broke out oil to cooper. Trading some with Natives.

Sun 15

First part breaking out oil. [blank] remarkable. Latter part nothing doing. Went ashore saw nothing.

Mon. 16.

First part nothing doing. Latter part coopering oil & stowing down.

Tues 17. Ship keeper deserted: Charles Freeman.

Wednes. 18. Shipped a man in his place.

Thurs. 19. Coopering & stowing down oil.

Fri. 20. " " " "

Sat. 21.

First part finis. stowing down oil & washed off. Latter part Broke out for water casks & sent them ashore. Commenced tarring down.

Sun. 22.

First part jobbing. Latter part Sd. watch ashore. Nothing doing.

Mon. 23.

First part nothing doing. Sd. watch ashore. Latter part getting water & wood. Towing down. At 10 AM discharged first & third Mates. Wd. Boat struck a rock & sunk.

Tues. 24. Ditto. Towing [sic] down.

Wednes. 25. Getting wood & water & painting. Latter part Ld. watch ashore. Shipped 2 men Alexander & Samuel.

Thurs. 26. Ditto. First part Ld. watch ashore.

Fri. 27

First part Ld. watch ashore. Latter part Wd. watch ashore.

Sat. 28.

First part making preparation for sailing. Latter part at 6 got under weigh with a light breeze. put a boat ahead. At 8 had her out clear. Fine breeze.

Sunday 23rd [sic], [January] 1843. at 10 oclock A.M. By wish at Sea.

Discharged the Chief Mate & Third Mate. Chief mate & Capt having had a great deal of disturbance during the voyage on account of interference of duty on the Capt's part Chief Mate had requested his discharge (previously at sea) on the ships arrival at

a good Port & was denied. Discharged on the 23 inst. by wish of Capt Nickerson on the aforementioned ground.

### **Bound Eastward for Pleasant Island.**

Sunday 29 Jan'y 1843

First part stowing anchors & tarring chains. Made auction sale of the property of Charles Freeman. Advanced James H. Handy to Chief Mate, Thomas H. Lawrence to Second mate, Albin Region(?) to 3rd mate, Ebenezer Nickerson & Horace Silvester to Boatsteerers, of Ship **Massachusetts**. Through the day moderate wind from NNE heading E 1/2 S.

...

Mon. 6th. [February 1843]

Light breeze from N.W. Steering S & E. At 1 P.M. saw Pleasant [Nauru] Isle, S by E 5 Leagues. 1/4 past 1 saw a shoal of cows & bulls at 2 lowered in Chase at 5 Std. B. struck a 20-bbl cow & turned her up 7 miles to windward of Ship, came aboard at 8 leaving L.B. in charge L.B. previously struck a whale & drewed.

At 1/4 before sunset W.B. struck a 40-bbl whale just at dusk cut the Line by a lance & lost the whale spending thin blood. Took L.B.'s whale to the Ship at 10. Latter part commenced cutting. At 7 saw more whales & lowered L.B. took a 35-bbl cow. P. island WSW 4 leagues.

...

Thurs. 9

First part took a heavy squall & reefed our Topsails. Finis[hed] boiling at 1 At 6 picked up 2 canoes with about 20 natives & set their canoes adrift & took the natives aboard. Latter part NW wind P. Isle bearing WSW. working up for it. An English ship in sight.

Frid. 10.

First part Strong breeze At 1/2 past 6 came up 2 miles to leeward of the land set the natives ashore. Latter part moderate. Rebuilt the front of try works.

### **Cruising about Pleasant Isle.**

...

Tues. 14th [March]

Fair. Gammed with the **Lydia** ...

...

**N. Easterly Wind working NWard for Ascension.**

...

Thurs. 23rd

... Spoke the **Elizabeth Starbuck** Bigelow 19 m. 600 S[perm]. & **Mount Vernon** [blank] 41 mo. 2200 S. both of Nantucket...

Friday 24th Lat 5°17 N Long [blank]

Fresh breezes. First part boiling & Gamming. Latter part saw Qualan [Kosrae] Island passed 2 Leagues to SW of it. saw another sail.

Sat. 25th Lat 05°00 N.

Strong breezes. First part Gammed with **L. Sk., M. V. & Oregon** who have taken 25 bbls since we saw since steering N. Westerly.

...

Mon. 27th

Strong gales at 6 saw Wellingtons [Mokil] Isle run part of the night & luffed to. Latter part steering [blank] At 11 A.M. saw Ascension [Pohnpei].

**In Ascension Harbour.**

Tues. 28th

At 3 PM dropped our anchor in Ascension Kitty Harbour found several ships which will be named in the list. Arrived ships:

**Mount Vernon** [of] N[antucke]t 41 months 2200 Sperm**Levi Starbuck** [Capt] Nye [of] Na[ntucke]t 21 months 600 Sperm

Washed bends. Latter part nothing doing. A watch on shore, Ld. watch.

Wednes. 29th

First part Sd. watch ashore nothing doing aboard. Latter part Ld. watch ashore. Blacking bends Ld. side.

Thurs. 30th

First part Ld. watch ashore. Latter part Sd. watch ashore.

**Ascension Kity Harbour.**

Fri 31st

First part Sd. watch ashore. Latter part Lad. watch ashore. Breaking out water casks.

Sat April 1st 1843

Breaking Casks. First part Sd. watch ashore.

Sun 2d

First part sent casks ashore. Ld. watch ashore. Latter part Sd. watch.

Mon 3d

First part L. watch ashore. Latter part Sd. watch. Nothing doing on board. Caulking Ship

Tues 4th

First part Sd. watch ashore. Latter part filling water & painting ship.

Wednes. 5th

Some rain took off a raft of water.

Thurs 6th

Stowing down water[.] a boat after wood. Watch on shore.

Fri 7th

Filling water & getting wood.

Sat 8th

Took off a raft of water & stowed it. Arrived at 6 PM Schooner [blank] Cargo of trade.

Sun 9th Painting ship.

Sun [rather Mon] 10th

Nothing doing Watch on shore. Arrived Bark **Fortune** 4 [sic] months from Warren 26 Sperm.

### **Bound to Japan.**

Mon 11th

First part made preparation for sailing. Latter part got off raft of water & at 7 o'clock took our anchor with a light fair wind & soon cleared the harbour. Took the anchors on the bows & stowed them. NE trades.

Tues 12th Lat 7°27 N.

Fresh breeze from ENE beating to weather Ascension. Latter part towed [rather stowed] the chains. Passed within a league to wind[ward] of Ascension.

...



**Chronometer stopped**

...

Tues 18th

At 1 PM Saw Rota Soon after Guam. Middle part laying off & on[.] 2 reefed Top-sails. Latter part went ashore.

Wednes 19th

Laying off & on Guam town for recruits. First part Ld watch ashore. Latter part Sd. watch ashore. Arrived Ship **Columbia** [blank] Na[ntucke]t bound down to the Harbour.

Thurs 20th Lat 14°45 [sic]<sup>1</sup>

Finis[hed] getting recruits (80 bush. Potatoes, Rice, &) ran down to the harbour sent a boat in to the **Oregon** for a chronometer, then made sail Steering N 1/2 E. & sail in Guam. Latter part steer N 1/2 W. Strong breeze.

...

[The ship visited the Bonin Islands, where she met with disagreeable weather. From the Japan Ground she returned to the Line, passing by Kosrae.]

...

Fri 14th [July 1843] Lat. 27°30 [N]

... Steering S 1/2 E for Qualan Isle on the Line.

...

Fri 4th [August 1843]

Light breezes. Latter part Saw Ascension [Pohnpei] (Saw whales 2 took one 15 bbls)

Sat 5th Lat 7°06

Light winds (At 3 PM<sup>2</sup> saw shales, Lowered L.B. took 1 (15 bbls). Latter part cut in A[scensio]n bearing 20 m[ile]s. **Boiling**.

Sun 6th

Calm weather. First part canoes off. Latter part at 6 saw whales, A[scensio]n bearing SE 15 miles. Lowered W.B. took 1 (25 bbls).

Mon 7th Lat [blank]

Boats came aboard at 2 PM & commenced cutting. Latter part boiling. Ascension Southerly 8 to 15 miles. Canoes off. Saw porpoises & Grampusses.

---

1 Ed. note: He was 1° too high.

2 Ed. note: This note is superimposed by the word FRIDAY.

Tues 8th Lat 6°54

Light winds Steering Easterly. Finis[shed] boiling at 3 PM & washed off. Latter part steering Easterly.

Wednes. 9th Lat 6°55

Fine. Steering Easterly. Latter part saw Wellingtons [Mokil] Islands.

### **Off Wellingtons Island**

Thursday 10th Long 160°20 [E]

Fair. Latter part ran close in to Wellingtons Island & bought cocoanuts & bread-fruit.

Fri 11th

At 10 PM passed 2 miles to Southward of Wellingtons. Latter part strong breezes from N to NE steering Easterly Saw breaches.

Sat 12th Lat 5°21

Squally rainy weather first part. Latter part saw Qualan [Kosrae] Island.

Sun 13

Some squally. Latter part passed 2 miles to Southward of Qualan, steering SE by S 1/2 S.

### **Qualan Island vicinity**

Mon 14th Fine. Saw porpoises.

Tues 15th Lat 4°18 Long 165°05

Some squally. Working SEasterly. At 8 A.M. Saw whales. Lowered S.B. took 1 (15 bbls).

Wednes 16 Lat 3°50 Long 165°36

Continued the chase & came aboard at 6 P.M. Latter part ut in.

Thurs 17th Lat 4°07

Light winds with rain squalls. Finis[hed] trying at 4 A.M.

...

Wednes 6th [September 1843]

First part saw Ocean [Banaba] Island. Latter part stood in & landed a man. Spoke the Bark **Australian**, Wells, Sydney 2-1/2 months 100 Sperm. Saw the **Margaret** of London 14 months 700 Sperm.

Thurs 7th

Light breeze. First part Gamming. Latter part natives aboard[.] Shipped a man.

Fri 8th

First part Bark in sight. At 3 PM, O. [i.e. Ocean = Banaba] Island E 10 miles saw a shoal of whales 2 points off weather bow distant 3 miles[.] Lowered in chase. Came aboard at dusk, took nothing. Bark took cow.

...

Sat 16

First part spoke the **Margaret** Courtney London 14 months 700 Sperm.

...

### **Pleasant Island**

Thurs 21st

Squalls of wind & rain. First part saw Pleasant [Nauru] Isle bearing SW 1/2 S. Making a new F. Top Gall. sail.

...

### **For Qualan Island.**

...

Wednes. 4th [October 1843] Lat 5°29

Strong breezes from Southward heading Westward. Latter part saw Qualan bearing WSW.

Thurs 5th Long 163°30

Light wind from SW working up to the Island. A ship in sight.

Fri 6th

First part working up to the Island. Latter part at 9 dispatched anchor in Qualan.

Sat 7th

Breaking out water casks. Arrived **Potomac**.

Sun 8th

Took raft of casks ashore PM. AM watch ashore, Ld. watch.

Mon 9th

Latter part painting ship outside. Sd. watch ashore.

Tues 10th

Tarring down & painting Ship. Squally, rainy weather.

Wednes 11th  
Squally. Painting.

Thurs 12th  
Painting between squalls. Filling water.

Fri 13th  
First part took water aboard. Latter part stowed away water.

Sat 14th  
Squally weather. Got a load of wood.

Sun 15th  
Frequent rain squalls.

Mon 16th  
Rainy. Got some sand & clay.

Tues 17th  
Westerly wind. Latter part filling water. **Potomac** sailed.

Wednes 18th  
First part took water aboard. Middle part **Waist** boat filled with wind broke down. Latter part took her in, Making preparation for sailing Westerly wind some rain. **Potomac** in sight of the Harbour.

### For Pleasant Isle

Thurs 19th

At 2 PM **Margaret** got under weigh At 1/2 past 2 **Massachusetts**, with the 3 ships steering SEasterly. Latter part **Potomac** in sight. Strong SWesterly winds.

...

Sun 22d

... At 1/2 past 6 saw P. Isle bearing S 1/2 E. At 10 saw a shoal of whales, Isle S & W 5 miles. Loered S.B. fastened & drew S.B. fastened a line...

...

Sun 5th [November 1843]

First part saw Ocean [Banaba] Isle. Latter part Capt ashore. Came off.

...

**Pleasant Island.**

Mon 13th

At 3 PM saw P. Island bearing SSE....

...

Sun 19th lat. about 1°S

First part light wind At 7 AM Spoke the brig [blank] of Salem from Feegees for Manilla Cargo of beche-de-mer & tortoise shell. Latter part at 1/2 past 10 saw whales going eyes out to wind[ward]. Lowered & putted to no effect.

...

Sat 25th

First part gammed with **Australian** 500 bbls 5-1/2 months from Sidney.

Sun 26th.

First part stood in to the Island natives aboard. Gammed with **Potomac & Australian**, Potomac 1300.

...

Fri Dec 1st

S. Boat lowered for Blackfish took nothing. Gammed with **Berdmondsey**. Caught a porpoise.

...

Tues 2nd [January 1844]

Saw O[cea]n [Banaba] Isle.

...

Sat 6th

Latter part took a porpoise & saw Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Isle bent old foresail.  
Lat 1°16 Long 174°34

...

Mon 8th

Pleasant weather. Latter part saw Sydenhams [Nonouti] Isle. Lat 55' S.

Tues 9th

First part struck a porpoise & lost him One canoe off from Sydenham...

...

Thurs 11th

First part saw blackfish. Latter part Henderville [Aranuka] & Woodle [Kuria] Isles in sight.

Lat. 10 miles N.

...

Sat 20th

Latter part saw & spoke the **Edward Cary** 3 months from Maui 1000 bbls S.

Sun 21st Lat 5 miles S.

Gamming with **E. Cary** & bark **Hector** Martin Warren 17 mo. 400 Sperm[.] Bark **Onyx** in sight bound home.

...

Fri 26th

Squally wseather. Gammed with **Phoebe**, Harris, Nantucket 16 mo. 700 Sperm. Bark **Onyx** London Capt Brown Bound home.

...

Tues 30th

Saw Pleasant Isle.

...

Thurs Feb 1st

Fresh breezes. Gammed with the **Wilmington & Liverpool Packet** Place N.B. 25 mos. 850, 500 Sperm. & **Australian**.

Fri 2nd

Broke out fore peak for pipe shook[.] **E. Cary** in sight[.] Spoke **Leonidas** Bristol R.I. 7 mo. 150 Sperm & **William Hamilton** Cole N.B. 17 mo. 1700 W & 350 S.

...

Sun 11th

Fresh NE trades bound to Ascension.

Mon 12

Saw McAskills [Pingelap] Isle. Gammed with **E. Cary**. Latter part saw Wellingtons [Mokil].

Tues 13th

**Ascension** [Pohnpei]. Fine breeze Came to an anchor at Kitty Harbour at 9 A.M.

Wednes 14th

Getting water & wood.

Thurs 15th

Getting wood & water.

Fri 16th

Some rain Getting water & wood. **Galen** Bowers N.B. **Leonidas** Walden [rather Waldron], Bristol, lying in Kitty Harbour.

Sat 17th

First part wooding. Eve theatrical.

Sun 18th

Wooding, first part. Latter part watch ashore.

Mon 19th

Getting wood.

Tues 20th

Ready for sea, wind bound.

Wednes 21st windbound.

Thurs 22 " "

At 6 A.M. took our anchor & made sail for Guam **Ed. Cary** in Co.

Fri 23. Off the harbour. **Monticello** 1700 to get wood & then on the Line. Stowed the anchors.

### For Guam

Sat. 24th Lat. 8°14

Fine breeze steering NWesterly. saw St. Augustine [Oroluk]. Setting up lower rigging.

...

Thurs 29th

First part setting up Topmast rigging. Latter part saw Rota steered for it. got some hogs.

Fri March 1st 1844

At 7 A.M. dropped anchor at Guam for recruits.

Sat 2d

First part Sd. watch went ashore. Painting ship & getting recruits.

Sun 3d + Mon 4th + Tues 5th: Nothing remarkable.

Wednes 6th

Sd. watch came aboard at 6 P.M. & Ld watch went ashore.

Thurs 7th + Fri 8th + Sat 9th: Some squalls Painting

Sun 10th: Nothing owing.

Mon 11th: Getting ready for sea.

Tues 12th: Finis[hed] recruiting.

Wednes 13th

At 1/2 past 5 got under weigh, through the night lay off & on. Latter part **E. Cary** came out.

...

[The ship, in company with the Edward Cary, went north to the Sulphur [Iwo] Islands, then to the North Pacific, before going to Oahu, then home.]



---

**Document 1842C**

---

**The Elizabeth of Salem, Captain Hedge**

*Source: Log 1840E3 MCF 91 reel 32, in Essex Museum, Salem.*

**Extract from the log kept by E. H. Norton**

...  
[After visiting Tahiti and the Marquesas, the ship passed by Chatham I. and the Gilberts.]

...  
Thursday the 5th [May 1842]  
Commences with light airs nearly calm, all sail set inviting a breeze that we may get along for this is dull music enough for any poor fellow but we are doing all we can and the best cannot do more. Mid part, coming in squally. Latter part, fine breezes. At 7, saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing S. Stood in for it & had a visit of some dozen canoes, with hats, coconuts, fowl. We made good trade for tobacco. So ends. Hove off NW by W all sail set. Long. 166°49' at 4.

...  
Wednesday the 11th  
Commences with light breezes at ESE. Steering to the NW all sail set. Mid part light. Latter part fine breezes. At 10 a.m. saw Ascension [Pohnpei] I. bearing WSW dist. 25 miles. Hauled to S, made all sail. Lat. 7°14' N.

Thursday the 12th  
Commences with fine breezes at E. Headed to the S under all sail. At 4 p.m. the SE point of Ascension bore SW dist. 15 miles. Long. by lunar(?) at the time 158°38' E. Mid part squally. Latter part ditto. Split the jib all to pieces. So ends. Headed down along shore. Had a canoe come off who reported an American ship at anchor in the Lee Harbour.

Friday the 13th  
Commences with rain. Steered off. Saw the ship at 4 p.m., the boat went in. Mid part light breeze. Latter part baffling. At 10 a.m. the boat came off loaded with yam, fruits, etc. Unloaded her & sent her in again after more. So ends. The boat in again.

Saturday May 14th 1842

Commences baffling, squally weather. The boat on shore. Plenty of vegetation to be got here. Hauled off on account of squalls. Mid & latter part squally. Stood in & received about one dozen canoes with yams, fruit, cocoanuts, etc.

Sunday the 15th

Commences with baffling, cloudy, rainy weather. At 4 p.m. wind at NW could not get up for our boat to come off. At 6 p.m. go back. Mid part light breeze. At 8 the boat returns with yams. So ends. The boat went in to carry William Gomes discharged on account of ill health, being laid up since leaving Tahiti. At noon the boat returned & we made all sail to W. So ends.

...

[To the Japan Ground via the Bonin Islands, where they stopped on 2 June and saw the ship **Matilda** of London.]

...

Sunday the 19th [March 1843]

Commences fine weather. Steering W under all sail. The **Potomac** in company. Mid part, steered W all sail set. At 8 a.m. saw Strongs [Kosrae] I. bearing W by S 40 miles. Steered for it. Lat. 5°26' N.

Monday the 20th

Commences fine weather. Steering for the I. Mid part fine. Latter part, ditto. At 8 a.m. sent in a boat in company with the **Potomac** Saw a ship at anchor. So ends. Lay off & on.

Tuesday the 21st

Squalls of rain and dirty weather. The boat on shore. At 4 a.m. the boat returned for a rurity(?). Steered off NW by N, reefed topsails. Mid part rainy. Steered W. At 8 a.m. Long. by lunar 162°, Lat. 4°20' N.

Wednesday March 22, 1843

Fine breezes and good weather. Course West ho! At 10 [p.m.] lay aback. At day, steered off. No obs.

Thursday the 23

Trades and some squalls. At 2 p.m. saw MacAskills [Pingelap] Is. bearing SSW. Off for them as it seems as if we are now rather on a voyage of discovery than whaling. Mid part, ditto squalls. Latter part, the same. Saw Wellington's [Mokil] I. So ends, rainy.

## Friday the 25th

Squally. At 2 p.m. got down to the islands & traded for coconuts. At 4 steered off W for Ascension [Pohnpei] I. The **Potomac** in company. Mid part, some squalls. At 9 a.m., saw the island. Ran down.

## Saturday the 25th

Commences squally. At 4 p.m. the two Captains went in and we are to lay off and on until it suits their most gracious pleasure to say if we go in or not. Mid part, squalls and heavy gale at NE. At 4, stood in SW the I. [with] one sail. At 8 a.m. saw the boat. At 10, went in and anchored in the Lee part of the harbour in 14 fathoms water.

## Sunday the 26th

Commences strong trades. Employed clearing away boats. At 3 p.m., the **Potomac** anchored. Mid & latter part, strong trades. Hove up to warp in but could not on account of wind. So ends. One watch on shore.

## Monday the 27

Trades. 3 ships in today. At daylight, warp up. Had the sails to dry. Furled them again & stowed down oil 49 bbls. So ends.

## Tuesday

Getting up water casks etc. etc. Sent a raft of 19 casks to the river. Mid part, fine. Latter part, ditto. Employed at various duties. So ends.

## Wednesday the 29th

Employed [at] various duties(?), getting water & got 24 casks. Mid & latter part, ditto. Sent a watch on shore on liberty. Employed [at] various duties.

## Thursday the 30th

Employed at various duties, watering, etc. etc. etc. Mid & latter part, ditto. One watch on liberty.

## Friday the 31st

Employed as before stowing water, wooding, etc. Got a boatload of wood. Mid & latter part, ditto.

## Saturday the 1st April

Fine weather. Employed as before. Mid & latter part, ditto.

## Sunday the 2nd

Fine weather. Employed as before. Mid & latter part, fine.

**Monday the 3rd**

Fine weather. Mid & latter part, fine.

**Tuesday the 4th**

Fine weather. Employed painting, cutting up wood, etc. etc. Mid & latter part, ditto. Rainy.

**Wednesday the 5th**

Rainy weather. Cleared the decks up. Mid & latter part, ditto. Employed as before.

**Thursday the 6th**

Baffling and some rain. Mid & latter part, ditto. I got two boatloads of wood, making 12 in all.

**Saturday the 8th**

Fine weather. Mid & latter part, ditto. Wooding. One watch on shore. The boat on board.

**Sunday the 9th**

Trades. At night, all on board. Benjamin Nick, being insolent and drunk, got into difficulty with the Capt. and was tied, put in the stern and after making many threats, saying [that] if he was not let out(?), he would set the ship on fire, etc. etc. He made his escape and got forewarned and was afterward quiet & in the morning was complaining of being unable(?). Mid & latter part, ditto.

**Monday the 10th**

Fine weather. Mid & latter part, ditto.

**Tuesday the 11**

Fine. Mid & latter part, ditto.

**Wednesday the 12th**

One watch on shore on liberty. At night all on board except Ben Nick. He stopped on shore. About 8:30, he came on board, walked about and watched for an opportunity to get a boat and at about 12 he succeeded in diverting the attention of the watch and got the boat, put all his clothes, etc. in her and in company with a man belonging to the **Omega** made his escape. At 3 a.m., the boat was discovered etc. I immediately sent the 4th mate and a boat to get him and take the boat on board, and when the boat was within hail he threatened to cut any man who attempted to lay hold of him. The officer then made fast to the boat to tow her on board but he cut the line and afterwards jumped overboard swearing at a most horrible rate that he would not go on board the ship again. Took the boat on board, being half full of water. Took his clothes, what was

saved, and at 7 a.m. he got on shore by means of travelling on the reef until landing near(?) a Gray shop(?). The people came and remonstrated against taking him on board again as he has made several threats and one of the most important is that he would set fire to the ship & likewise kill the Capt. and all the trouble that has occurred this voyage has begun in him and I for one and the rest of the officers protest against taking him on board again upon no consideration whatever.

Edward H. Norton  
W. H. Skinner

Thursday the 18th April

Fine weather. Employed bending sails, painting boats. One watch on shore. At night, all [on board] except Ben Davis and Nick. He [is] still absent. Mid part, ditto. Latter part, wind at SW. One watch on shore.

Friday April 14th 1843

Commences fair. Employed [at] various duties. At 4 p.m., Nick came alongside but was refused admission on board as he had been absent 48 hours and he had been on shore and swore he would not come on board again. Mid & latter part, fine. Painting boats.

Saturday the 15

Fine weather. Got a load of yams and other things from shore. Employed in getting ready for sea. Mid & latter part, ditto. Employed as before.

Sunday the 16th

Commences fine weather. Got off 4 casks of water but they were salt and we started them again. Mid & latter part, ditto. 4 sail left. Sent 5 casks on shore to fill. Mid & latter part, ditto. So ends.

Monday the 17th

Fine trades. The ship **Wave** ready for sea. Mid part, ditto. Latter part, wind blowing in, could not get out. So ends.

Tuesday the 18

Cloudy, squally weather. All hands on board, ready for sea. Mid & latter part, squally. So ends.

Wednesday the 19th

Squally & baffling. Mid part, ditto. Latter part, ditto. Made an attempt to go out but could not come to again. Furled the sails, etc.

Thursday the 20th April

Commences squally. Mid part, ditto. Latter part, wind E. Could not get out.

Friday the 21th

Fine breezes at ENE. Did not attempt to go out. Delivered a cutting spade to **Lalla Rookh** of N.B. Mid part, ditto. Latter part, squally. Hove up but could not get out.

Saturday the 22nd

Cloudy, squally. At 3 p.m. got under weigh, towed out with 7 boats. At 4, took the breezes, double reefed the topsails, in company with the **Potomac**. All hands on board. At 4:30 p.m., saw whales. Got one to the larboard boat. Took it along and laid by, strong breezes, double reefed. Wore(?) at 9 p.m. Mid part, ditto. Latter part, cut in and wore in. Made a fine ... and ... all's well. Lat. 6°31' N, Long. 9° N [?!]

...

[In May, she spoke the Edward Cary, Levi [Starbuck], and the Narrangansett, and saw a ship, perhaps the Lexington. In June, she spoke the Harrison of New Bedford, Charles Henry, of Nantucket. On 24 June, he wrote:]

Not seen a whale for the last three weeks!! Damn hard.

...

[They also spoke the Mary Mitchell of Nantucket, C. Lawrence, Capt., also the Sussex. Then, on to the Japan Ground. In Maui, in October 1843. Near Jarvis Island in early November, then to New Zealand in January 1844.]

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**Document 1842D**

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**Logbook of the Young Phoenix, Captain James  
A. Shearman**

*Source: Ms. in the Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Mass.; PMB 820; Log Inv. 5000.*

**Extracts from the log**

...  
[After whaling in New Holland, or Australia, in October 1841, the ship went toward Guam, crossing the Equator at 145° E.]

...  
Remarks on Board Friday March 4th 1842  
Strong breezes from the NE and Squally weather Steering by the wind to the NNW[.]  
Middle Made the Lamurek island and tack Shore 2 AM tack in shore So ends.  
Latt 9°29 N. Long per Chro 158°45 E

...  
Remarks on Board Monday March 7th 1842  
This day commences with fresh breezes from the NE and pleasant weather Steering  
W Middle part the same 3 AM Made the island of Guam 5 AM Bent the Cable 10 AM  
got a pilot 11 AM Came to Anchor in the outer harbour in 22 fathoms of Water So  
ends.

Remarks on Board Tuesday March 8th 1842  
This day commences with Strong trade wind and pleasant weather all hands em-  
ployed Clearing Ship So ends.

Remarks on Board Wednesday March 9th 1842  
This day commences with Strong trade winds and pleasant weather. all hands em-  
ployed Cleaning ship Middle part Latter the same So ends.

Remarks on Board Thursday March 10th 1842  
This day commences with Strong wind and pleasant weather and all hands employed  
painting Ship Middle and Latter part So ends.





**Ship Young Phoenix departing New Bedford.**



**Remarks on Board Friday March 11th 1842**

This day commences with pleasant weather and Strong trade and employed painting Ship Middle part Latter part the Same So ends.

**Remarks on Board Saturday March 12th 1842**

This day commences with pleasant weather Strong breezes NE one Watch on Liberty So ends.

**Remarks on Board Sunday March 13th 1842**

This day commences with fine weather and Light breezes from the NE one Watch on Liberty So ends.

**Remarks on Board Monday March 14th 1842**

This day commences with Strong breezes from the NE and pleasant weather and one Watch on Liberty and Ship[ped] a man by the name John Smet So ends.

**Remarks on Board Tuesday March 15th 1842**

This day commences with Light breezes from the NNE and fine 6 PM the Watch Came on Board the other went on Liberty So ends.

**Remarks on Board Wednesday March 16th 1842**

This day commences with fine weather and Light trade wind and one Watch on Liberty So ends.

**Remarks on Board Thursday March 17th 1842**

This day commences with fine weather one Watch on Liberty Middle part Latter part Sent Charles Sinclair(?) on Shore Sick So ends.

**Remarks on Board Friday March 18th 1842**

This day commences with fine weather and Light trade wind one Watch on Liberty Middle Latter [sic].

**Remarks on Board Saturday March 19th 1842**

This day commences with Light breezes from the NE & fine weather one Watch on Liberty Middle and Latter part the Same So ends.

**Remarks on Board Sunday March 20th 1842**

This day commences with Light Squall of rain one Watch on Liberty Middle part the same Latter part pleasant So ends.

Remarks on Board Monday March 21st 1842

This day commences with Strong breezes from the NE and Light Squall of rain and Sent Tom Bradley shore Sick one Watch on Liberty Middle and Latter part.

Remarks on Board Tuesday March 22nd 1842

This day commences with Strong breezes from the NE and Light Squall of rain one Watch on Liberty Middle and Latter part the Same So ends.

Remarks on Board Wednesday March 23rd 1842

This day comences with Strong breezes from the NE and pleasant weather one Watch on Liberty Middle and Latter part the Same So ends.

Remarks on Board Thursday March 24th 1842

This day commences with Strong breezes from the NE and pleasant weather one Watch on Liberty Middle and Latter part the Same So ends.

Remarks on Board Friday March 25th 1842

This day commences with Light breezes from the NE and pleasant weather one Watch on Liberty Middle and Latter part the Same So ends.

Remarks on Board Saturday March 26th 1842

This day commences with strong breezes from the SE and pleasant weather 2 PM got under Way Steering for Umatac Bay 7 PM Came to Anchor Latter part all hands employed Watering So ends.

Remarks on Board Sunday March 27th 1842

This day commences with fine weather and Light breezes from the SE Middle and Latter part the Same So [ends.]

Remarks on Board Monday March 28th 1842

This day commences with Light breezes from the SE pleasant weather Middle part the Same latter part all hands employed Watering So ends.

Remarks on Board Tuesday March 29th 1842

This day commences with fine weather and Strong breezes from the NE 1 AM got under way 7 AM Sent a Boat Shore to port Apry [sic]. Ship **George** of New Bedford 27 Months out 1600 bbls So ends.

Remarks on Board Wednesday March 30th 1842

This day commences with Strong breezes from the ENE pleasant weather 1 PM the Boat Came on Board and Steering to the NNW Middle and Latter part the Same So ends.

Remarks on Board Thursday March 31st 1842

This day commences with Strong breezes from the NE and pleasant weather Steering NNW [M]iddle part the Same latter part sent down the fore top gallant mas[ts] So ends.

Latt 17°20 [N.] Long per Chro. 144°14 E.

...

[The ship went to cruise on the Coast of Japan, and back to Guam the following October.]

...

Remarks on Board Friday October 17th 1842

This day commences with Strong breezes from the WSW and pleasant weather heading to the South all sail set and sent up the main top gallant yard 5 PM Come squall and double reefed M[ain] top sail Middle part set. hauled top sail and veer ship to the NNW Latter part Site [sighted] the island of Guam so ends.

Latt 13°27 [N.] Long per Chro. 146°13 E

Remarks on Board Saturday October 18th 1842

This day commences with Light Baffling winds from NW to SW and working up to guam and Light Squall of rain 4 PM Bent the Cable Middle part Strong breeze and heavy Squalls of rain 10 AM got a pilot 11 AM Came to Anchor in the inner harbour in 17 fathoms of Water So ends.

Remarks on Board Sunday October 19th 1842

This day commences with Strong breezes and Squally weather 4 PM we bent the sails Middle and Latter Much the Same So ends.

Remarks on Board Monday October 20th 1842

This day commences with Strong breezes from the NE and pleasant weather Middle and Latter part the same So ends.

...

[Same routine as on the previous visit, with alternate watches on liberty, etc.]

...

Remarks on Board Monday October 31st 1842

This day commences with fine weather and Light trade wind Middle part rain 4 AM Call[ed] all hands and hove Short 6 AM the pilot Came on Board 7 AM got under Way with a fine breeze from the NE 8 AM Discharged the pilot and Steering out Clear of the Land So ends.

...

[The ship then headed to the Groups South of the Equator, and returned to the Gilbert Island area in January 1843.]

...

Remarks on Board Monday February 27th 1843

This day commences with Light breezes from the NE and Cloudy weather Steering W 2 PM Saw a Shole of Whale and Lowered the Boats and the whale got site of the Boats and took of 6 PM Come on Board and Oceans [Banaba] island in Site Middle part heading to the NNW Latter part Steering in for the Land So ends.

Latt 0°55 S Long per Chro 170°1 E

...

Remarks on Board Wednesday March 1st 1843

... 8 AM Site pleasant [Nauru] island ...

Latt 0°39 S Long per Chro 166°28 E

...

Remarks on Board Saturday March 18th 1843

This day commences with fine weather and Light trade winds and Laying of and on at roter [Rota] and 1 Boat on Shore 6 PM Return Middle part Calm Latter part Boat of Pigs So Ends.

Remarks on Board Sunday March 19th 1843

This day commences with fine weather and Light tradewinds and Laying of and on at roter and Boating of yams 4 PM Come Squally 6 PM Come fresh breezes and 2 Boats in Shore Middle part fresh gales and Double reefed the top sail and took up the Boats and Came on thick rain weather and wear Ship off[f] Shore and took in all Sail But Double reefed main top sail 5 AM wear Ship in Shore and the Land Bearing E by N and set the fore sail heading up E by S and Squally weather 1 AM wear Ship and heading NW by N and set Close reefed top sail So ends.

Latt 13°57 N Long per Chro 145°00 E

...

[The Captain managed to reach Rota again on 22 March, to recover one of his boats, then headed for Guam.]

...

Remarks on Board Thursday March 25th 1843

This day commences with Strong trade and Steering for guam 5 PM got a pilot Steering in for umatac 10 PM Came to Anchor in 20 fathoms of Water Middle part Latter part employed Watering So ends.

...

[The men were employed watering and coopering until 29 March.]

...

Remarks on Board Thursday March 30th 1843

This day commences with Strong breezes NNE and all reddy for port Apra Middle 5 AM got under Way 8 AM Come to All anchors in 22 fathom Water So ends.

**Remarks on Board Friday March 31st 1843**

This day commences with fine weather Strong breezes from NE all hands employed get[ting] of Bread and Wood Middle & Latter part Much the Same So ends.

**Remarks on Board Saturday April 1st 1843**

This day commences with fine weather all hands employed Wooding Middle Latter part Watch on Liberty.

**Remarks on Board Sunday April 2nd 1843**

This day commences with fine weather Strong breezes from NE one Watch on Liberty Middle part Latter part employed Wooding So ends.

...

[Same routine as before, with alternate watches ashore, etc.]

...

**Remarks on Board Wednesday April 19th 1843**

This day commences with Strong tradewind and Squally Middle 5 AM got under Way with a fine breeze and Steering for umatac Bay So ends.

**Remarks on Board Thursday April 20th**

This day commences with Strong breezes from the NE and Laying of and on at umatac 2 Boats Shore for Water 2 PM return with the Water Middle part Steering by the wind to NNW Latter part Squally So ends.

...

[The ship went to the Bonin Islands, cruised on Japan, then to Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, then after some more whaling, went back home.]

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**Document 1842E**

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**Logbook of the Barque Clarice, Captain Dexter**

*Source: Ms. in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 319; Log Inv. 1085.*

**Extracts from the log**

...

[The ship reached the Gilberts in October 1842.]

...

Remarks on Board Wednesday October the 19 1842

First part of this day fine trades from NE by E and Forecast headed to the North Saw 2 fin Backs Middle Part Small trades and fair Last Part Moderate trades and Clear at 9 AM Made Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Island a Part Kings Mills Group Bearing Per Compas NE distance 4 Leagues Saw a Number of Canoes at Noon Moderate So Ends.

Latt by Obs 1°35 South. Long by Chron. 184 [rather 174°] 50'00" East

Remarks on Board Thursday October the 20 1842

First Part of this day Moderate trades from ENE and fine Weather heading to the North at 2 PM those Canoes Came alongside With Some fish Natives did Not Come on Board at 3 do. tacked to SE at 4 do. a Great many Canoes in Sight Middle Part Small trades and Clear at 8 PM tacked to NE Last Part Moderate from ESE and Pleasant heading to the NorthEast at 11 do. made the SE Part of Drummonds Island Bearing N by W Steered off North So Ends.

Latt by Obs 1°54 South. Long by Chro. 175°10'30" East

Remarks on Board Friday October the 21 1842

First Part Moderate trades from ESE and Pleasant all Sail And Steering North in for Land at 1 PM Saw Breaches headed the Ship for them But Saw Nothing More at Sunset Steered by the Wind headed to the North and East Middle Part Light airs and overcast at Mid Night fine trades Lying a back headed to the Eastward last Part at daylight Made Sail headed to ENE at 7 AM tacked to SSW in Shore Saw a Number of Canoes at 9 do. Steered off to the Westward in Shore Course Saw Black fish Overcast So Ends.

Latt by Obs 1°25 South.

Remarks on Board Saturday October the 22 1842

... a Number of Canoes Came alongside With Some trades...

...

Remarks on Board Sunday October the 30 1842

... at 2 PM Stood in to Leeward of Perot [Beru] Island a Number of Canoes Came off With Some Coconuts and a few other Small articles to Exchange for tobacco at 3 tacked to NNE at Sunset Land Bore SE distance 3 Leagues...

Remarks on Board Monday October the 31 1842

... at 2 PM Made the East End of Drummonds Island Bearing South at Sunset Wore Ship to the North...

Latt by Obs 1°17 South. Long by Chro 174°58'15" East

Remarks on Board Tuesday November the 1 1842

... Made the West End of Drummonds Island at Sunset Made one of Sydenhams [Nonouti] Islands Bearing WNW...

...

Remarks on Board Friday, November the 4 1842

... at 9 AM Made the Middle part of Drummonds Island at 22 do. tacked off Shore heading NE...

Latt by Obs 1°17 South

...

Remarks on Board Monday November the 7 1842

... At Sunset West Point of Drummonds Island Bore SSW... Last Part fine trades from East and Pleasant Saw East Island one of Sydenhams Group at 9 Steered for it at Noon Steered by the Wind heading South one Ship in Sight.

Latt by Obs 0°30 South

...

Remarks on Board Sunday November the 13 1842

... at 11 AM Saw Perot [Beru] Island Bearing SE by E Distance Six Leagues.

Latt by Obs 1°08 South. Long by Chron 175°57'30" East.

...

Remarks on Board Tuesday November the 15 1842

First Part of this 24 hours fine trades from East and hazy headed to the North More Moderate at 2 PM Saw Perot Island at 4 do. Canoes Came alongside at six tacked off shore Middle Part Brisk trades and fair tacked to NE Last Part Brisk trades and heavy Squalls of Wind and Rain at 7 AM double Reefed the top Sails Land in to Leeward trades from South headed to the East Rugged(?) at 10 AM Saw Byrons [Nukunau] Island Bearing East Wind Shifted to East headed to the North More Moderate Made Sail at Noon Brisk trades and fair Weather So Ends.

Latt by Obs 1°20 South

Remarks on Board Wednesday November the 16 1842

... at Sunset Byrons Island Bearing NE by N... at 7 tacked to NNW land in Sight 10 Miles to Windward at Noon tacked to ESE..

Remarks on Board Thursday November the 17 1842

... Last Part Land in Sight Stood in and Sent thirty Cask on Shore for fresh Water a Number of Canoes Came alongside With Some Cooanuts at 11 Boat Came off[f.] Stood off Shore to the South One Ship in Sight. So Ends. No Observation.

Remarks on Board Friday November the 18 1842

... at 1 PM Spoke by the Ship **Orion** of Nantucket... at Noon Byrons in Sight.  
Latt by Obs 1°42 South. Long by Chro 176°39'45" East

...

Remarks on Board Sunday the 20 1842

... At 2 PM Sent 2 Boats on Shore for the Raft at Sunset the Boats Came alongside With 24 Cask of Water took it in and Steerd off South...  
Latt by Obs 1°02 South. Long by Chro 177(?)°17'45"

Remarks on Board Monday November the 21 1842

... at Noon Was Spoke by the Bark **Isabella** of Fairhaven...

...

Remarks on Board Thursday November the 24 1842

... at 2 PM Was Spoke by the Ship **Margaret Scott** of New Bedford...

...

Remarks on Board Saturday December the 10 1842

... at 5 do. Spoke the Ship **Orion** of Nantucket...

...

[The ship visited Gardner Island, while in company with the Orion, and then toward Tahiti. It was back in the Gilberts 10 months later.]

...

Remarks on Board Tuesday October the 31 1843

... at 3 PM Was Spoke by the Ship **Thule** of Nantucket...  
Latt by Obs 0°38 North. Long by Chro. 174°40'00" East

...

Remarks on Board Thursday November the 2 1843

... at 1 PM Made Simpsons [...] Island Bearing West Distance 4 Leagues...  
Latt by Obs 0°09 South. Long by Chro. 173°55'00" East

...

Remarks on Board Monday November the 13 1843

... Last Part Cloudy, at Daylight Made Ocean [Banaba] Island Bearing W by S Distance five Leagues Steered in for it one Ship in sight at 11 AM Sent 2 Boats on Shore for five Cask that Was Put on Shore in September 1842...



Remarks on Board Tuesday November the 14 1843

... at 8 AM More Moderate Saw Land Steered for it at 11 Sent 2 Boats on Shore at 12 took the Raft alongside Some Natives on Board five Weather Standing off and on. So Ends.

Remarks on Board Wednesday November the 15 1843

First part Calm at 4 PM Boat Came off Sunset Calm... at 9 Sent Boat in Noon Boat Came of Standing off and on one Ship in Sight. So Ends.

...

Remarks on Board Friday November the 17 1843

.. at 8 AM Was Spoke by the Ship **Potomac** of Nantucket...  
Latt by Obs 0°42 North. Long by Chron 169°07'00" East

...

[By July 1844 the ship was among the Philippine Islands. In 1845 the ship was back home.]

---

**Document 1842F**

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**The logbook of the Wilmington & Liverpool Packet, Captain Gilbert J. Place**

*Source: Ms. in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 899; Log Inv. 4970.*

*Note: The log was kept by Samuel N. Brush until 20 February 1843, by William W. Weeks until 15 November 1844, and by anonymous journalist afterwards.*

**Extracts from the log**

...

[The ship went around Cape Horn and visited the coast of Peru before whaling on the Line.]

...

Saturday August 6th [1842]

Comes in with fine Breezes & pleasant Weather Steering by the wind to the SSW Middle & Latter parts fine Weather thus Ends another Sad & gloomy Week and no More prospect of Whale than there was seven days ago I have given up all hope of getting home this Side of 40 Months then I hope to Embrace that dice of Virtue So Long Neglected.

Lat by Obs 3°30 N. Long by Chron 109°50 [W]

Sunday Aust 7th

Comes in with pleasant Breezes Steering by the wind to the SW Latter part fine Weather Saw nothing of the Whale kind So Ends another Sabath Some is blaspheming while another is a reading his bible the another siting alongside of him a singsong some obsen song to while away the time then you can see another in a deep study of the times that is past and of the future then he will awake from his reserve and passing the evening in some social circle of friends conversing in that inlivening bogie wich they use to pass the Day not once thinking of those poor mortals which is deprived of all Society except the howling of the winds and spalas of the sea But alas how diferent with the sailor all his thoughts are centerd on his virtuous love that he has left behind him he still has that she will remain as he left her in a single state of befriendness while he is braving the ocean to gain valor an[d] credit so as to gain the esteem of his fair one perhaps she is promenading with some other in a ball room and the man that a few months

before was dearer to her than life is now as far from her thoughts as he is from home She forgetting the solem vows that she made to him when she parted from him but alas poor giddy girl She did not know the heart that she posses neither the hurt that she is about to break but my sincere hope is this is a dream...

...

Friday Sept 30th

Comes in with pleasant Breezes and fine weather Steering W by Compas at sun-down hauled on the wind to the South at 11 AM Lay off and on at Byrons [Nukunau] Island and traded with the natives for Cocoanuts hats mats &c.

Lat by Obs 1°11 S. Longitude 177°13 E.

Saturday Oct 1

Throughout this 24 hours fine weather Steering by the wind to the South at 2 PM Lay off and on at Hope [Arorae] Island Sent one Boat on shore for Coconuts at 4 PM the Boat returned and we kept off SW took one of the Natives with us Latter part fine weather.

Lat by Obs 1°47 S. Longitude 177°00 E.

Sunday Oct 2nd

All these 24 hours fine pleasant weather Steering by the wind in search of Whales.

Lat. by Obs 1°58 S.

Monday Oct 3rd

Throughout this 24 hours fine weather Steering by the wind one sail in sight.

Lat by Obs 2°55 S Longitude 176°15 E

Tuesday Oct 4th

Comes in with Calm and pleasant weather at 4 PM Saw Spearm Whales Loard [i.e. lowered] the Boats Struck 3 of them Night Coming on but from the Largest Whale at 8 took the others alongside and sot [sic] the Watch 4 Boats Crews Latter part light Airs & Calm at 5 AM Commenced Cutting and at 8 finished.

Lat by Obs 2°50 S.

Wednesday Oct 5th

All these 24 hours fine pleasant weather Employed Boiling at 8 AM Saw the Barque **Caroline** of Sidney Maneuvering among whales tacked Ship and Stood for her and at 10 Raised the Whales going quick to the windward.

Lat by Obs [blank]. Long of Whales [blank]

Thursday Oct 6th

All these 24 hours pleasant whole sail [sic] Breezes and fine weather Steering by the wind heading E by N at 8 AM Saw Spearm Whales Loard the Boat and at 12 meridian

Struck and killed one of them found an English Iron and 30 Fathoms of Line attached to him.

Lat. by Obs 3°00 S.

Friday Oct 7th

Comes with pleasant Breezes from the Northward and fine weather at 2 PM took the whale alongside and Cut him in Latter part fine weather Employed Boiling Hope Island in Sight off the weather Beam.

Lat by Obs 3°52 S.

Saturday Oct 8th

Throughout this 24 hours fine pleasant weather Steering by the wind in search of Whales saw nothing Remarkable.

Lat by Obs 3°03 S. Long by Chron 176°50 E

Sunday Oct 9th

All of these 24 hours Moderate Breezes from the Eastward and fine Weather Steering various Courses at 11 AM Sae Rotches [Tamana] Island Bearing NW by N 5 Leagues Dist.

Lat by Obs 2°44 S. Longitude 176°40 E

Monday Oct 10th

All of these 24 hours fine Clear weather Steering by the wind in search of Whales.

Lat by Obs 2°43 S

Tuesday Oct 11th

Throughout this 24 hours fine weather Steering by the wind at 3 PM Spoke the Ship **Hesper** of Fairhaven 15 Months out with 800 Bbls of Spearn Oil.

Lat by Obs 3°05 S. Longitude 176°23 E

Wednesday Oct 12th

All of these 24 hours fine pleasant weather Steering by the wind.

Lat by Obs 3°00 S.

Thursday Oct 13th

All of these 24 hours fine weather at 4 PM Spoke the **Hesper** and Capt Handy came on board and spent the evening.

Lat by Obs 3°30 [S]. Longitude 176°13 E

...

Sunday Oct 16th

... Clarks [Onotoa] Island in sight Bearing NE 3 Leagues...

Monday Oct 17th

... this afternoon several Canoes Came off from Clarks Island with Coconuts fowls &c...

Tuesday Oct 18th

All of this 24 hours fine Weather Employed Boiling Clarks Island in Sight to windward.

Lat by Obs 2°10 S

Wednesday Oct 19th

Throughout this 24 hours fine pleasant weather at 10 AM Lay off and on at Clarks Island and traded with the natives for Coconuts Shells &c.

No Obs this Day.

...

Saturday Oct 22nd

... at 4 PM made Byrons [Nukunau.] Island Bearing N by W.

Lat by Obs 00°55 S

...

Tuesday Oct 25th

... at 8 AM made Simpsons [Abemama] Island Bearing NW at 11 Made Hendervilles [Aranuka] and Woodles [Kuria] Islands 4 Sails in Sight.

Lat by Obs 00°4 N ongitude 173°55 W [rather E]

...

Wednesday November 2nd

Throughout this 24 hours fine pleasant weather Steering by the wind at 10 AM Spoke the Ship **Martha** of Fairhaven 13 months out with 200 Bbls.

Lat by Obs 1°44 S.

Thursday November 3rd

Throughout this 24 hours fine weather Steering by the wind at 2 PM made Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Island Bearing NE at 5 PM Spoke the Ship **Omega** of Nantucket 26 Months out with 900 [Blls] and **Obed Mitchell** of do. with 550.

Lat by Obs 2°25 [S]

...

Saturday November 5th

...at 2 PM Lay off and on at Drummonds Island to trade with the Natives found them much poorer here than at the other Islands of this group they Brought nothing but a few green Coconuts and Broken Shells.

...

Thursday November 10th

... at 10 AM Made Clarks [...] Island Bearing NNE.

Lat by Obs 2°08 S

Friday November 11th

... at 3 PM Lay off and on at Clarks Island trade with the Natives...

Lat by Obs 2°00 S

Saturday November 12th

Throughout this 24 hours fine weather Steering to the SW at 4 PM Lard [i.e. lowered] the Boats and got one Blackfish Drummonds Island in Sight off the weather Beam 3 Leagues Dist thus Ends another Week and no Whales rather a double prospect of getting home in 3 years full of Spearm Oil.

...

Tuesday November 15th

... at 1 AM Spoke the Ship **Japan** of Nantucket 14 months out with 550 Bbls; Employed painting Ship &c.

Lat by Obs 00°37 S

Wednesday November 16th

All of these 24 hours fine weather Steering W by N at 4 PM Raised Oceans [Bana-ba] high Island 3 Leagues Dist, one Sail in Sight.

Lat by Obs 00°09 N

...

Wednesday November 23rd

... at 2 PM passed within 2 Leagues of a small Island ... at 8 AM passed another small Island.

Lat by Obs 6°35 N

...

Friday November 25th

Begins with fresh Breezes from the NE Steering WSW by Compass at 4 PM in the Latitude of 6°50 North and Longitude of 159°10 E Made the Island of Ascension [Pohnpei] Bearing SW per Compass 7 Leagues Dist at 5 PM hauled of the Chains and Bent them at Sundown Shortened Sail and hauled on the wind off Shore at Daylight kept off WSW at 10 AM the Pilot Came on board and we kept off for the Lay [rather Lee] Harbor.

Lat by Obs 6°46 N

Saturday November 26th

Comes in with fine Weather at 2 PM Came to Anchor in 8 fathoms of Water Latter part fine at 7 AM sent the Watch on shore on Liberty Employed Watering Staying the Main topmast &c.

Sunday November 27th

Throughout these 24 hours Moderate Breezes with squalls of rain at 4 PM the Schooner **Thomas Crisp** of London Came in from the Weather harbour.

Monday November 28th

All of these 24 hours variable Weather Employed Wooding Watering &c.

Tuesday November 29th

Throughout this 24 hours pleasant Breezes and fine weather at 9 AM went with 2 Boats and towed the Schooner outside of the Reef so now we are left alone in this miserable hole which Makes me feels quite Lonesome and I dont Care how soon we are of out of this scrape.

[No entries between 29 Nov. and 12 Dec. Rather sheet missing from log.]

### **Wind Bound A. 1842**

Monday December 12th

Throughout this 24 hours fresh Gale and squally. the Ship Riding with Both Anchors Down and we Looking anxious by for a Change of Weather.

Tuesday December 13rd

Throughout this 24 hours variable weather at 2 PM hove up the Second Anchor at 10 AM a Swedish Brig Came in from Sidney.<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday December 14th

Throughout this 24 hours rainy Weather wind from al points of the Compass.

Thursday December 15th

All of these 24 hours Calm and pleasant Weather, I have Strong hopes of having a fair wind tomorrow.

Friday December 16th

Throughout this 24 hours fine pleasant Weather at 7 AM Got underweign and towed the Ship outside of the Rock But the Sea Breeze coming in we was forced to put Back and Come to Anchor again at 11 AM I went on shore for a Raft of Water.

Saturday December 17th

Comes in with Calm and pleasant Weather at 8 PM Got of the Raft and furled the Sails Middle part pleasant Breeze from the NNE Latter part Calm at 7 AM hove up the Anchor and Made Sail But the wind Died away and before us as usual thus Ends another Week and we are no nearer out than we was Last Week But I have Strong hopes of a fair wind tomorrow morning.

---

1 Ed. note: This was the Bull, Capt. Werngren. See Lévesque's STM.

Sunday December 18th

Throughout this 24 hours fine pleasant weather at 8 AM Got under weigh and with a Light land Breeze and the help of the Boats Succeeded in getting outside of the Reef at 10 the pilot left us and we sailed away once more upon the Bossom of the wide Pacific.

Monday December 19th

Comes in with fine Breezes from the Northward Steering SSW the hills of the Loveley Island of Ascension are fast sinking in the horizon and I hope that I never shall [see] them more Latter part Calm and pleasant weather.

Lat by Obs 6°10 N.

Tuesday December 20th

Throughout this 24 hours fine pleasant Weather first part Stering W by N Middle part Lying with the Main topsail to the mast at Daylight kept off SSW at 6 AM Made Ravens [Ngatik] Island Bearing South at 12 Meridian Sent a Boat on shore.

No Obs this Day.

Wednesday December 21st

Throughout this 24 hours fine Weather Laying off and on to trade for hogs, &c.

Thursday December 22nd

Comes in with Squally Weather 2 Boats on Shore at 7 PM Double Reeft the topsails Latter part fresh Gales and Clear The Boat still on Shore waiting for an opportunity to Cross the Reef.

Friday December 23rd

Begins with fresh Gales and Clear weather at 5 PM the Boat Came on board kept the Ship NW and Got whole Watches Latter part Strong Gales and Squally at 7 P[M] Close Reeft the topsails and took in the mainsail.

...

[As 1843 arrived, the ship headed North toward the Northern Marianas, without sighting any of them. Then a new logkeeper took over at the Bonin Islands. The ship was whaling "on Japan" for most of 1843, although it visited the Hawaiian Islands and headed for the Line before December.]

...

Monday Jan 8th [1844]

Comes in with strong breezes and squally Steering North by Compass Got eight o'clock(?) luft two [i.e. luffed to] With the main yard aback Middle squalls latter part fine At daylight kept off NNE At 9 AM Made Hope [Arorae] Island Bearing NE At 11 A[M] Ran up to it And laid off[f] and on And traded for Coconut And mats At 4 PM



kept off to the Northward left two of the natives here so ends with plenty of Womening.

Lat by Obs 1°27 S. Long by Chr 177°00 E

...

Friday Jan 12th

Comes in with fine Weather Wind from the Eastward steering to the Westward in Company With the **William Hamilton** of New Bedford Captain Cole So Ends with fine Weather Luft two for the night.

Lat by Obs 1°25 S. Long by Chr 176°25 E

Saturday Jan 13th

Throughout this 24 hours fine Weather Ship steering NW in Company With ship **William Hamilton** At 11 PM maid barings [i.e. Byron=Nukunau] island Bearing SW At 2 PM the boats Came Alongside And they brought plenty of hats And Coconut And mats We keep a freat many of the fair sex on board to trade you may no [i.e. know] what for So Ends with A fresh mess tomorrow.

Lat by Obs 1°12 S

Sunday January 14th

Comes in with fine weather Wind from the Eastward Ship steering SSW by Compass for Hope [Arorae] Island. Latter part moderate.

Lat by Obs 2°8 S. Long by Chr 176°25 E

Monday Jan 15th

Comes in With fine weather ship steering by the Wind to southward At daylight made rocke's [Tamana] Island Bearing West so ends with fine weather The watch imployed wo[r]rking of[f] ironrust(?) land in sight.

Lat by Obs 2°24 S. Long by Chr 176°06 E

Tuesday Jan 16th

Comes in with pleasant weather ship steering by the wind At daylight roakes Island in sight Middle part pleasant At 3 PM made hope Island bearing NE At sundown luft two on the wind so ends with fine weather. Saw nothing in the whale kind.

Lat by Obs 2°50 S. Long by Chr 178°

...

Saturday [sic] Jan 18th

Fist part this 24 hours comes in pleasant weather Ship steering by the wind to southward At daylighth Made hope Island Bearing SSW At 6 PM the Natives came Alongside And traded for hats And Brooms And the Ladies Came With them At 4 PM Commences Boiling so ends With the **William Hamilton** in sight And **roslee** [i.e. Rosalie] of War[r]en Growing gest [just?] from home And not one word from my virtuous Woman[.] Land in sight.

Saturday [sic] Jan the 19

Comes in With Light Airs from SSW ship steering by the wind Boiling Middle part squally At 6 PM Hope Island bearing NE We had the Natives Alongside the same As usual We gave them A plenty of fat leave And they went on shoar Contented Later part squally finished boiling And shortened sail for the Night two ships in sight. No obs.

Saturday Jan the 20

... At 11 PM Hope Island Bearing NE. Later part spoke a Citeny [sic = Sydney] ship<sup>1</sup> 18 Months Out 800 hundred And fifty bbls so ends with the **William Hamilton** in sight And the **rosalee** [Rosalie] of War[r]jen shortened sail for the night.

Lat by Obs 2°56 S. Long by Chr 176°20 E

...

Sunday January 28th

Comes in With light airs from the Eastward Steering Westward by Compass at 1 PM luft two with the mainyard Aback at 6 PM kop of At 7 P[M] Made Ocean [Bana-ba] High Island Bearing WSW At 3 PM sent the boat on shore And got some fowl We had the Ladies on board the [same] As usual for trade At sundown We spoke A Citny [sic] ship And Captain Place went on board And spent the Evening So Ends with A plenty of rain And Whet Jacket Saw nothing in the whale Line.

Lat by Obs 36 m[iles] S. Long by Chr 170°00 E

[No entry on the 29th]

Tuesday January the 30

First part this 48 hours Comes in with strong Breezes from ENE ship steering by the Wind Ocean high Island in sight At 11 PM kep of NorW for pleasant [Nauru] Island in Company With the **Offerly** [Offley] of Citny At 5 PM made pleasant Island bearing WSW the Ladies Came on board to trade With hats and mats the same as usual fine times 3 ships in sight gamming One the **Offerly** of Citney 7 months out 700 of sperm the **Edward Cary** of Nantucket oil not stated the **Massachusetts** of New Bedford 30 months out with 13 hundred shortened sail for the night so Ends with fine weather.

Lat by Obs 20 m S

...

[The Osterly of Sydney remained in company for a while longer.]

February 4th

Commences With squally ship steering by the Wind to the Northward And Westward under double reef topsails In Company With **Offerley** of Citney And the **Leonidas** of Bristol Captain Waldron At 1 PM made strongs [Kosrae] Island bearing NW At 3 PM Captain plase went on shore And Could not find no Anchorage Came on

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Her name was the Offley (see below).

board to Lay of and on for the Night[.] I think this is the best Gam that I have had since I have been to sea I thought I was in Bristol last Night Almost But Com to look Around I couldnt see that ould quail doctor Balls Nor my virtuous woman But thank the Lord for this Gam I expect to be amongst the fair sex tomorrow to top off So Ends with fine weather[.] Nelson is out of sight Which makes me feel down hearted but I hope the good Lord will be with him whenever he goes & had with us All So Ends until I leave port.

February the 25

Throughout this 24 hours fine weather At 6 AM took our anchor for the 5th time and headed out of the harbour and made sail steering by the wind to the ESE[.] left the **James Stewart** in the harbour.<sup>1</sup>

Monday February 26th

Throughout these 24 hours fresh breezes and squally With rain saw one sail in sight of the land.

Tuesday February 27th

All this 24 hours strong breezes from the NE under double reefed topsails in sight of the land bearing SSW distance 30 miles.

Wednesday February 28th

Throughout these 24 hours strong breezes from the NE steering by the wind of on both tacks keeping in with the land.

Thursday February 29th

Throughout this 24 hours more moderate steering by the wind to the SE and NW at M. sent A boat on shore [.] Came of at 4 PM.

Friday February [rather March] 1st

Throughout these 24 hours fine weather at Mer sent the boat on shore at 7 PM Came on board and kept off SSW fine weather steering along with the land.

Saturday March 2nd

All this 24 hours fine weather ship steering WNW the land in sight bearing ESE.

Sunday March 3th

Commences with strong breezes from the NE Steering WNW by Compass under all sail Middle and Later part much the same.

Lat by Obs 7°5 N

---

1 Ed. note: Of St. John, New Brunswick, Captain Jackson.

## Monday March 4th

Comes in with strong breezes from the NE Steering NW by N under all sail[.] There wee are on [a] passage to Gouam And About All you Can hear is 800 hundred and fifty fine prospects for A young man. Dear Dear I think I shall be Able to sell a farm And buy A sloop off this but think the lord it asist my wos I Expect we shall hafter blow our fingers before long so Ends with fine weather saw nothing in the whale line.

Lat by Obs 8° N

...

## Saturday March 9th

Hear wee are of the Island of roter [Rota] most 27 monts from home 800 hundred and fifty And I dont See but what wee Am like to bee But I hope the Lord will have mercy upon us if we not to be puted then I dont no who is[.] All I want is to get my foot on that sod once more I will try to make myself Content till my Life is spent nor like A whaler for A better home But it is so and it Cant bee helpt I have About give up all hopes the lord only when wee shall get the meet whale but thank the Lord the boat is on shore after some pigs It blows half A gale of wind under double reef topsails the boat is got on board with 14 pigs potatoes And oranges And that is all the go[.] the Captain is on shore.

Lat by Obs 13°41 N. Long by Chr 145°40 E

## Sunday March the 10

First part these 24 hours strong breezes middle part much the same At 2 AM took our departure from roter with 50 pigs And About 5000 thousands of oranges And now bound for gouam to get some potatoes so ends with the ship Bowling keel out Allmost.

## Monday March the 11

Comes in with strong gales from the NE steering SW under double reef topsail At daylight made Gouam bearing South[.] made sail and stood in for the land[.] sent the boat on shore[;] the boat came on board And left the Captain for the night to see if we can get any potatoes so ends with fine weather[.] they is 3 ships in hear bound for the NW[.] the old sow had two pigs last night.

## Tuesday March the 12

Comes in with light winds and pleasant weather Wind from the NE Laying of And on first on one tack then on the other[.] Our mats is frank And about all hands the Captain is on shore and I dont see but want he is like to be done I dont know what wee shall Come tow if this ant A sickness then I never had one I hope heaven will smile upon us And get us Clear from this rum hole before longs I expect this.

Lat by Obs 13°5 N. Long by Chro 144°13 E

[No entry for the 13th]

Thursday March 14th

Hear we are bound for the NW under double reef topsail to take in 2300 hundred in about 1 month Fine prospects for A young man that is about to enter the list of the Combils not this day I haven given up all hopes of getting A voyage in this ship wich makes for poor and deguted [disgusted] that I Could but once more Embrace my Charmer for one moment to pour out my feelings of sorrow and have her Consoling love to Awake my feelings for the future and has[t]en the time off for one moment if this dont put A fellow in mind of home then I dont now what will But thank the lord wee have got Clear of another rum hole so ends with fair weather steering North by Compass.

...

Monday March the 17

... wee had 6 more newcomers Last night[,] some Call them pigs [but] they look more like rats...

Lat by Obs 19°5 N. Long by Chr 143°35 E

Tuesday March the 18

... killed two pigs And lost the old sow...

...

[There is a note at the end that says: "Ship condemned at Sandwich Islands 1845.]

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**Document 1842G**

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**The ship Young Eagle, Captain Austin**

*Sources: Ms. log in the Dukes Historical Society, Edgartown, Mass.; PMB 676; Log Inv. 4988.*

**Extract from the log kept by Captain Edward C. Austin**

...  
[In November 1841, this ship was cruising for whales on the Line, before returning to the North Pacific whaling grounds, from the Jarvis Island area. It was back on the Line in November 1842 (unfortunately the logbook is too faint at that spot).... I guess, the best information from the notes at the end of this logbook is the list of ships spoken by the Young Eagle, as follows:

Date	Name of ship & Homeport	Captain	Lat. & Long.	Months out	Bbls.
<b>1841.—</b>					
17 Jan.	<b>Pocahontas</b> of Tisbury	...	14°10'S 79°00'W	44	30
22 Feb.	<b>Philip Tabb</b> of Warren	Jenney	4°36'S ...	7	500
26 Feb.	<b>Constitution</b> of Nantucket	Ramsdell	3°48'S 81°00'W	19	1350
29 March	<b>Phenix</b> of Nantucket	Hamblen	4°39'S 105°48'W	9	300
7 Apr.	Barque <b>Favourite</b> of London	Park	4°07'S 107°00'W	4	50
17 Apr.	<b>Congress</b> of Nantucket	Pitman	8°48'S 119°01'W	19	500
3 May	Barque <b>Columbus</b> of New Bedford	Pease	.. 28 S 134°34'W	11	300
23 June	<b>Magnet</b> of Warren	Champlin	30°52'N 179°00'E	17	700
24 June	<b>Catharine</b> of Nantucket	Hunter	30°56'N 177°44'E	25	600
14 Aug.	<b>Emerald</b> of New Bedford	Merchant	28°47'N 172°06'E	20	900
28 Aug.	<b>Herald</b> [2d] of New Bedford	Nye	29°20'N 174°00'E	34	1300
9 Sept.	<b>Bartholomew Gosnold</b> of Falmouth	Russell	29°15'N 177°00'E	20	1200
3 Oct.	<b>St. George</b> of New Bedford	[Fisher]	...	25	1700
9 Dec.	<b>Harvest</b> of Nantucket	Gardner	0°46'S 170°52'W	15	500
<b>1842.—</b>					
5 Jan.	<b>Wm. &amp; Eliza</b> of New Bedford	Rogers	1°17'.. 174°31'W	26	1800
17 Jan.	<b>Samuel Enderby</b> of London	Wilson	1°28'S 179°47'W	18	1100
28 March	<b>Bowditch</b> of Providence	Sowle	17°45'S ...	8	1000
15 June	<b>Alexander Coffin</b> of Nantucket	[Wyer]	29°33'.. 169°03'...	21	1000
25 June	Barque <b>Osprey</b> of Oahu	Harris	29°31'N 166°29'E	1	50
16 July	<b>St. George</b> of New Bedford	Fisher	29°58'N 168°21'E	35	2100
16 July	<b>Benjamin Tucker</b> of New Bedford	Worth	29°58'N 168°21'E	32	1500
2 Aug.	<b>Peruvian</b> of Nantucket	Arthur	29°34'N 167°14'E	24-1/2	1250
4 Aug.	<b>Frances</b> [2d] of New Bedford	Hussey	...	23	1150
5 Aug.	<b>Martha</b> of Newport	Davenport	29°42'.. ...	9	250
15 Sept.	Barque <b>Ranger</b> of London	Green	30°13'.. 177°51'E	26	900
20 Sept.	<b>Sarah Frances</b> of Fairhaven	Daggett	...	32	1400
22 Oct.	<b>Walter Scott</b> of Nantucket	Bunker	29°16'N 159°33'W	23-1/2	900
28 Nov.	<b>Elizabeth</b> of Salem	Hedge	4°23'N 155°45'W	22	800
14 Dec.	<b>Howard</b> of Nantucket	Bunker	0°50'S ...	14	500
19 Dec.	<b>Monticello</b> of Nantucket	Coggeshall	4°28'S 162°28'W	16	1500
29 Dec.	<b>Eliza</b> of Salem	Chase	1°40'S 167°00'W	18	50
<b>1843.—</b>					
2 March	<b>Charles Phelps</b> of Stonington	Hall	19°50'S ...	6	500
4 March	<b>Governor Troup</b> of New Bedford	Jenney	...	14	1200

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## Documents 1842H

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# The Harriet, cut off at Kosrae—Articles in the New England press in 1844

## H1. Article in the Salem Advertiser and Argus, Jan. 27, 1844

*Notes: Article repeated in the Boston Courier, Jan. 29; New York Observer, Feb. 3, and Christian Register, Boston, Feb. 16, 1844; reprinted in Gerard Ward's American Activities, under Kusaie 12. See also Doc. 1834K for earlier massacres at same island.*

### Ship Harriet, Capt. Bunker.

If we mistake not, it has already been announced in this country, that the ship **Harriet**, Capt. Bunker, was a year or two ago captured and burnt by the natives at Strong's [Kosrae] Island, and her crew massacred. At any rate these facts have been ascertained by Capt. Rounds, of the brig **Pacific**, of St. John, N.B. [New Brunswick, Canada] who visited Strong's Island in the course of the past year [1843], and was wind-bound there nine weeks. After he left the island, he learned from two natives who had concealed themselves on board, that the **Harriet** had been destroyed in a harbor on the leeward side of the island as above stated. Accordingly he steered for that harbor, and on his arrival, dragged for the **Harriet**, and obtained her anchor, chains and figurehead.

## H2. Article in the Boston Daily Advertiser, May 4, 1844

*Source: Same as above, under Kusaie 13. Article repeated in the Salem Mercury and Weekly Gazette, May 8, 1844.*

### Discovery.

A letter from Capt. Cathcart, of the whaler **Lydia**, published in the New Bedford Mercury, gives an account of his discovery of the burnt wreck of the British whaler **Harriet**, at Strong's Island. Capt. C. made investigations with regard to it and found that the natives, sometime in the Autumn of 1842, attacked and killed the officers and crew, and burnt the vessel. With Capt. Rounds of the **Pacific**, he recovered the anchors and chains from the wreck. The natives alleged no cause but the hope of plunder.

Strong's Island is in lat. 5°12' N., lon. 162°20' E., fifteen miles long, and containing about 2,000 inhabitants.



### H3. The letter of Captain Cathcart, published in the Whalemens' Shipping List, New Bedford, May 7, 1844

*Source: Same as above, under Kusaie 14.*

#### Extract from a letter received from Capt. Cathcart, of ship *Lydia* of Nantucket, Sept. 4th, 1843.

The 15th of last March I anchored at Strong's Island, lat. 5°12' N., lon. 162°20' E. It is about 15 miles long, and contains I should judge, 2,000 inhabitants; the barque **Pearl** of Sippican had anchored two days previous to my arrival; the ship **Pacific** of St. John had been here and left, but returned again while I was there; after he was gone out, two of the natives which Capt. Rounds had taken with him from this island, informed him that a whale ship having considerable oil on board, had been taken by the natives—all hands killed, and the ship burned. Capt. R. put direct back to inform other ships if there might be any there, of what had taken place, and at the same time he thought to get some oil.

The facts are these: The English whaling ship **Harriet** of London, Capt. Charles Bunker, about 12 months ago arrived at this place; the ship had been in four days when the natives took her; the chiefs said that some of the men were up the river for water, another gang at another place for wood, Capt. Bunker, the doctor, and two boys, were shooting birds; Capt. B. seeing that things were not going right on board, he with the doctor and two boys went off for the ship; as the captain was getting getting up the ship's side a native threw a harpoon through his breast; they were all killed; ship plundered, set fire to, and sunk; the natives had no cause for doing so, it was only for plunder. The next day after Capt. Rounds arrived, we swept and found the ship. Capt. R. had a diver, a native of Tahiti—he sent him down with a small rope, when he came up he told us he had rove it through the ring of an anchor—with the small rope we hauled a hawser through and then dropped the **Pacific** over her, and hove up the bows of the ship, and found both chains fast to the bows; Capt. R. saved both chains and anchors; the bows of the ship were burnt off abreast the cab-head; we thought the ship must have burnt to a shell, and the oil drifted out the harbor, for the trade winds blow direct out of the lee harbor at this place.

The next day after, we found where the **Harriet** lay. I was dragging with a boat anchor and hooked up a small chain; I think it must have belonged to the Brig **Waverly** of Woahoo, commanded by William Cathcart, which was cut off here eight or nine years ago.<sup>1</sup> The small chain was not saved, on account of a heavy flow of wind striking the ship which swung her to her anchor and we parted our line. I tried several times after, but could not hook it again. When the natives saw what we were about, they all cleared to the mountain, except the king and chiefs.

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1 Ed. note: See Doc. 1834K.

Third day after finding the ship and small chain, we went to the king and informed him of what we had seen; at first, he denied the crime; we asked him what other ships were there sunk; he said the **Harriet** was all; we told him, no that there was one more ship; his answer was, "ship small, no more two masts, belong Woahoo."

#### H4. The report of Captain Cheever in the Salem Mercury and Weekly Gazette, June 26, 1844

*Source: Same as above, under Kusaie 15.*

##### Marine Journal.

At the Fejee Island, in Jan. schr. **Warwick**, Cheever, of Salem, loading for Manila. The Eng. ship **Harriet** was cut off at Strong's Island and all hands massacred with the exception of one boat's crew that arrived at Hope Island, one of the group:—the ship was burnt by the natives.<sup>1</sup>

#### H5. The report of Captain Hammer in the Daily Mercury, New Bedford, June 29, 1844

*Source: Same as above, under Kusaie 16.*

*Note: This report was also translated into French and published in the French press, notably in the Journal du Havre of 25 April 1845 and in the Nouvelle Annales des Voyages later that year.*

##### Massacre in one of the South Sea Islands.

(The disaster described in the following narrative from a London paper, has been announced in general terms some time since, but we have not observed that the particulars have been published here.)

The details of another attack on an English whaler and murderous slaughter of the whole crew by the natives of one of the South Sea Islands have just been received by the **Sussex**, a whale-ship belonging to Mr. Lyell, M.P. for the city of London, under the command of Capt. Hammer, which arrived in the Thames on Wednesday, after an absence of four years and three months.

Captain Hammer states, that on the 21st April last year [1843], having occasion to take in water, he bore down towards the island marked Quollan [Ualan] on the chart, but usually termed Strong's Island by British seamen, being in long. 162° E. by lat. 6° N. On approaching the harbor, he observed three American ships and one Canadian vessel, lying at anchor. These vessels subsequently proved to be the **Pacific**, Capt. Rounds, from St. John, New Brunswick, and the **Lydia**, the **Lexington**, and the **Pearl**, three American whalers. As the **Sussex** neared the island, the captains of each of these

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This Hope Island is probably Arorai atoll in the Gilberts, unless it be Ninafou in the Tonga Islands.

vessels came off in boats to meet her, and Captain Rounds, of the **Pacific**, immediately communicated to Captain Hammer the fact of the wreck of an English whaler, called the **Harriet**, belonging to the port of London, and commanded by Captain Bunker, lying in eight fathoms of water, within the harbor. Having cast anchor at a convenient distance from the shore, Capt. Hammer returned with Capt. Rounds on board the **Pacific** where portions of the **Harriet's** logbook, her figurehead, anchor, &c. all of which had been recovered at that time, were shown to him, by which the identity and fate of the vessel were placed beyond a doubt. It then appeared that about six weeks previously, Capt. Rounds having visited the same island, had cast anchor in a bay on the other side, and took in from thence a native to assist his crew in fishing.

They put to sea, and in the course of a day or two came up with a whale, which after considerable trouble, they captured. The native observed this, and remarked to the captain a few hours afterwards: "Why do you keep looking about here for fish to procure oil? There is a ship lying in the harbor full of it." The inhabitants of Strong's Island speak English remarkably well; and, as the manner of the native in question was such as to lead Capt. Rounds to believe that he might place some reliance upon his information, conceiving it also possible that a ship might have been wrecked near the island, he at once determined to bear down upon it without loss of time. Arriving there, the man pointed out the spot where the ship lay, and, on soundings being taken, it was discovered that some large object met the lead.

Capt. Rounds then, with considerable ingenuity, rigged out one of his large oil casks in the form of a diving bell, and having made the necessary preparations, a man was sent down, who immediately reported the fact of the hull of a vessel burnt to the water's edge lying beneath its surface, in about eight fathoms.

The American ships above named were lying in the harbor at this time, and Capt. Rounds at once communicated the circumstance which had come to his knowledge to the several captains, when it was thought advisable to set an inquiry on foot, as to the fate of the crew, the name of the vessel, &c. A formal application was made to the Toco Sa, or principal chief of the island, but for some days without any success. Meantime Captain Rounds had recovered various articles from the wreck, including the anchors and chains, a large quantity of new iron hooping, which had evidently been burned to a white heat, the figurehead, the full length figure of a woman, with a coronet, the lower dead-eyes, and a large quantity of rigging, &c.

The whole of the oil barrels remaining in the hold of the vessel were partially burnt, and their contents of course wasted. Some few casks, however, were subsequently found on the island, where they had, no doubt, been placed by natives, after taking possession of the vessel, and before it was destroyed. It is well known that when whaling ships touch at these islands, the native women frequently come on board in large numbers, and generally speaking, they are considered well conducted savages. On this occasion advantage was taken of their familiarity, and the fact that a vessel had been attacked, and the crew murdered, was elicited from several among them, and confirmed by a variety of circumstances. Captain Rounds then decided on requiring an explanation of the

whole affair from the King or Chief, and took an armed party on shore with him for that purpose. The chief met the party, and appeared considerably alarmed at the manner in which Captain Rounds pursued the investigation, but after several interviews, no satisfactory information was obtained on the subject.—?Captain Rounds insisted that the chief should repair on board his ship, and even went so far as to threaten to hang him, in case some explanation was not afforded. The chief himself appeared willing to go on board, but the natives would not allow him, and at this point all further communication between them ceased, the natives taking to their canoes and seeking refuge within the creeks with which the island abounds. Here it was found impossible to pursue them, but from the females, and a few stragglers among the men, the following particulars were obtained: The **Harriet** had put into the island for wood and water, and the intercourse between her crew and the natives was apparently carried on in the usual friendly manner. A deep plot, however, seems to have been laid by the natives, which was, at the time wholly unsuspected by Captain Bunker.

One day, shortly after their arrival, the captain and the surgeon went ashore, to enjoy the sport of shooting, two boat crews being engaged in collecting wood and one in taking water. One of a crew of from twenty-seven to thirty persons, only five remained on board the ship, and this fact, doubtless, being observed by the natives, who were anxiously watching an opportunity, they simultaneously attacked the different parties, killing each almost instantaneously. Resistance would appear to have been hopeless, for although the island is not more than twenty-seven miles in circumference, it is very thickly populated, and from 300 to 400 natives were frequently seen on the shore at one time by Captain Rounds. The five persons who were on board the ship at the time observed the attack on their comrades, and seeing a number of canoes putting off towards the vessel, they hastily embarked in a boat and have not since been heard of, the probability being that, as Strong Island is situated at a long distance from any other, they also must have perished in the course of the few following days.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of Captain Roujnds' investigation on the island, he fortunately discovered four or five leaves of the **Harriet's** log, from which it appeared that the ship had recently been to Port Jackson, for the purpose of undergoing some repairs, and the captain had made an entry to the effect that he had some trouble with his men. Finding all their endeavors fail to procure more information, the several ships above alluded to bore up, and stood away from the Island together, parting company some days subsequently.

The **Harriet** was the property of Messrs. Bualcott, of Paul's Wharf, London. She left England in June 1839, and has consequently been absent nearly five years. No tidings had been heard of her during the last eighteen months, and her owners had recently effected an additional insurance of 1,000 pounds sterling, making a total of 7,500 pounds sterling. Many of her crew left her at Sydney, whose places were supplied by others; it is, therefore, impossible to give the names of those lost correctly.

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1 Ed. note: They survived, according to Captain Cheever (see above).

It is generally believed that three other vessels have been destroyed in a similar manner at the same island, information to that effect having been obtained by Capt. Rounds. These vessels are supposed to have belonged to some of the Sandwich Islands, ships from that locality visiting Strong's Island for the purpose of collecting the *beach de mer*, a species of worm, in which considerable trade is on with China.

Captain Hammeer states it as his opinion that, although there may be no Englishmen resident on the Island at present, there must have been at some previous time, as the natives are so well versed in the English language. He adds, the natives became extremely desirous to prevent him becoming acquainted with any of the circumstances of the affair, affecting a degree of indifference with regard to the American captains. On entering the harbor it was suggested to him that it might be advisable to hoist the American standard at his mast-head instead of the Union Jack. This, however, he declined to do.

The **Sussex** brings home a cargo of 1,500 barrels.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: For follow-up story, see letter of Rev. Snow (Doc. 1854C).

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**Document 1842I**

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**The William and Henry, Captain Benjamin**

*Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 882; Log Inv. 4903.*

**Extract from the log**

**Journal of a Voyage in the Ship William & Henry of Fairhaven to the P. Ocean**  
[in 1842-44]

...

Remarks Monday 8th August 1842

This day all hands employed trying out. Spoke the ship **Potomac** of Nantucket 9 months out 300 bbls.

Tuesday 9th

This day finished boiling. Passing showers of rain and a heavy swell.

Wednesday 10th

Strong breezes this day Lat 24 [minutes] S. Saw two sail to leeward of us.

Thursday 11th

This day stowed 70 bbls of oil the starboard side main hold, and 11 tiers[.] Strong breezes the most part of this day. Saw a sail off our weather quarter.

Friday 12th

Fine pleasant weather, trim'd one of the ground tier cask. Lat at noon .25 S. Long. per Lunar 177°38 W.

Saturday 13th

This day trim'd one of ground tier cask. Spoke the ship **Margarate [sic] Scott** of N. Bedford 19 months out 300 bbl. Lat. 1°08 S.

Remarks Sunday 14th August 1842

Fine weather throughout this day. Lat. at noon 43 S. Long per Lunar 177°37 W.

Monday 15th

This day trim'd three of the ground tier cask, fine moderate weather.

...

Thursday 18th

... Spoke the Barque **Rifleman** of London 10 months out 350 bbls.

Friday 19th

Strong breezes the most part of this day. Saw the Barque pass to windward of us. At noon, made two 10 Fn? Tiers(?). Lat 1 mile S.

Saturday 20th

Fine moderate weather this day Emanuel made one small Tier(?) Started [i.e. opened] a cask of bread.

...

Tuesday 23rd

Find moderate weather this day. Made one rice(?) At noon Herds [Hurd = Arorae] Island in sight.

Wednesday 24th

This day off and on Herds Island.

Thursday 25th

Fine pleasant weather this day the Island in sight of us. Made one Tier(?)

...

Friday 2nd

This day try'd out the whale . Made about 17 bbls. Trim'd one of the shifting lower [tier of] cask. At 3 o'clock Rotche's [Tamana] Island bore NW from us 15 miles.

Saturday 3rd

This day put two new heads in a 90 gallon cask. At noon Roche's Island bore N Westerly distance 8 miles.

...

Friday 16th

Squally weather the most part of this day. Spoke the ship **London Packet** of F. Haven 34 months out 1800 bbls.

...

Friday 23rd

Fine pleasant weather. At 3 o'clock close in at Hope [Arorae] Island. Natives off to us. This day put the Land [sic] into bbls 4-1/2 bbls of it.

...

**Monday 26th**

First part of this day strong breezes. Latter more moderate. At 2 o'clock Rotchs Island bore NW. At 4 o'clock canoes alongside. Saw whales to leeward of us. Lowered the boats no success[.] reade our old Rier(?).

**Tuesday 27th**

This day on shore at Rotches Island tradeing for cocoa nuts and poultry.

...

**Sunday 15th [January 1843]**

This morning spoke the ship **Matilda** of London 19 months out 400 bbls. Lat 1°13 S.

...

**Wednesday 18th**

Fine weather this day steering West. Spoke the ship **Monticello** of Nantucket 17 months out 1050 bbls. Saw Simpson [Abemama] Island this afternoon. Lat. at noon 00°25 N.

...

**Friday 20th**

This day made one 10 Sn Rier(?). Saw Halls [Maiana] Island. Lat at noon 00°31 N.

...

**Sunday 22nd**

This day some showers of rain. Spoke the Barque **Onyx** of London 14(?) months out 1680 bbls. Lat 29 [min.] S.

**Monday 23rd**

Rainy the most part of this day. Spoke the **Matilda** at sunset. No obs.

...

**Sunday 29th**

Light breezes and clear weather. Lat at noon 22. Spoke the **Matilda** and the ship **Edward Carey** of Nantucket 16 months out 550 bbls.

...

**Sunday 12th [February]**

This day squally at intervals. At 10 o'clock saw Ocean [i.e. Banaba] Island bearing about SW by W distance 20 miles. lat at noon 42 S.

...

**Wednesday 22nd**

Fine weather and a fresh breeze. Saw both ships this morning. The English ship chased a whale all the forenoon no success. lat at noon 15 S. Long per Lunar 172°20'30" E.

...



**Sunday 26th**

This morning two sail in sight, one of them boiling. Light air and calm this day. Lat at noon 1°50 S.

**Monday 28th**

Fine weather this day. Spoke the ship **Oregon** of Fairhaven 19 months out 900 bbls. Lat at noon 1°34 S.

...

**Saturday 4th [March]**

This morning at daylight saw a ship to windward of us. Spoke her at 8 o'clock proved to be the ship **Elizabeth** of Salem 28 months out 950 bbls. The Captain came on board and the Steward was interd [sic]. Lat at noon 1°7 S.

**Sunday 5th**

This day calm and rainy the most part. Two ships in sight of us both of them steering for Ocean [Banaba] Island.

**Monday 6th**

This morning Ocean Island in sight. Saw two ships to leeward of us at noon about two mile from the island. Cloudy weather the most part of this day.

**Tuesday 7th March 1843**

Fine moderate weather this day, made one Teir(?). lat at noon 25 miles South. Log. per Lunar at 2 o'clock 168°45 E.

**Wednesday 8th**

Moderate weather this day. Lat at noon 17. S. Put a blinds in the stowage door to admit the air to pass through.

**Thursday 9th**

This day cloudy the most part. No obs. at noon. At 7 o'clock saw the **Comet** bore about NW by W.<sup>1</sup>

**Friday 10th**

Fine moderate weather this day. At 11 o'clock in sight of Pleasant [Nauru] Island. Lat at noon 24 miles South. At sundown three canoes alongsidewith hats &c.

---

1 Ed. note: This voyage is neither recorded by Starbuck nor Hegarty.

**Saturday 11th**

Fine moderate weather this day close in to the Island trading for coconuts & poultry &c. At 6 o'clock spoke the ship **Montreal** of Nantucket 1100 bbls.<sup>1</sup>

**Sunday 12th**

Light airs and calm this day at 2 o'clock lowered for whales in company with the **Monticello**, she took two, but no success for us. Lat at noon 40 miles N.

...

**Remarks Sunday 19th March 1843**

Fine pleasant weather this day steering North. Lat at noon 4°20 N.

**Monday 20th**

This day shook'd four water cask mark'd three of them W Nos. 11.111 and 1111 one of them to be Remade. Lat 5°50 N. At 3 o'clock saw McAsgills [Pingalap] Islands, bore NW by N. from us.

**Tuesday 21st**

This morning squally attended with rain. Latter part weather more steady. Lat at noon 6°32 N.

**Wednesday 22nd**

This day some squally. Spoke the ship **Venice** of Philadelphia bound to Canton. Lat at noon 8°20 N. Long per Lunar 159°26 E.

**Thursday 23rd**

Strong breezes this day, steering WNW in the forenoon in company with the **Venice**. Shipped a Steward from her and sent a barrel of S. [=sperm] oil on board of her. Lat at noon 9°52 N.

**Friday 24th**

This day shook'd three pipes Nos. 1.6.27 and trim'd three -90 [gallon barrel?] and 2 -60 for water. Lat at noon 11°03. N.

**Saturday 25th**

This day set up three Shooks 8 // 63-287.62.290. 64.283. 60,229. Lat at noon 12°40 N.

**Sunday 26th**

Fine weather this day. Steering West. Lat 12°48 N.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This voyage is neither recorded by Starbuck nor Hegarty.

Monday 27th

This day set up three Shooks 8 // 59.228 58 286 57 223. Shook one pipe # 30. Lat at noon 13°08 N.

Tuesday 28th

Fine pleasant weather this day. Lat at noon 13°08 N. At two o'clock came to an anchor in Umatac Bay. Sent a raft of cask on shore.

Wednesday 29th

This day brought off two Rafts of water and stowed it all down..

Thursday 30th

This morning at 5 o'clock weighed anchor and went down to Apra. Came to at 11 o'clock.

Friday 31st

This day painted ship outside.

Saturday 1st April

This morning the starboard watch on Liberty. Painted the yards this day. The ship **Oregon** came in and the **California** of N. Bedford.

Remarks Sunday 2nd April 1843

This morning the ship **Monticello** came in.

Monday 3rd

This afternoon the ship **Berdmundsey** of London came in.

Tuesday 4th

Fine pleasant weather this day.

Wednesday 5th

This day brought off three boats load ...

Thursday 6th

This day brought off three boats load of wood. Shooked one pipe N° 15 badly rotten.

Sunday 9th<sup>1</sup>

The starboard watch came on board and the larboard watch went on Liberty.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: There are no entries for Friday or Saturday.

Tuesday 18th

The larboard watch came on board. The ship **Columbia** of Nantucket came in 19 months [out] 900 [bbls].

Wednesday 19th

This morning the **Young Phoenix** sailed, the afternoon the Barque **Menonhela** of London came in.<sup>1</sup> Shooked one pipe N° 28-163-Gall.

Thursday 20th

This morning weighed anchor bound to the Northward on a Cruise.

Friday 21st

This day steering North. Lat 15°53 N.

Saturday 22nd

Fine weather this day. Lat at noon 17°41 N.

...

Monday 1st May

Moderate weather and cloudy, at interval some rain. Spoke the ship **Monticello**. Made one small Rier. Lat at noon 25°22 N.

[They were among the Bonin Islands, etc.]

...

Remarks Wednesday 10th January 1844

Thick cloudy most of this day. Remade one old Rier.

Thursday 11th

Fine moderate weather this day. Spoke the **Adaline Gibbs** at Mary's Island. Remade two old Riers(?). lat at noon 2°37 S.

Friday 12th

Fine moderate weather. Marys Island in sight of us this morning and the **Adaline** at 4 o'clock. I saw her chase whales but no success. Shook'd four pipes N° 49, 54, 55, 56.

...

Remarks Wednesday 24th January 1844

Fine moderate weather this day. Spoke the **Oregon**. They interd their Cooper this afternoon saw the Island of New Nantucket. Lat. at noon =16 [min.] North.

...

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: There is no other record of any ship by that name, not under the name Monongahela.

Wednesday 31st

Moderate weather with passing showers of rain at interval this afternoon saw Sydenham [Nonouti] Islands. Lat at noon 31' S.

...

Friday 2nd [February]

Fine moderate weather. At 8 o'clock saw Woodle [Kuria] and Henderville's [Aranuka] Island. Natives came on board. Lat 8' N.

Saturday 3rd

Light airs through this day saw a sail to the Eastward of us. Lat at noon 27' S.

...

Friday 9th

Passing showers of rain this day at 3 o'clock in at Ocean [Banaba] Island. The natives came on board. Spoke the Barque **Damon** of Newport, 15 months out 400 bbls.

...

Wednesday 21st

This morning Qualan's [Kosrae] Island in sight. Set up 4 shooks Nos. 21-224, 22-228, 23-288, 35-283,

...

Friday 23rd

Fine weather this day Qualans Island in sight..

...

Sunday 25th

This morning finished boiling about 20 bbls. Afternoon saw a sail close to the Island.

...

Friday 1st March

Some showers of rain this day at 11 o'clock saw Wellington [Mokil] Island, bore South about 10 miles. Lat 6°55 N.

Saturday 2nd

This day passing showers of rain saw the Island Ascension [Pohnpei] and at sunset about 15 miles distance.

Sunday 3rd

This morning came to an anchor in Lee bay at the Island Ascension.

Monday 4th

This day stowed down 20 bbls of oil in the after hold. Fine clear weather.

Tuesday 5th

This day sent a raft of cask in shore and filled them.

Remarks Wednesday 6th March 1844

This day brought off 5 boats load of wood.

Thursday 7th

This day the starboard watch on Liberty. Brought 3 boats load of wood.

Friday 8th

This day the larboard watch on Liberty. Brought two boats load of wood.

Saturday 9th

This day starboard watch on Liberty. Painted the starboard side and stern, four men absconded.

Sunday 10th

This day the larboard watch on Liberty.

Monday 11th

The larboard watch on Liberty.

Tuesday 12th

The larboard watch on Liberty.

Wednesday 13th

This day the **Addison** came in.

Thursday 14th

This day brought off a raft of water.

Friday 15th

This day the ship **Cortez** came in.

Saturday 16th

[blank]

Sunday 17th

This day the ship **Rosalie** of Warren came in.

Monday 18th

This day brought off four cask of water.

Tuesday 19th

This morning weighed anchor for a Cruise.

Wednesday 20th

This day at 2 o'clock at St. Augustins [Oroluk] Island. Shipped one man here and one at Ascension. Left four of the old hands at Ascension, all absconded.

...

Wednesday 27th

This morning saw the Island Saypan. Light breezes and clear weather. Lat at noon 15°07 N.

Thursday 28th

This morning went on shore, brought off a few potatoes, fowls and one wild hog, dead.

Friday 29th

This morning on shore at Tinian. Brought off a few potatoes and some limes, corn, two hogs, alive.

Saturday 30th

This morning on shore at Rota. Brought off a few yams, 11 hogs and a few fowls.

Sunday 31st

This day at 1 o'clock the boat went on shore at Guam.

Monday 1st April

This day lying off and on the town. Took a boat load of potatoes and brandy. The starboard watch on liberty.

Tuesday 2nd

This day lying off and on, the larboard watch on liberty.

Wednesday 3rd

This day at noon sailed from Guam on a Cruise.

...

Monday 29th

... The **Oregon** in sight...

...

Wednesday 8th [May 1844]

... Spoke the ship **Three Brothers** of Nantucket 34 months out 1500 bbls. Lat at noon 30°25 N

...

---

**Note 1842J**

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**The Fortune, Captain Almy, 1842-43**

*Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 862; Log Inv. 1795.*

**The log of the bark Fortune of Plymouth, William H. Almy, Master****Bark Fortune on a Whaling Voyage in the Indian & Pacific Oceans.**

William H. Almy Master

John A. Howland 1st Mate

Eber C. Almy 2nd do.

R... C. J. Scott, 3rd do.

...

[I saw the MCF but it is very brief, hard to read, and does not seem to mention any island in Micronesia.]



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 Document 1842K
 

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## The log of the Omega, Captain George Haggerty, 1842-43

*Source: Ms. in the Nantucket Historical Association; PMB 381; Log Inv. 3670.*

### Extracts from this log, kept by Barzillia B. Weeks

...  
 Remarks on board Monday Oct 24 [1842]  
 Commences with a moderate breeze[,] Steering SWly in company with the **O. Mitchell** at 4 PM caught a Black fish...

Lat obs. 55 miles S. [Long.] 178°12' E.

...  
 Remarks on board Saturday Oct 29  
 Commences with a moderate breeze Steering NW ... 2 PM made the land Hope [Aro-rae] Island[,] at 4 Natives came alongside[,] in company **Amethyst(?)** and **Martha**[,] At 6 PM heading off Dist from land 10 miles...

Lat. obs. 2°40 S. Long. 177°20 E.

...  
 Remarks on board Sunday Oct 30  
 ... Natives came on board. Rotches [Tamana] Island dist. from land 5 miles.  
 Lat. 50 [miles] S. [Long.] 176°30 E.

...  
 [The ship went past Clarks, or Onotoa, I. the next day, past Drummond, or Tabiteuea, I. on 1 November, Sydenham, or Nonouti, on the 3rd, and Ocean [Banaba] on the 8th. Banaba was sighted again on the 26th.]

...  
 Remarks on board Sunday Nov 27  
 ... at 3 PM 3 sails in sight at 6 PM spoke bark **Australia[n]** of Port Jackson and **O. Mitchell**...

Remarks on board Monday Nov 28  
 ... at 4 PM spoke the **Massachusetts** of Nantucket and **E. Cary**[,] **O. Mitchell**...

Lat. obs. 00°25 mi. S. [Long.] 170°20 E.

...

Remarks on board Thursday Dec 8

... at 9 AM spoke the bark **Canton** of New Bedford...<sup>1</sup>

...

Remarks on board Thursday Dec 29

... Spoke the **Monticello** of Nantucket...

...

Remarks on board January Sunday 1 [1843]

... at 1 PM spoke the **Peruvian** of Nantucket...

...

Remarks on board Thursday Jan 19

... at 4 PM spoke the **Elizabeth** of Salem...

...

Remarks on board Wednesday Feb 15

Comences with a strong breeze and cloudy weather steering W in Company with **Elizabeth**[.] Middle part heading WNW with doubled reefed topsails thick squally weather. At 11 AM saw the land Hope [Arorae] Island.

Lat. obs 2°45' S. [Long.] 176°25 E.

...

Remarks on board Friday Febru. 17

Commences with a light breeze steering for Hope Island[.] at 1 PM Natives came off with a few Cocoanuts to trade[.] at sundown bearing W heading to the S Dist 10 miles in company with **Elizabeth**[.] Middle part steering WNW latter part WSW[.] Put a man in the rigging by the name of Charles Smith and fibe(?) him a dozen for fiting [i.e. fighting] and threatening to use a knife[.] at 10 AM made Rotches [Tamana] I.

2°20 S. 176°47 E.

Remarks on board Saturday Febru. 18

Commences with a light breeze and pleasant weather steering for Rotches Island[.] at 2 PM Natives came off to trade with a few fowl. obs 6 PM W point bearing NNE steering W by S dist. 10 Miles...

Lat obs 2°18 S. [Long.] 177°00 E.

...

Remarks on board Saturday March 18

... in company with **Edward Cary**...

Lat. obs. 6°2 N. [Long.] 159°40 E.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This must be an error, as this bark left new Bedford only on 23 November 1842 (ref. Starbuck, p. 387).

Remarks on board Sunday March 19

Commences with a light air and variable wind Employed in ship steering W by S. Middle part SW by S Latter part saw the land Ascension [Pohnpei] Island at 11 AM off[f] the Weather Harbour and took a pilot.

6°40 N. 159°10 E.

Remarks on board Monday March 20

Comences with a moderate breeze Steering down along shore for the harbour to Leeward in company with **E. Cary** at 5 PM off the harbour but could not get in for want of wind[.] Middle part lying off and on Later part Steering for the harbour at 11 AM came to anchor in 10 fathoms of water.

Merid. at Ascension 7°10 N. 158°45 E.

Remarks on board Tuesday March 21

Commences with fine weather Employed in ship duty[.] Middle and latter part squally Employed in getting our rudder on deck.

Remarks on board Wednesday Mar. 22

Commences with light winds and thick weather one watch on shore the other employed in stripping the sheathing off[f] the rudder found the head of the post to be rotten[.] latter part watch on shore.

...

Remarks on board Monday March 27

... Deserted Richard Mills...

...

**Ship Omega Lying at the island of Ascension. Shipped as chief officer off the [Emily] Morgan, William D. Samson(?)**

Went on duty Tuesday April 4th 1843.

Tuesday April 4th 1843

This day fine weather employed in getting wood and water one man deserted us by the name of William Robinson.

Wens. April 5th

This day fine employed in stowing down water and sent a raft on shore watch on liberty.

Thurs. April 6th

This day fine got off some wood & water watch on shore.

Friday April 7th

This day fine sent a raft on shore latter part got it off watch on shore shipped a Carpenter.

Saturday April 8th

This day fine sent a raft on shore for water latter got it off watch on shore. **B P**

Sunday April 9th

This day fine a watch on shore watch on shore [sic].

Monday April 10th

This day fine employed painting the ship watch on shore a man by the name of Polly Hopkins deserted.

Tuesday April 11th

This day fine employed painting ship watch on shore.

Wensday [sic] April 12th

This day fine. employed setting up rigging watch on shore.

Thurs. April 13th

This day fine. sent a raft on shore latter part get it off watch on shore.

Friday

This day fine getting ready for sea watch on shore Deserted Daniel Burns.

Saturday April 15th

Latter part at daylight hove short and getting ready for sea it being a bad time did not go watch on shore.

Sunday April 16

This day fine latter part got under weigh and went to sea with 3 other ships our recruits consisted of a few yams, 650 bbls of water & 16 boat loads of wood under a loss of 5 men one of them was sick and bedside(?) with ...(?) the others deserted. Found a Canacca by the name of George stowed away in the corvette(?) said he left the ship **Potomac**.

Lat. 06°35' N. Long. 158°35 E.

[The Omega then went to cruise on the Japan Ground, then to the Hawaiian Islands, Tahiti, then home. A summary list of events of this voyage is as follows:]

Ship **Omega**, of Nantucket, 363 tons, Captain George Haggerty, Owner Joseph Starbuck, Voyage to Pacific Ocean: Sept. 8, 1840 - Aug. 9, 1844.

Result: 1,397 Bbls. Sperm Oit.

- 8 Sept. '40 Left Edgartown with ship **Alexander Coffin**.
- 24 " Bound for Western Islands for supplies.
- 9 Oct. Saw St. Anthony, one of the Cape Verde Islands.
- 18 Dec. Saw Falkland Islands.
- 19 Dec. Saw Staten Island.
- 2 Jan. '41 At Cape Horn.
- 24 " Saw Island of Masafuera.
- 7 Feb. Off coast of Chile.
- 15 " Bound for coast of Peru.
- 1 March Anchored at Payta, Peru.
- 11 " Left Payta.
- 22 May In company with **Lydia** of Nantucket.
- 28 June Ashore at Callao, Peru.
- 29-30 Trouble on board.
- 1 July 17 men in calaboose.
- 13 " Mate released because of illness.
- 29 " Sailed from Callao with almost new crew.
- 29 Dec. In company with **Ontario** and **Peruvian** of Nantucket.
- 19 Feb. 42 Anchored at Tahiti
- 9 March Left Tahiti.
- 25 May In company with **Charles W. Morgan**.
- 8 June In company with **Enterprise**.
- 4 Aug. Anchored at Tahiti.
- 31 " Left Tahiti.
- 16 Sept. In company with **Martha**.
- 17 Oct. Ashore at New Nantucket Island.
- 29 " Off Hope [Arorae] Island.
- 2 Feb. 43 Saw New Nantucket I.
- 17 " Steering for Hope I.
- 27 " Saw Ocean [Banaba] I.
- 6 March In company with **Massachusetts** and **Edward Cary** of Nantucket.
- 20 " Anchored at Ascension [Pohnpei] Island.
- 16 Apr. Left with new crew and one stowaway from **Potomac**.
- 22 " Bound for Japan Ground.
- 8 May Cruising on Japan Ground.
- 26 Sept. Bound to Sandwich [Hawaiian] Islands.
- 9 Oct. Anchored at Ohau.
- 31 " Left with new crew and stowaways.

5 Dec.	On Equator.
20 "	Saw Jarvis Island.
30 Jan. 44	Saw New Nantucket I.
15 Feb.	Saw Duke of York I.
20 Mar.	Anchored at Tahiti.
6 Apr.	Left Tahiti.
12 "	Homebound.
9 Aug.	Anchored at Nantucket.

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**Document 1842L**

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**The logbook of the Tuscaloosa of New Bedford, Captain Frederick E. Taber**

*Source: Ms. #640 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 289; Log Inv. 4674.*

**Extracts from the journal kept by George De Wolf**

A Journal of a Sperm Whale Voyage to the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans in the ship **Tuscaloosa** of New Bedford, Frederick C. Taber of Fairhaven, Master, with a ship's company of 23 men all told.

...  
[The ship visited Australia, New Zealand, and Samoa before touching at the Gilbert Islands.]

...  
Thursday 31st [March 1842]

Strong winds from N.E. and pleasant[.] Course N by W. raised a cow and calf, and lowered our boats and took them both, and cut them inn [sic], at night, raised another scool [sic] of small whales, but too far off to lower for them.

Friday April 1st

Strong winds from N.E. and squally weather, commenced boiling, and coopered some of our Oil.

Saturday April 2nd

Strong winds from N.E. and pleasant[.] course W by N. finished boiling, and struck down some of our Oil betwixt decks. Long. by Lunar obs 179°4 E. Lat. 2°13 South.

Sunday 3rd

Strong winds from E.N.E. and pleasant[.] first part of the day course W.N.W. at 12 oclock, altered the course to W.S.W. at night, lay two [sic] under double reefed fore and main topsails. Long by Lunar Obs 177°26 E. Lat 8 miles South.

Monday 4th

Strong winds from E.M.E. and pleasant. this morning made Birons [Nukunau] Island, one of the Kingmills group, and lay off and on through the day and night with men women and children on board, and got off a boat load of cocoanuts.

Tuesday 5th

Strong winds from E.N.E. and pleasant[,] trying to beat up to the Island with a head wind and current against us about 4 oclock, lowered 2 boats to pull the girls on shore[,] landed them about 10 oclock, and got on board at 11 oclock at night.

Wednesday April 6th 1842

Strong winds from E.N.E. and fine weather,

...

25th [May 1843]

... Tacked Ship this morning to the N and NW for Byron's Islands. Lat. 3°24' S. Long. 180° on the meridian.

...

Sunday 29th

... Made Byron's Island and lay off and on. At night, shortened sail and lay aback.

30th

... Laying off Peru [Beru] Island with our decks full of natives, both men and women. We also left a native here that belongs to the Island which we took from here last season. At night, shortened sail within a mile of the island...

31st

... Laying off Peru Island with natives on board by the hundreds, both men and women.

Wednesday June 1st

... Laying off and on at Peru. Natives on board and amongst the rest was the rattler and such a rattling as she got you never see...<sup>1</sup>

2nd

... Made all sail... course NW... Peru Island in sight.

Friday June 3rd

... Passed Drummond [Tabiteuea] Island and lay off and on at Sidney or Blaney's [Nonouti] Island with natives on board trading. At 6 o'clock, kept her off and steered SSW.

---

1 Ed. note: An apparent reference to a very silly, talkative woman.



...  
13th

... Ocean [Banaba] Island in sight. Lat. 41 miles South of the Line.

...  
Monday June 15th

Standing in for Ocean Island... Ship **Ohio** of Nantucket in sight, and had natives on board until dark trading.

...  
18th

... Saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island...

Sunday 19th

... Laying off and on at Pleasant Island with our decks covered with men, women and children and also some Europeans. Took another European passenger on board to carry to Ascension [Pohnpei]. Left the Island about 8 o'clock and steered NW.

...  
2nd [July 1843]

... At daylight, made the Island of Ascension bearing about W1/2S distance 40 miles... Lay off and on for the night...

Sunday 3rd

... Ran close in to the Island and 3 canoes came off to us, each one with an European in her and took one of them as a Pilot to carry us into the Weather Harbor but the current and wind being against us and light weather, we could not fetch...

Monday July 4th

... Came to anchor at Ascension about 6 o'clock and took a raft of casks on shore, and the rest of the day has been employed in attending to their squaws...

5th

... Took off one raft of water and 2 boatloads of wood and then sent one watch on liberty.

6th

... Coal-tarred one side of the bends. One watch on shore.

7th

... Coal-tarred the bends [on] the starboard side and sent one watch on shore.

8th

... Stowed down our water and one watch on shore. Got off 2 boatloads of wood and stowed it down. We also had the King on board.

9th

Loosed the sails to dry and furled them up again. Got off a boatload of wood and stowed it down. One watch on shore.

Sunday 10th

... Rafted and got off 3 casks of water and then sent all hands on shore. Pumped ship, etc.

11th

... At break of day, lowered down one boat and set all of the girls on shore and commenced heaving in our chain. At the same time, weighed our anchor and towed out of the Eastern Harbor and then got our anchors and chains below, then water in the hold. Course ESE.

...

14th

... Course E. Saw a large island; [I] do not know its name [Kosrae]. Lat. 5°29 N.

Friday July 15th 1843

... Standing to the SE with Strong Island in sight. It is 3 years today since we sailed from New Bedford, with 1600 bbls of sperm oil on board and a leaky ship, making about 3 feet of water in the hold in 24 hours. This is [be-]coming one voyage to learn. Lat. 4°42 N. Log. 163°22 E.

...

18th

... The Cooper employed in making buckets and Carpenter employed in mending the boat. Not much else going on, only state prison allowance, half meat enough for dinner and the other two meals and a half it [is] break and cold water with no molasses, and water and bread, and no [plum] duffs; every other day, beans. Lat. 4°16 N. Long. by Chr. 165°25 E.

...

26th

... No beef for supper. Taber has got the clap and using spirits of Nitre.<sup>1</sup> Lat. 11 miles S.

27th

... Sighted Pleasant [Nauru] Island. Lat. 40 miles South.

...

---

1 Ed. note: The captain was suffering from venereal disease.

2nd [August 1843]

... Sighted Ocean [Banaba] and spoke Ship **Martha** of Plymouth [sic], 25-1/2 months out with 400 bbl. sperm oil, and gammed with her...<sup>1</sup>

Wednesday August 3rd

... Passed by close to Ocean Island and had a deckload of natives as usual... At night, raised a vessel ahead, we did not ascertain who she was...

...

Friday August 12th

... Made Ocean Island again and soon afterwards raised whales. Lowered down and chased all the forenoon and galled them. Came on board, took dinner and tried them again and got one. Took him alongside and stood for Ocean Island for the night. Lat. 37 miles South.

13th

Light winds and fine weather. Cut in our whale and ran in close to the Island and lay under the lee of it waiting for the natives to come off but the King had tabooed their going on board of ships, so the Capt. sent Mr. Perry on shore three times and once he went himself after squaws and also brought off every beachcomber on the Island and stopped overnight...

Sunday 14th

... Ran in close to the Island and after breakfast landed the niggers and beachcombers... My rheumatism pains continue about the same, just so as I can crawl about some on my hands and knees.

15th

... Ocean Island in sight. Washed off decks and got up the old jib to repair... at night... squared the yards, course S by E.

21st

... We had a sad accident happened on board today. A young Portuguese that we call Rodman, belonging to Pico, while standing aloft at the mizzen top-gallant head, by some means or other slipped his hold and came down on the Larboard side and landed on the weather main brace and sheer pole to the mizzen rigging, which bruised and split his upper lip very bad. He is now in the Cabin apparently in great pain and out of his head some. I believe there is no bones out...

...

---

1 Ed. note: There was no Martha of Plymouth, but one of Newport, Rhode Island, Capt. Davenport, another of Fairhaven. This was probably the Martha of HUDSON, New York (Starbuck, p. 384) which did leave home in July 1841.

[Poem at the end of the journal]

**To Whom it May Concern**

Cease, sweet girl to doubt me now,  
For still my heart is true,  
Or I must repeat a vow  
Of loving only you.

Has absence changed thy love for me  
To some more favored youth?  
Ah no, for once I never have  
Nor e'er will doubt thy truth.

Oft I've wandered weary too  
Through India's distant glades  
And o'er Columbia's plains have strayed  
With many lovely maids.

But e'en the fairest of them all,  
Could not my heart alarm.  
It beats for thee, and only thee  
Its fondest, truest charm.

For I go where fate may lead me  
Far across the troubled deep  
Where no stranger e'er can heed me  
Where no eye for me shall weep.

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**Note 1842M**

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**The Countess of Minto, Captain Wishart**

*Sourcea: Nautical Magazine, 1843, p. 131; Findlay's Directory of the North Pacific Ocean, 3rd. ed. 1886, p. 990.*

**Wishart Reef, Minto Breakers, or Costello Reef**

On January 3rd, 1842, Capt. J. R. Wishart, in the barque **Countess of Minto**, saw a patch of breakers, dry in some places, more particularly in the North part, extending in a N.W. and S.E. direction. He made it in lat. 8°10' N., lon. 154°19' E. (corrected).

It was again seen by Capt. Agostinho Costello, in the Sardinian schooner **Sofia**, November 27, 1854; a wreck, with only the bowsprit and jibboom, was lying on the East part...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The wreck in question was likely the Shaw of Oahu, Capt. Du Pernet, wrecked at Oroluk, not on Minto Reef, in 1843 (Doc. 1843A). The Minto Reef had been discovered by Capt. Arellano in 1565 (HM2:190).

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## Document 1843A

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# The wreck of the Hawaiian schooner Shaw on Minto Reef

*Sources: Article in The Polynesian, Honolulu, Oct. 12, 1844; similar report in The Friend, Oct. 9, 1844; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Ponape 6.*

*Note: The exact position of this shipwreck is given by the Swedish expedition of the Eugenie, in 1852 (see Doc. 185203). It appears that, in the immediate aftermath, the survivors sought refuge at Oroluk.*

## Wreck of the Hawaiian Sch. Shaw Belonging to Capt. Bernard [sic] of Kauai

*Note: The captain's name was Édouard Du Pernet, a Frenchman residing in Kauai.*

Some months since a report reached the islands that the **Shaw** had been wrecked. If we have been correctly informed, that report was far from being definite. On board the American whale-ship **Oregon**, now lying in this harbor, is a sailor who sailed from this port on board the **Shaw**, and was on board at the time of her loss.

He reports as follows:

"The schooner **Shaw** of Honolulu, Jan. 17, 1843, touched at Kauai, and there she lost her boat. After leaving the island of Kauai, she sailed for Ascension [Pohnpei], where she remained three weeks and four days. There being no prospect of trade for shell, the captain decided to visit a small island about midway between Ascension and Guam. In attempting to find a suitable place to anchor, the schooner was wrecked. She struck a coral reef about one hour before sunset. All efforts were unavailing to get her off, the crew left the following morning. By the aid of two canoes obtained at Ascension, they were enabled to save some of the lighter part of the cargo, chronometer, etc. No lives were lost. Five days after landing, died Kenikili, a native of the Sandwich Islands. Four and a half months were spent by the crew on this island, about two or three miles in circumference. They subsisted on cocoa-nuts, fish, and brackish water. Having constructed a boat, they all embarked, and with much difficulty, after eleven days sail reached Guam, and from thence they separated."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This particular unnamed sailor joined the crew of the Oregon there.

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## Document 1843B

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# The Rose of Halifax, Captain Wood

*Source: Original ms. logbook kept by Thomas C. Creighton, in the Archives Section of the Dalhousie University Library, Halifax; typescript made by Isabel Creighton, as MCF #DAL MS-2, 102H, in the Killam Memorial Library, Halifax.*

### Introductory notes.

This is the first logbook of a Canadian whaler in the Pacific that has been preserved. A Halifax newspaper had the following entry:

"CLEARED.—Friday, January 6 [1843].—Barque **Rose**, Creighton [sic],<sup>1</sup> South Seas—whaling voyage, [fitted out] by H. Boggs... The Whale Ship **Rose**, after having made several voyages for her late enterprising Owners, has again been fitted out by a few of our Merchants under favorable auspices."

"The Whale Ship **Rose**, hauled off from Cunard's wharf on Saturday afternoon.<sup>2</sup> We understand she will sail this morning. May success attend her."

Thomas Creighton was a descendant of James Creighton, Sr., one of the founders of Halifax, Nova Scotia, who landed with the first settlers on 21 June 1749 at the age of 16. So says his tombstone (he died in 1814). In 1843, young Creighton resided at 105 Pleasant Street in Dartmouth, across the harbor from Halifax; his estate had a name: Brooklands.

According to a note by Isabel Creighton, Thomas Colton Creighton was the son of George B., and Isabel A. (Grassie) Creighton, born on 18 July 1825, at Halifax. He later married Annie, youngest daughter of Samuel Albro, at Mr. Albions on 7 June 1849, by the Rector, Rev. George Morris. He had the following children: Thomas Grassie, Frank Albro, Charles Edward, Walter, and Thomas Colton (the last to be born, six months after his father's death). With his son Frank (then about 7 years old), our author was lost at sea, when captain of the **Beauty**, in February 1862, presumably in a very bad storm that occurred off the Nova Scotia coast about the time that he was expected back home.

---

1 Ed. note: The young (17-year-old) cadet, Creighton, was officially listed as Captain, but the real Captain was Mr. Wood, an experienced American whaler.

2 The ship-rigged **Rose**, formerly owned by Cunard, had just been sold and re-rigged as a barque.

## Diary kept on board the Barque ROSE, 1843-1846.

### Journal of a Whaling Voyage Made by the Barque ROSE of Halifax, that Sailed the 17th January, 1843, Bound to the Pacific for Sperm whales, Thomas F. Wood, Master, and returned.

*Editor's notes: The first mate was Augustin A. Coughlan; second mate was Mr. Crisp; third mate was Mr. McNelly. It is evident that young Creighton copied liberally from the official ship log, no longer extant. Although young Creighton shared the captain's cabin, he was but a green hand, acting as an oarsman about the captain's whale-boat. Nevertheless, when the barque visited Sydney, Australia, Creighton—a British subject—was recorded as the official captain of the ship, to avoid bureaucratic problems, I suppose.*

*The barque went by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Australia. She reached Rotuma on 9 June 1843. Met the U.S. whaler **Two Brothers** of New Bedford there (Captain Tinkham, 19 months out). On 1 July, they met the **Mary & Martha** of Plymouth, Capt. Coffin (2 years out), as follows:*

...

Tuesday 4th, July 1843

The weather has been very fine, with light winds & nothing of consequence has happened since I last wrote until last Saturday when we fell in with the **Mary & Martha** of Plymouth, U.S., Coffin, Master. Two years out and only 400 barrels of sperm oil which is hard luck. Our Captain, by way of encouraging the men to keep a bright lookout at the masthead nailed a sovereign on the after skid as a bounty to the man who should raise the first 50 barrels of sperm oil. This day at 11 a.m., we raised [blank] Island,<sup>1</sup> Lat. 2°32 S, Long. 176°6 E, and at 2 p.m., there were upwards of 50 canoes alongside and the ship full of naked natives who brought off fowls and spears which they sold for tobacco.

In the afternoon, a sail was seen to windward which was the **Ann** of Bristol. She has just passed under our stern and is 23 months out, 300 barrels which is not very encouraging to us.

Lat. 2°30 S, Long. 176°9 E.

[Nothing recorded in-between dates]

Saturday 8th July

We made Hope [Arorae] Island today which is very low and sandy in Lat. 2°52 S, Long. 176°59 E. The ship was soon filled with the natives who paddle off 2 or 3 miles with mats, hats, spears and chickens which they sell for 1/2 a head of tobacco each. They seem very peaceable and are perfectly naked. One of the natives gave us a list of the vessels that have been here for some time and they are all wretched, being two years out with 300 or 400 bbls.

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1 Ed. note: Arorae Island (see next entry).



Saturday 9th July 1843

Stood off shore till 5 a.m. when we tacked ship and stood for the land, and at 1 p.m. there were several canoes alongside but as the Captain would not let them aboard, they followed us till they could not see the land from their canoes which was about 12 miles off and all they got was one head of tobacco. They seem [to be] a very simple people and are in [an] utter state of darkness and if the missionaries would only visit these islands, I am sure they would be well received and they would seem to act on a right principle but as is the case all over this area, they only visit those islands where they live well but where there is nothing but coconut to live on, the missionary is not to be found.

Wednesday 12th [July] 1843

The day before yesterday, we spoke the **Ann**. She had got 4 whales on Saturday to the ENE of Rotches [Tamana] Island. Yesterday, we made Byron's [Nukunau] Island and lowered for blackfish and got fast to a small cow fish which we let go again; when we came on board, we found some natives who had hats to trade. I bought 113 good straw hats which at home would be worth at least  $7/6^1$  a piece for 1-1/2 lb. of tobacco.

Lat.  $1^{\circ}11$  S, Long.  $177^{\circ}13$  E.

Thursday 13th

Made Peroat [Beru] today and lowered for whales and after pulling 10 or 12 miles, they were not to be found, so we had to pull back again as we went. Employed painting the ship.

Lat.  $1^{\circ}17$  S, Long.  $176^{\circ}46$  E.

Friday 14th July, 1843

This morning saw a ship to windward which proved to be the **Ann** of Bristol. She had seen nothing since we last saw her. In the afternoon, passed to the eastward of Rotches Island distant 3 leagues.

Lat.  $2^{\circ}18$  S., Long.  $176^{\circ}17$  E.

Steering as usual cruising "Full and By."

Tuesday, 18th July

... We got the whales with Peroat bearing NW by N distant 3 leagues. The weather has been very squally. The whale made 53 barrels. This is my [18th] birthday but how very different have I spent it to what I have been accustomed to. Instead of the many congratulations and birthday presents which I have always received and the pleasant evening parties which my affectionate parents have given me, I have spent the day up to my eyes in sperm oil at the mincing horse and the only congratulation I received was from Aunt Eliza in Bogatzley.

Lat.  $1^{\circ}30$  S, Long.  $175^{\circ}40$  E.

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1 Ed. note: 7 shillings and 6 pennies, I presume.

Thursday 20 July /43

... We passed Hope Island at daylight this morning. Employed yesterday breaking out and cooping.

Lat. 2°11 S, Long. 176°50 E.

7 p.m. We have just spoken the **Nereid** of London and the Captain and Doctor have gone on board and I suppose their Mate will be on board of us when we shall hear her luck.

Saturday 22nd

The Mate of the **Nereid** came on board Thursday night and said they had been 30 months out with 900 bbls. And last night the Captain, Fidash(?), was on board and our Mate on board them. Made Byron's Island this afternoon and at 7 p.m. passed 3/4 of a mile to leeward of it.

Sunday 23rd

Fine light breeze and smooth sea all day. At 7 a.m., raised a sail to leeward. At 12 M[eridian], passed Peroat and saw the strange sail laying to, from which we supposed she saw whales, so we squared our yards and ran down to try [and] come in for a share. She was the **Hesper** of Fairhaven, Handy, Master, two years out, 1500 bbls sperm which is better than any vessel we have as yet spoken.

Lat. 1°32 S. Long. 177°2 E.

Wednesday 26 July/43

The last two days have been quite calm. Yesterday, I agreed with Mr. Donovan to wash for the voyage, Jason [Chiasson?] having given it up and I am to give him four pounds 10/—<sup>1</sup> We have had a good breeze today. At 7 a.m., we raised whales but as they were going very fast did not lower. I have been unwell all day with a pain in my breast and headache and the Doctor gave me a dose which I think has done me good. This evening ran within 3/4 of a mile of Byron's Island and scraped the bends. The ship was crowded with natives and there were 70 canoes alongside.

Lat. 2°4 S. Long. 176°48 E.

Monday 31st July 1843

Since I last wrote, the weather has been very fine and almost calm. On Friday, we spoke the ship **Margaret** of London, Courtney, Master, 13 months out, 650 barrels. The Captain went on board and as I belong to his boat, I of course went too. She is a splendid ship and sails very fast which she will have to do to beat us. On Sunday, as we were close together, their Captain dined with us and Mr. Coughlan went on board of her. We ran close past Peroat and as usual had a shipload of natives. There is a nice breeze today and we have beaten the fastest London whaler, the **Margaret**. At 11 a.m.,

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1 Ed. note: For having washed Creighton's clothes up to now.

raised whales and at 1 p.m., lowered the four boats. After sailing and paddling for 3/4 of an hour, Mr. Coughlan got fast and killed one which we finished cutting in at dark...

Lat. 0°55' S., Long. 176°12' E.

Wednesday 2nd August 1843

At 3 a.m., finished boiling and have turned up 25 bbls. In the Middle Watch last night, we had a "blowout" [feast] on biscuit boiled in the oil and eaten with *teskimimi* [sic]<sup>1</sup> which is molasses made from the coconut which we get from the natives. Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island in sight this afternoon, its Lat. 1°12' S., Long. 176°22' E. This evening, Donovan gave up my washing but I was lucky enough to agree with Winton who, after having my clothes five minutes, sent them aft and said he could not do it, but I have now agreed with Fountain to give him Four pounds ten for the [rest of] the voyage.

Saturday 5th [August]/43

We have been employed the last two days painting the masts. Yesterday, we crossed the [Equatorial] Line in Long. 175°20' E. and made Simpson's [Abemama] Island which is in Lat. 0°26 North, Long. 175°27 East. We are now in the North Pacific which is the fifth ocean we have been in. In the last six months and during a five-month stay in the Southern Hemisphere, we have passed over 89 degrees of Lat. and 197 of Long. This is a very olovely day, there being no swell and just wind enough to keep the sails asleep. 9 a.m., we have just raised a sail to leeward which we shall speak this evening if not better employed.

Friday 11th August/43

Last Saturday afternoon, we raised whales and lowered and the Third Mate got one which made 16 barrels and on Sunday about 9 a.m., lowered again with the Second Mate. Struck a large whale which knocked his boat out of water and stove four planks. The Mate then fastened but no better success for he had the bottom of his boat knocked in and the whale was just making off when the Third Mate pulled up just in time to kill him. The Captain says it is the largest fish he has ever seen. In the meantime, the starboard boat to which I belong and the Doctor Heeds sailed away to leeward after a school and fastened about five miles from the ship and the rest of the boats. This was the first whale we had been fast to and by way of making us remember it he came up within three feet of the boat with his mouth open and seizing my oar, bit a piece out of it. We have been employed ever since trying out and have turned up 164 barrels. The large whale made 108 barrels... We got the whale to the southward of Simpson Island distant 12 miles.

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1 Ed. note: Transcription error for "te kamuimui" (ref. Hale's vocabulary, Doc. 1841L2).

### Monday 21st August

Nothing of consequence has happened since I last wrote except that we have seen no whales. I have been two days under the Doctor's hands. The Captain gave the Cook a rope's ending. The weather has been very fine and worse than all, my washwoman [sic] gave me up and I am obliged to officiate myself. Yesterday, we spoke the ship **Tobacco Plant** of New Bedford, Skinner, Master, 14 months out, 700 bbls. sperm oil.

Lat. 1°27 S, Long. 174°52 E.

### Saturday 26th

The weather has been calm and very warm the last week, thermometer standing at from 85 to 96 [°F] in the shade. The last two days have been squally. Yesterday at 6:15 a.m., raised as we thought sperm whales and lowered but then proved to be black-fish. It is now three weeks since we have seen a sperm whale spout. The other day, spoke the **Emily Morgan**, Prince Ewer, Master, of New Bedford, 16 months out with 700 barrels sperm oil.<sup>1</sup> ...

Lat. 1°20' S., Long. 17\_ [sic].

### Wednesday 30th

Since Saturday we have had some very heavy squalls of wind and rain but the weather now settled. At 5 a.m., I was awoke by a rumbling noise which I thought was thunder but I soon found out my mistake by the Mate singing out "**The ship is ashore**", so I bungled out and sprang on deck. It was just light enough to see we were on a reef to the SW of Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island but the sea was very smooth and not much wind, and by hauling everything aback, she soon payed off into deep water without any injury. This last ten days we have been trying to beat to the windward islands but the tided which runs sometimes 4 knots and light winds have kept us back.

Lat. 9°59 S, Long. [blank]

...

### Saturday 8th [September 1843]

Yesterday at 6 a.m., raised whales to windward, six miles off and lowered at half past 6 in company with the **Thule** of Nantucket, Charles Coffin, Master, who commanded the **Rose** three voyages ago when Captain Wood was Second Mate.<sup>2</sup> We pulled eight miles and saw nothing of the whales, so we were obliged to up sail and pull back again and got on board at 10 o'clock. As it was my watch below I turned in. At 12, was called to gam with the **Thule**, that is our Captain goes on board there with his boat and crew

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- 1 The exact date was the 21st of August and the meeting is reported in the logbook of the **Emily Morgan** curtly thus: "At 5 p.m., spoke the **Rose** of Halifax". The meeting took place near Nonouti. The two ships met again one month later and again in Gilbertese waters one year later.
- 2 Ed. note: The **Rose** was then ship-rigged, owned by Cunard, and whaling in the Atlantic. Unluckily, the **Thule** was soon lost on Booby Shoal (ref. Starbuck, p. 391).

and their Mate comes on board our ship with his boat. The ships then separate, so as to spread the chance, until the evening.

Monday 10th

At 8 yesterday morning, the **Thule** set his colors which was a signal that she saw whales, so we downed boats and pulled six miles to windward before we saw anything. We then fell in with her boats and soon after, the whales. Mr. [blank], our Third Mate,<sup>1</sup> soon got fast but the rest of the boats chased until half past three without success through **the ocean was alive with whales**. Our boat got fast once but the line got out of the chocks of the boat and we were obliged to cut it. At 4 p.m., got the whale alongside after pulling about 30 miles. At 11 p.m., finished cutting in and got the head cleared away, called the watch and went below tired enough. So ended Sunday. This morning, started the works and at 12 o'clock, was called to man the boat to tow the ship as she was drifting with the current on the weather side of Woodles [Kuria] Island being a dead calm and the current running about 3 knots. We lowered all the boats and towed till half past 4 when a breeze sprang up just in time to save us from going on a reef to the SW of the Island.

Lat. 0°20 N. Long. 173°40 E.

...

Wednesday 20th

On Monday afternoon, the **Emily Morgan** of New Bedford ran down and spoke us, and the Captain went on board to gam. Yesterday morning, we raised whales to leeward, the **Morgan** being to windward one mile distant, so we got our boats ready and lowered. About 9 o'clock, as soon as our boats were in the water, the Captain set his colors for the other ship who lowered his boats and tried to rush us, in doing which he "gallied" the whales, who took off in all directions and the Mate's boat and ours chased to leeward while the other boats went to windward. We chased so far that we lost sight of the ship for an hour when we came up and did not get on board till 4 in the afternoon.

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Lat. 0°17 N. Long. 174°22 E.

Saturday 23rd September 1843

Last night, finished trying out a whale which Mr. Coughlan killed Thursday in company with the **Emily Morgan** and the Brig **Tigress** of Sydney, [blank], Master, 4 months out, 120 bbls, which we spoke the day before. Our whale made 35 barrels, so we can now hail "400, 8 months out" which is better than most ships which we have spoken as there are 5 months of that to take off for our passage out.

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: His name was McNally, but the transcriber could not figure it out.

Thursday 5th October 1843

Since the 23rd ult., we have had a busy time of it, for Monday the Doctor got a whale which made 25 bbls. and Tuesday the Mate got three, the 2nd Mate one and the 3rd two which kept us boiling till Friday night and made 130 barrels...

This morning spoke the **Emily Morgan** boiling. She took three whales yesterday. We have just raised Woodles Island bearing NNE distant 12 miles. At 2 p.m., fell in with a dead whale which was too far gone to be of any use except that we got an iron & [blank] [line?] out of it.

Tuesday 10th Oct. 1843

The weather has been calm and squally with heavy showers of rain the last week. We are now on our way to Ocean [Banaba] Island where we expect to get a little water, and plenty of whales. It is a fortnight today since we have seen any.

Sunday 29 Oct. 1843.

Since the 10th, the weather has been very squally and the whales very scarce for we were a whole month without seeing a spout but within that time we went to Ocean Island and got 50 barrels of water, cruised there a week and returned last Thursday when we raised whales broaching and lowered all the boats and got two which we finished boiling yesterday. They made 32 barrels which is all we have done the last month but still we cannot complain for we are now better off for the time we are out than any ship on the ground. We got the whales off Woodles Island.

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Thursday 2nd [November 1843]

The weather seems more settled than it has been for some time. Spoke the **Australian** of Sydney and the **Thule** yesterday and went on board the **Thule** to tea. The **Australian** is 4-1/2 months out with 400 barrels.

Lat. 0°6 N. Long. [blank]

Friday 3rd

Weather very fine but no whales in sight. 2 p.m., spoke the **Galen** of Warren, 11 months [out], 130 barrels and the Burmansey [rather **Berdmondsey**], London, 26 months, 400 barrels.

Lat. 9°10 N. Long. 174°1 E.

Thursday 9th

... Committed [the body of] poor Robert Liddell to the deep in Lat. 0°50 N, Long. 174°43 E...

Wednesday 15th Nov. 1843

The weather for the last two days has been squally and as we have seen no whales for so long, the Captain has determined to go into port to recruit and we are now bound

to Strong's [Kosrae] Island. This afternoon, put my [name?] in the run and got the larboard anchor on the bow.

Lat. 1°14 N. Long. 171°33 E.

Monday 20th [Nov.] 1843

... Yesterday spoke the **Hydaspe** of New Bedford, 32 months out, 700 bbls and bound to Ascension [Pohnpei] and I think he will persuade our old man to go with him. He is nearly out of sight astern this morning. Saw the North Star last night for the first time since the middle of February.

Lat. 5°0 N. Long. 165°4 E. Course WNW.

Wednesday 22nd

Yesterday made Strong's [Kosrae] Island at daylight bearing NNW distant 25 miles and sailed around it during the day in search of the harbor [Lele] which looked as though if once in we would never get out again, so the Captain determined to go on to Ascension Strong Island is very high and rugged and lies in Lat. 5°12' N., Long. 162°58' E. The natives are not very friendly and it is dangerous for a ship to go there alone. Ran under easy sail all night so as not to leave the **Hydaspe**. The weather is fine today, wind NE. The **Hydaspe** some distance astern crowding on all sail. Course WNW.

Thursday 23rd Nov. 1843

The weather cloudy this morning with a strong breeze from the eastward which increased about 11 a.m. so that we were obliged to clew up everything but two close-reefed topsails and [it] blew till 1 p.m. when we kept off W by S to try [and] make Ascension before night. 4 p.m., raised the land and lay aback all night.

Saturday 25th

It has been blowing a gale of wind since Thursday so that we could not get in till 9 this morning though we got a pilot yesterday. We came to in 15 fathoms in a narrow channel but where the water is very smooth. The land is high and well wooded and the natives seem friendly. The Lat. is 6°50 N, Long. 163°50 E.

Sunday 26

At 9 a.m., got in a canoe and went ashore on liberty and strolled about the woods till 3 when I came aboard and found no-one there but the Second Mate, all hands being ashore. The land is very rough for walking, there being nothing but narrow footpaths. The natives are civil but not generous.

Saturday 16th December 1843

Once more at sea, thank fortune, and as all is to rights again and having my watch below & feeling settled, I shall try [and] write up my log which in port I neglected, as there I had not five minutes to call my own.

We came to an anchor on the 25 ult. in company with the New Bedford whale ship **Hydaspe**, Post, Master, 32 months out, 700 barrels sperm oil, after a five months cruise, in which we have taken about 530 barrels, so we are now 11 months from home, bound on another cruise about the Kingsmill [Gilbert] Group with 600 barrels of sperm oil on board which is better luck than any ship we have seen since leaving home, for which I feel very thankful to Him who has taken care of us through so many dangers and to whom I trust for another prosperous cruise.

The Brig **Naiad** of Macao, Captain Cheyne, who was trading for [blank]<sup>1</sup> was lying at anchor when we went in and came out the same morning we did.

The first thing we did was to stow down all the oil that was on deck and then get our casks ready for water and make agreements for wood, yams, pigs, fowls, etc. then set up the rigging, put a new [blank] in the main topmast, repaired the truss of the main yard, and sent up new topgallant cross-trees, and gave the people watch & watch liberty ashore. In the meantime, the Doctor [Heeds] stayed two or three days on board the Brig without leave which much annoyed our Captain, and he eventually left us in a very shabby manner to join the Brig for which he forfeited his reputation and his wages.

On the 30th ult., Captain Post, Capt. Wood and myself took a boat and went with the Pilot to see the ruins of an ancient city [Nanmatol] about five and twenty miles from the ships [lying at Ronkiti]. Two of our boys ran away last Sunday and though the Captain offered a reward to the natives, they could not be found, but we shipped three hands in their place.

On the 14th inst., about 7 a.m., Capt. Cheyne [came] to ask Capt. Wood for two or three of our boats to help him get under weigh who sent two & I was one of the number. So when the boats were ready, she stripped her anchor and we pulled away on her larboard bow to cant her clear of the **Rose** and the wind dying away we were obliged to tow a mile and a half to clear the reefs when a breeze sprang up. We then went on board and the boats crews got a glass of grog but as it was only 8 o'clock, I preferred coffee. At half past 8, took our leave and pulled back to get the **Rose** out. After breakfast, made all sail and hove short, but just as the anchor was breaking ground the sea breeze set in and we were obliged to give her chain again & wait for a slant of wind off shore as the passage is not more than 150 feet wide and you must have a leading wind to clear a sunken rock which lies nearly in the center. About 3:30 p.m., the wind hauled more off shore and the Captain was determined to try it, so we weighed anchor and had two boats ready in case of the wind breaking us off in the passage and stood out. When we reached the point, the wind hauled two points to the eastward which was right ahead. It was now too late to return, so by putting the helm alee and easing off the head sheets she luffed up and the distance being short and no swell, the old ship<sup>2</sup> shot out clear of

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1 The word left blank in the transcript is probably bêche-de-mer (trepane) or tortoise shells. Captain Cheyne was then 26 years old.

2 Ed. note: She was 37 years old, having been built in 1806.



danger and thank God we are safe at sea once more and may His protecting arm be over us this cruise and make it as pleasant and successful as our last.

Yesterday a strong breeze from the NE. At 3 a.m., tacked and stood in shore to land the Pilot who lives at the weather side of the Island and at 10, the Capt. went ashore with him to try [and] hear of the two boys but returned at 12 without success. He then gave all hands a glass of grog to work off the effects of the shore and braced forward steering ESE for Pleasant [Nauru] Island and sperm whales. The weather continued fine all day and the breeze strong. Got a set of sights at 4 p.m. and made the Long. 158°53' E.

This day strong breeze from ENE, steering by the wind SE, weather fine. People employed refitting the boats and cleaning shells.<sup>1</sup>

Lat. 5°20' N. Long. 160°16' E.

...

Monday 18th

... I have amused myself this afternoon cleaning [tortoise] shells which is without exception the worst job I have ever been at.

Lat. 3°3' N. Long. No obs. Course by the wind SE.

...

Friday 22nd

... 4 p.m., made Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing ESE distant 30 miles. Afternoon, calm...

Lat. 0°30' S. Long. 167°8 E.

Sunday 24th

Rained all morning but cleared up at noon. Spoke the ship Bermansy [**Berdmondsey**] of London, Stokes, Master, this morning 38 months [out], 600 bbls.

Being Christmas Eve, all hands had a glass of grog and a piece of plum cake. Pleasant Island just in sight to the Southward.

No obs.

Christmas Day, Monday, 25 Dec. 1843

Turned out at 3 a.m., and stood two hours at the wheel when we made sail and stood to the eastward with a pleasant breze from NNE and a heavenly morning vastly different from a Christmas morning at home. Washed decks and breakfasted at 7; 8 o'clock, squally and heavy rain. Read the service for the day and fancied I could see my dear old Father & Mother uniting their prayers at the communion table for my safety. Although I could not join with them in p[erson], still as I read, I remembered that the same Ear would hear us both through at so great a distance from each other. Cleared up at 10 when I washed, shaved and turned in. Dined at 12 on roast duck, roast fowl and as good a plum duff as I ever tasted, drank their health at home and greasy luck to wha-

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1 Ed. note: Tortoise shells bought at Pohnpei.

lers. At 2 p.m., canoes came off from Pleasant Island with men, women, coconuts, pigs & shells to trade for tobacco. At sunset, the island bore SE distant 5 miles. Afternoon, fine. Two sails in sight all day.

Tuesday 26th

... 4 p.m., spoke the Barque **Nelson** of Sydney, 7 months [out], 300 barrels.

Lat. 0°30 S.

...

Saturday 30th

... The Captain flogged the cook...

Sunday 31st Dec. 1843

... Lat. 0°48 N. Long. 169°30 E. So farewell to 1843 on board the **Rose**, 11-1/2 months out, 600 barrels sperm oil on board, and bound on a cruise among the Kingsmill Group of Islands which lie between the Latitudes of 2°30 N and 3°0' S and Longitudes 169°10 E and 178°0' E.

Monday 1st January 1844

'Tis New Year's Day, the coming year...

*All blank before me lies*

*Oh may no blot or stain appear*

*To mar its history written here*

*When published in the skies.*

I feel happy and thank God who the last year enabled me to support myself and clear nearly 30 pounds [sterling]...

Wednesday 3rd

... Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing SE dist. 9 miles. At 12, got the whales alongside. 1 p.m., commenced cutting and hove the calf in holis bilis. The current was setting so strong to the S that at 3 p.m. we were obliged to leave off cutting and make all sail to keep the ship from going ashore and cleared the NE end of the Island by less than 1/4 of a mile.

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Friday 5th

... 11 a.m., raised Ocean Island 2 points on the le bow...

Wednesday 10th Jan. 1844

Spoke the Whale Ship Feebe [**Phoebe**] of Nantucket, Harris, Master, 16 months out, 750 bbls. and gammed with her all day.

Thursday 16th

... Sunday spoke the **Galen**. She has got 100 barrels since we saw her last. The Captain forgot to wind the Chronometer...

Wednesday 17th

... 11 a.m., made Woodles [Kuria] Island bearing east and at 2 p.m. passed it and saw the **Galen** and the **Australian**. 4 p.m., kept off and spoke the latter. She has got 300 bbls since we saw her last...

Saturday 20th

Spoke the **Australian** yesterday and got a bottle of wine for Mulick who is still very weak. In the afternoon, has some canoes off from Simpson's [Abemama] Island. This morning being my forenoon watch below, I thought I would take a little sailor's comfort, so I went down in the run and broke out my chest to air my fine clothes and found in one of my waist-coat pocket a note from Aunt Char[lotte] and I cannot describe my feelings as I read it, for it seemed as though I had just heard from home. 11 a.m., made Simpson's Island bearing SW. Fine weather and light wind but no whales. 4 p.m., spoke the ship **James Stewart** of St. John, N. B., Jackson, Master, 2 years out, 500 [barrels of] sperm and 1,200 of whale oil. The Captain came on board and got the letters we had for his officers and crew.

Monday 22nd Jan. 1844

Yesterday calm all day. I wrote my fourth letter to my Father and one to Mr. Liddell to send in the **James Stewart** which will sail for home in about six months. The Captain was on board of her all day and Mr. Thomas the Mate was on board of us. The ships were not more than 1/4 of a mile apart. Calm all last night and the first part of today. At 2 p.m., had a squall of wind and rain. At 3, went on board the **J. Stewart** and met the Captain of the **Australian**...

Tuesday 23rd

At daylight, had Simpson's Island to leeward about 3 miles off bearing S and stood along to the eastward. At 8 a.m., raised whales in shore and lowered all the boats. The larboard boat struck and drew another and saved them both but so far inshore that the ship was obliged to tow one off two hours and then cut it in then go back for the other which we finished cutting at sundown. 10 p.m., started the works.

Wednesday 24th Jan. 1844

Boiling all day in company with the **J. Stewart** who got two whales yesterday. At 4 p.m., spoke the ship **Howard** of Nantucket, Bunker, Master, 27 months out, 1450 bbls sperm oil. 10 p.m., cooled down and rolled away 33 barrels.

## Thursday 25th

Lowered at 12 and fastened to two whales in company with the **J. Stewart**. I got them alongside and cut in before dark. Fine whaling weather and light breeze.

## Saturday 27th

Cooled down this morning and rolled away 30 barrels. Weather still fine. This afternoon, bent a new mainsail.

Lat. 0°0'. Long. 173°13' E.

## Monday 29th

Strong breeze all day from the eastward. At 10 a.m., passed through the passage between Woodles and [blank]<sup>1</sup> Islands. Three ships in sight to leeward and one to windward, all doing nothing.

Lat. 0°16 S. Long. 173°34 E.

## Friday 2nd Feb. 1844

... On Wednesday, spoke the Bermensey [**Berdmondsey**] who has now drifted to the westward. No whales to be seen the last week.

Lat. 0°6' S. Long. 173°20 E.

## Monday 5th

... Saturday, spoke the Barque **Damon** of Newport, Potter, Master, 15-1/2 months out, 300 barrels sperm oil...

Lat. 0°35' S. Long. 172°58' E.

## Wednesday 21st Feb.

On Sunday last at 6:30 p.m., I was awoke by the cry of "there she blows," that joyful sound, so I jumped on deck and had just time to swallow a cup of coffee when the order was given to "man teh boats." We chased till 9 when the bow boat fastened, and the school took off. At 11, got the whale alongside. 3 p.m., finished cutting and raised breaches to windward. Lowered again at 5, but was unsuccessful. The whale made 30 bbls...

Lat. 5°15' S. Long. 173°50 E.

...

## Monday 18th March 1844

The weather is at last settled. We have been steering to the Northward and Eastward to fetch the Kingsmill Group but the wind hauling out from ENE and a strong westerly current, I am afraid will set us to leeward of where we came from...

Lat. 3°30' S. Long. 174°39 E.

...

---

1 Ed. note: Has to be Aranuka.

## Sunday 31st

Fine, clear day. Yesterday at 2 p.m., made Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing SSW dist. 25 miles...

Lat. 0°40 S. Long. 169°50 E.

[Today at] 2 p.m., sent 3 casks ashore for water to be filled by tomorrow morning. 4 p.m., stood off shore with half the ship's company drunk, headed SE.

## Monday 1st April 1844

At 2 a.m., tacked ship and stood in shore, headed N by E, and at 11, passed to leeward of the Island bearing ENE distant 1/2 mile and saw them filling the casks. Several of the ship's company asked for their discharge this morning but were refused and many of them are ill from the bad effects of yesterday's liquor. The weather today is beautifully fine with a gentle breeze from ENE.

## Thursday 4th

Since Monday, have been trying to get off our water but the current has been so strong we have not been able to get near enough to the Island though yesterday the canoes came off and the Captain sent them ashore to raft the casks and let them drift off when he set his colors but the wind died away and we drifted off with one of the men who stayed on board out of sight of the Island, and the Captain has given up all hopes and is standing to the Northward for whales. Yesterday, saw a ship in with the land...

Lat. 0°0'. Long. 169°40' E.

## Saturday 6 April 1844

On Thursday night, spoke the ship **California** of New Bedford, [Lawrence?], Master, 22 months out, 1400 bbls sp. oil. Our Capt. went on board and returned at 11 p.m. with some yams...

Lat. 1°14 N. Long. 169°0 E.

## Wednesday 10th

Strong breezes from NE. Weather fine. Expecting to make the land every moment as the Islands of the Radack Chain [Marshalls] are not laid down correctly in the charts and we have run over several without seeing them...

Lat. 5°40 N. Long. 168°30 E.

At 11 a.m., raised land which proved to be Baring's [Namorik] Island which is in Lat. 5°40' N., Long. 168°35' E. At 4 p.m., the canoes came off. The natives seem a quiet friendly set, though a few years ago, they tried to take a ship but did not succeed though they killed the Captain and officers and 17 hands.<sup>1</sup> They are not naked like the King-smill Group natives but wear a tappa round their waist. The Island is surrounded by a reef and though well wooded is not fruitful. It is very low and sandy.

---

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the Awashonks Incident of 1835.

Tuesday 16th April 1844

Since the 10th, we have been trying to beat to the eastward against wind, and tide, and made but little progress. The weather has been very squally. On the 12th, made Co-vell [Ebon] Island, one of the Radack Chain, which consists of a number of small, low, sandy islands surrounded by a coral reef. The natives came off in immense canoes, and are a savage-looking set, but are not in a state of nudity, as those of the Kingsmill Group. Their canoes are better, and better rigged than any I have yet seen. The Island is by our Chro[nometer] in Lat. 4°40' N., Long. 169°18' E...

...

Friday 19th April 1844

... Employed sailmaking in the forenoon and in the afternoon (my watch below) reading Stevens' **Travels in Edom**...

Lat. 2°55' N. Long. 172°34' E.

Saturday 20th

... This morning saw Grampuses and at first tried to make them out [as] sperm whales but it would not do. Afternoon, I sold the Old Man six large spoons for 1/3 a piece. Steering by the wind NE by N.

Lat. 2°58' N. Long. 172°53' E.

Last evening, as it was calm, Mr. Coughlan & I took a bath.

Sunday 21st

At daylight, made Touching [Makin] Island bearing SE by E distant 20 miles, in Lat. 3°18' N., Long. 173°20' E., light breeze from ESE steering by the wind NE. At 6 a.m., tacked to the Southward and at 12 the Island was abeam of us bearing NE. Last night, had an increase of stock by the addition of 8 little pigs. The weather is beautifully fine. The island is very low, not above six feet above the water. Two canoes came off, but were afraid to come near the ship. Afternoon, the canoes came off from Pitts [Butari-tari] Island which lies to the SE of Touching Island about 7 leagues distance in Lat. 2°58' N., Long. 173°25' E. It is also very low. The natives are fine looking men, and brought off plenty of coconuts which they sold for old iron hoop. Lat. 3°16' N., Long. 173°20' E.

Tuesday April 23/44

This morning made Matthews [Marakei] Island bearing SE by S dist. 16 miles. It is in Lat. 2°0' N. Long. 173°30' E... At 9:30 a.m... the land bearing SE & SW distant 100 yards. It is low and sandy. The natives did not venture off...

...

Thursday ... saw a ship to leeward. In the evening ran down and spoke her. She was the **Swift** of New Bedford, Fisher, Master, 28 months out, 750 sperm, 250 whale oil...

...

May 1st, Wednesday, 1844

Calm and very warm. Employed coopering oil. Carpenter repairing the larboard boat. Yesterday, light airs and calm. Last night, as usual, had a long talk with the Old Man, about home, and the Owners, abusing them for not having the ship better sound, but hoping to see them well in 18 months<sup>1</sup> How different is the scene today and this day 12 months [ago]. Then we were in a high southern latitude and [in] a gale of wind, with the sea rolling mountains high. Now we are on the Line under a burning sun and the ocean as smooth as a mill pond. If they only have such a lovely day as this at home, how many sunny faces will ramble in the woods behind Dear old Brooklands (ever dear to me) in search of the sweet little emblem of my Native land<sup>2</sup> while I am rolling on the mighty deep far, far away, but still my greatest comfort is that duty calls me here.

Lat. 1°10' S., Long. 171°57' E.

...

Monday 6th

... The Old Man talks of going to Rotumah to recruit and get water...

Lat. 4°51' S. Long. 174°51' E.

...

[The **Rose** went to Apia, Samoa, instead, to recruit. Along the way, they met the **Isabella** of Fairhaven, Fletcher, Master. At Apia, they met the **General Jackson** of Bristol, U.S.A., Ramsdell, Master, and the **Canton Packet** of New Bedford, Sherman, Master, also the **Louisa** of London. On the way back to the Gilberts in early June, the **Rose** met the **Empire** of Nantucket at Lat. 2°22' S. Long. 172°0' W.]

...

Tuesday 9th [JUne 1844]

... Sunday, squared away for the Kingsmill Group, running in the daytime and hauling on a wind under short sail at night. Nothing of note occurred till 4 o'clock this afternoon when land was raised from the masthead bearing N by W. At 6, we were up with it. It is a small low sand bank surrounded by a reef and in Lat. 0°50' N. Long. 176°10' W. It is not down on any of our Charts or Epitomes but it may be New Nantucket which we heard was one degree further West. Course WNW.

Lat. 0°40' N. Long. 176°0' W.<sup>3</sup>

...

Saturday 13th

... This has been without exception the most unlucky day we have had all the voyage for the ocean was alive with whales all day and we got nothing.

Lat. 0°45' S. Long. 179°2' E.

---

1 Ed. note: It actually took them 22 months.

2 Ed. note: Brooklands was the name of the Creighton property in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, which province uses the mayflower as its floral emblem.

3 Ed. note: This island was Baker Island.

**Monday 15th**

... At 1 p.m., yesterday raised a sail which proved to be the **Isabella**. She had got 150 bbls since we saw her last & at 2 p.m. today made Byron's [Nukunau] Island bearing [blank]...

Lat. 1°11' S. Long. 177°19' E.

**Tuesday 16th July 1844**

Stood offshore 1/2 of last night and in the other half. At 1 p.m., was close in with the island and had the canoes off. A black man who has been ashore 3 or 4 years brought off a list of the ships that touched here and among them we saw that the **Java** [of St. John] which we have been wishing to see all last cruise as we expect letters in her is cruising here. So now we are more anxious than ever to see her, knowing she is so near. Afternoon, nearly calm. Standing on a wind to the Southward. Employed repairing sails.

Lat. 1°24' S. Long. 176°58' E.

**Thursday 18th**

... Yesterday made Roaches or Chases [Tamana] Island bearing S. At 11 a.m., tacked ship, the land 15 miles off, and headed NE by E. At 1 p.m. today, made Byrons [Nukunau] Island and at sunset passed 5 miles to windward, the land bearing ENE, steering by the wind NNE.

Lat. 1°27' S. Long. 177°5' E.

**Friday 19th**

At 5 a.m., tacked ship, Byrons Island plain in sight to the SSE. At 8 a.m., sent two boats ashore for old coconuts. Wwind very light. At 4 p.m., they returned with about 5,000 which cost 25 lbs. of tobacco. Canoes alongside most all day. Night almost calm, land bearing NE.

**Sunday July 32st 1844**

At daylight, made Clarks or Eliza's [Onotoa] Island bearing X by W dist. 2 miles. At 5:30 a.m., kept off WSW and made Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Island at 9:30 bearing WNW...

Lat. 1°36' S. Long. 175°55' E.

**Tuesday 23rd**

Made Sydenham [Nonouti] Island yesterday and stood along under the lee of it till 5 p.m. when we hauled sharp to the Northward. It and Drummonds are the most dangerous islands in the Group as there are shoals 5 & 6 miles off shore, one of which we ran over yesterday 6 miles WSW of Sydenham. Its Lat. 0°40' S. Long. 174°33' E.

At 7:30 this morning, made Henderville [Aranuka] and shortly after Woodles [Kuria] & Simpson's [Abemama] & at 11:30 a.m. raised a sail which we all hoped would be the



**Java** but they have just (1 p.m.) made her out a Barque,<sup>1</sup> so it cannot be her but I suppose we (if not better employed) shall have a gam tonight and hear the news.

Saturday 3rd August/1844

Since I wrote last, we have sighted almost every island in the group and cruised round & round them but have seen neither sail nor whale though we have passed 20 times over the same ground where we got our oil last year. We are bound to Ocean [Banaba] Island and expect to make it about 2 o'clock this afternoon. We are in hopes the **Java** has been here and left our letters as Captain Allen will know we will be likely to be there again by our casks being ashore. The weather has been very fine but the whales have gone nobody knows where. Lat. this morning 0°.35' S. Long. 170°53' E.

Monday 5th August

...Saturday afternoon made Ocean Island bearing SW by W and in the evening hauled on a wind to the North, tacked at 2 a.m. Yesterday and at 11 a.m., about one dozen canoes came off, the land bearing NE dist. 5 miles. Bob went ashore and is to have our water ready today, but as they have just (10 a.m.) raised the land on the weather beam, it is not very likely we shall get it for we are beating 20 miles a day to leeward with a strong breeze, so the current must be running like a race horse.

Tuesday 13th

... Yesterday made Ocean Island and got our casks of water off which have been ashore upwards of four months. I was ashore with the Captain and while there a signal was made from the ship that they saw whales, so we shoved off in a hurry scurry through the surf and stove the boat. When we got [there], the boats were returning and said they were killers, not [sperm] whales. This morning a sail in sight which we think is the **Emily Morgan** or **Java** and hope the latter but I suppose this evening will tell. This morning the Lat. 0°0'. Long. 169°28' E.

Wednesday 21st August/44

... The ship was the **E. Morgan**. We spoke her on Wednesday [14th]. She, like ourselves, has done nothing [for] the last 5 months. She now hails 1300 bbls. We are now standing to the southward in hopes of falling in with some of the relations to those whales we got here last cruise. I think that if we had sails enough, the Captain would go direct to New Zealand.

Thursday 29th Aug./44

... Yesterday made Ocean bearing NE by N and stood along till 7 p.m...

...

---

1 Ed. note: The Java was ship-rigged.

Thursday 5th Sept. 1844

... I believe the Captain intends to make one more tour of the Islands if wind and current permit before going to the Southward.

...

Friday 13th

... In company with the **Nimrod** of Sydney, S \_\_\_\_\_<sup>1</sup>, Master, who we spoke yesterday afternoon. He is 7 weeks out with 15 bbls whale [oil]... Lat. 0°20' S. Long. 170°30' E.

...

Thursday 26

... Sunday made Touching [Makin] Island and on Monday made a shoal of sperm whales in Lat. [blank]. Long. 174°16' E.

Tuesday 8th Oct./44

Since we got the whales on the 23rd ult., we have made a dead drift to the westward though at times we headed east. On Saturday last, spoke the **Roscoe** of New Bedford, McCleave, Master, 12 mos. out, 500 bbls. sperm...

Lat. 1°15' S. Long. 170°49' E. Trying hard to get to the eastward.

Monday 14th

... Friday saw a large ship bound to the westward. She was either a man-of-war or merchantman...

Lat. 4°30' S. Long. 172°51' E.

...

Tuesday 12th Nov. 1844

... Made Hope Island. In the afternoon, ran in with the land in hopes of gathering some fowls but found there were none on the Island. At sunset, braced forward for Chase's or Roach's Island in hopes of better success which we made at 10 a.m. on the 1st instant and at 2 p.m. had the ship full of natives who brought off plenty of fowls, mats, coconuts, etc. to trade. We bought upwards of 200 fowls for about 25 lbs. of tobacco. Sunset, cleared off the canoes & stood to the southward & westward to look for more whales which we fell in with last Friday morning...

Lat. 3°25' S. Long. 174°30' E. No current.

...

Sunday 25th

... At 8 a.m., out reefs of the topsails and made HOpe Island bearing WNW...

Wednesday 27th [Nov.] 1844

Calm and very warm all day. HOpe Island in sight bearing S by W distant about 12 miles. We have not had any current for the last two months but today it seems to be

---

1 Ed. note: The name of this captain was Sullivan (See Jones' *Ships*, p. 172).

setting slowly to the westward... Yesterday, we could not get the sun at 12 o'clock. Mr. Coughlan & I got a meridian altitude of Jupiter which gave the Lat. 2°15' S. Latitude today was 2°30' S. Long. 177°5' E.

Friday 29th Nov./44

Very fine [weather] throughout. At 6 a.m., made Roaches Island to the northward and by 9 were about 1/4 mile off shore to the eastward where we hauled aback to trade for fowls for Christmas dinner, as this is the only island in the Group except Ocean Island where they can be got. We lay aback for 2 hours in which time we got 4-1/2 doz. fowls (for a small whale tooth & a head of tobacco a piece), a number of coconuts and a few mats & shells, then hard up and stood SW bidding (I believe) goodbye to the Kingsmill Group for this voyage. This and Hope Island are the only two of the Group where the Ladies do not condescend to call on poor Jack.<sup>1</sup> Last night in my middle watch on deck, I got a meridian altitude of Sirius which gave the Lat. 2°45' S.

Employed since leaving the Island cooping oil intending to stow down tomorrow if fine. Lat. 2°40' S. Long. 176°11' E.

Wednesday 4th December

... Tuesday ran down the SW side of Sydenham's Island. Wednesday made Simpson's and passed the lee and at dark standing to the North...

Thursday 5th Dec./44

At 7 a.m., tacked to the southward, 9 raised Simpson's Island, 10 got a set of Lunars. 2 p.m., land abeam bearing E, Henderville's Island just in sight and a whale spouting which I believe is another finback.

Lat. 0°31' N. Long. 178°50' E.

Friday 6th/44

Stood off & on last night making short boards. At daylight, Henderville's Island was plain in sight to leeward. 9 a.m., close in shore. 11 a.m., close in with Woodles Island & hauled aback to see if Walker was still here but found he had gone. The ship full of natives. At 12, braced full, headed to the southward and bade adieu to the Group for this cruise at least and perhaps for the voyage. At 1 p.m., crossed the Line I hope for the last time this side the Land... Evening, employed working the time by altitudes of fixed stars.

Lat. 0°12' N. Long. 173°43' E.

Wednesday 11th/44

... Braced forward full steering S by E for Sydney with a strong breeze at ENE. Lat. 6°10' S. Long. 173°44' E.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: A reference to native women usually spending the night on board.

...

[The **Rose** went to Sydney to recruit. Along the way, at Lat. 34° S., they spoke the French whaler **Faune** of Havre, Dufour, Master, 18-1/2 months out, 770 bbls. whale oil. At Sydney, young Creighton, who was then declared as Master, because Captain Wood was a New Englander, makes interesting comments about life in Sydney in 1844. In early February 1845, the **Rose** went to sea again, soon got two whaleboats stove and had to return to Sydney to buy two new ones. She reached Rotuma in April, then headed for the Hawaiian Islands by way of Micronesia.]

...

Tuesday 13th May 1845

Crossed the Line yesterday morning with a light breeze at SE in Long. 172°32' E, steering NW1/2W...

Lat. 0°30' N. Long. 172°30' E.

...

Thursday 15th/45

Passed Covell or Boston [Ebon] Islands to the southward last night... Course NNW. Lat. 5°8' N. Long. 168°00' E...

...

[The **Rose** then skirted the Marshall Islands, by way of the following positions: 22°N and 160°E, 27°N and 159°E and 30°N and 159°E, 44°N and 160°E. They caught their first right whale in mid-July 1845. Other ships met were: the **Merrimack** of New London; the **Elizabeth** (French), the **Good Return**, **Science**, **Trident** and **Louise** of New Bedford; and the **Columbia** [of Nantucket]. They reached Maui in 20 September 1845. At Lahaina, the following data were put down in the register of the Ammerican Consul: 32 months out, 1400 sperm, 900 whale oil and 5000 bls. whale bone. Creighton mentions having met a "Mr. Cummings, late Flag Master of the **James Stewart** who spent the evening with us." <sup>1</sup>Ed. note: He may have been her captain between 1837 and 1841. At Lahaina also, three Canadian sailors were "put in the Fort... for misconduct. Our third Mate, Mr. McNelly, has left us to ship in the **Phoenix** & Mr. Pierce is to take his place. The Old Man talks of making a strait wake from here home without touching at Concepcion which will shorten our passage." At Oahu, where Creighton saw "an American sloop-of-war and one frigate and an English 80-gun ship with about 40 whale ships lying there. When we left Mowee [Maui], there were upwards of 50 whalers lying there but not a **Java** among them all nor is there one here." However, she soon came in. Several hands hired at Sydney were discharged at Lahaina. Upon leaving, the **Rose** fired a salute of 6 or 7 guns; so, she was well armed.]

...

[Two Canadian whaling ships meet at Oahu]

Wednesday 8th Oct./45

... After our dinner on board, I went on deck and saw a ship coming in which from her build I thought was an Englishman, for her colors did not blow enough to tell. As she neared us, however, the Second Mate read on her headboards the longed-wished-for name: **Java**. That was quite enough for us. We soon had the waist boat cleared away and pulled for her, and in a short time I received from Capt. Allen a packet of letters that in size far surpassed my most sanguine expectations. Poor Mr. Crisp [the Second Mate] got none. Capt. Allen is very much altered and is quite gray-headed caused I suppose by anxiety of which he has had his share this voyage. When I first went on board, he did not know me. He said I had grown very much, though I really cannot see it myself.

We now returned on board the **Rose** where I had indeed a joyous feast as my Dear old Father called it but mine was ninefold more so than his as I had nine letters from home and he had only one poor solitary one from me...

Capt. Allen kept Captain Wood all night, but as it was calm we lost nothing by that. And I must confess that I gained a great deal by the Boat's crews getting drunk which detained the ship, together with the calms afterwards, long enough to see the **Java**.

This morning, the Captain came on board with Big Jack [a boatsteerer] (who was in the Fort<sup>1</sup>... We weighed anchor about 11:30 a.m. (for the last time I trust for this voyage). **HOMEWARD BOUND** and may God in His infinite mercy grant us a speedy and as pleasant a passage home, as our voyatge has been throughout. We have taken about 1,400 bbls. sperm and 900 of the whale oil and about 5,000 lbs. whale bone, which is more than an average of all the ships. I feel truly thankful to the Almighty as well as for blessing me with health & happiness during the voyage...

We have a Mr. Norton on board who left a Dutch ship sick, to whom Captain Wood has given a passage home. My letters were only 26 months old, but still they were truly welcome as they contained the only news that I have heard of home.

### **Epilogue, by R.L.**

On the way home, the **Rose** was almost shipwrecked at Christmas Island one night when young Creighton was at the wheel, but he heard the sound of the pounding surf just in time. As he said: "One single minute longer would have made us a total wreck." The ship went by Peonrhyn's Islands (9°S and 157°W). While off Cape Horn in December 1845, they met the **Coral** of New Bedford, Mr. Norton's hometown; so, he transferred to her. They reached Halifax on Sunday, 8 March 1846, in time to discover that a bridge had been built across the harbor in the meantime. The **Rose** anchored at Cunnard's Wharf.

This voyage was not the last adventure of Tom Creighton. He kept his love affair with the sea and was eventually lost at sea when Captain of the **Beauty** in February 1862.

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1 Ed. note: The Honolulu jail.

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**Document 1843C**

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**The Emily Morgan, Captain Ewer**

*Source: Ms. logbook in the New Bedford Free Public Library; Log Inv. 1580.*

**Log of the Ship Emily Morgan of New Bedford, Capt. P. W. Ewer. Voyage 1832-46.**

...

Tuesday May 30, 1843

... At daylight, saw Byron [Nukunau] Island bearing WSW dist. 15 miles... Lat. 1°14' [S]. 176°40' E.

...

Friday [June] 2nd

... Saw Sydnam [sic = Nonouti] bearing SW... Latter part... Drummond [Tabiteuea] Island bearing SW...

...

Friday 9th

... Saw Dundas [Abemama] and Henderville's [Aranuka] Islands bearing W dist. 15 miles... Lat. 00°02' N. Long. 173°55' [E].

...

Wednesday 21

... Land [Nonouti] bearing ESE dist. 15 miles ... Two canoes in sight. Lat. 01°25' S. Long. 174°10' [E].

Thursday June 22, 1843

... At 1 p.m., spoke the canoes and found as much as we could [that] they were lost. Gave them water and pointed them for the land. At 4 p.m., saw a school of whales. At 5, lowered the boats, struck and killed 3. At dark, took them to the ship... Latter part, busy cutting. Lat. 1°28' [S]. Long. 174°20' [E].

...

Saturday 24th

... At 4 p.m., finished boiling... At daylight, saw whales, lowered, struck and killed 5. Took them to the ship. Lat. 1°10' S. Long. 174°10' [E].

...

Tuesday 27th, 1843

... At 2 p.m., buried one of the natives from the canoe... Lat. 1°45' S. Long. 174°10' [E].

...

Thursday 29

... At 7 p.m., saw the lights on Drummond's [Tabiteuea] Island. Tacked to the South. Latter [part], port tacks to the North. At 8 a.m., sent the canoe on shore and steered to the NW. Lat. 1°23' S. Long. 174°58' [E].

...

Monday July 3, 1843

... Saw Sydnam Island bearing NNE... Lat. 00°57' S. Long. 174°10' [E].

...

Tuesday 11

... Sydnam Island in sight...

...

[The ship cruised off Nonouti for the next 24 days...]

...

Friday 11

... At 4 p.m., spoke the **Tobacco Plant** of New Bedford, and **Hesper**, 1700 bbls., 25 months, & 14 months out, 700 bbls [respectively]... Sydnam Isle in sight... Lat. 00°04' N. Long. 174°08' [E].

...

Monday 21

... At 5 p.m., spoke the **Rose** [of] Halifax.

...

[The ship cruised off Nonouti for 16 more days.]

...

Wednesday 13 [September 1843]

... Spoke the **Thule** of Nantucket, 14 mounths out, 500 [bbls]... Dundas [Abema-ma] in sight.

Thursday 14

...Spoke the Brig **Tiger** of Sydney... Lat. 00°40' S. Long. 174°20' [E].

...

Monday 18

... Three sails in sight. At 9 a.m., saw whales. Lowered the boats in company with the **Rose** of St. Johns [sic]. Struck 2 and took them to the ship.

...

Wednesday 20

... At daylight, saw a school of whales. At 7 a.m., lowered in company with the **Rose**. Struck, one to each ship. One I took alongside. Dundas Isle 6 miles off. Canoes came off with trade. Busy cutting. Lat. 00° 6 miles [N]. Long. 174°16' [E].

...

## Wednesday 27

... At 8 p.m., saw the land. At 11 a.m., saw a school of whales. At noon, lowered in chase. Blake, a man that we took on board from this Island in distress, deserted in a canoe when the boats were in pursuit of the whales. Dundas Island bearing NW dist. 12 miles...

...

## Saturday 21 [October 1843]

... At daylight, saw the **Thule**. At 11 a.m., boarded. Sympton's Island in sight. Lat. 00°15' N. Long. 173°45' [E].

## Sunday October 22

... 2 sails in sight. At 4 p.m., wore off shore in company with **Thule**... Latter [part]... 3 sails in sight. Sympton's Island bearing ESE dist. 12 miles. [Lat. 00°] 17 N. [Long.] 174° E.

...

## Wednesday 25

... At 4 p.m., spoke the **Galen** [of Warren] and boarded...

...

## Monday 30

... Spoke a Sydney barque<sup>1</sup>... Lat. 00°23 S. Long. 174°40 [E].

...

## Sunday 5 [November 1843]

... At 10 a.m., saw Matthew [Marakei] Island bearing NW dist. 14 miles. Lat. 1°49 N. Long. 173°48 [E].

...

## Friday 10

... Saw Sympton's Island. At daylight, stood in shore. Latter part, 3 sail in sight. Canoes came off with trade. Lat. 00°14 S. Long. 173°52 [E].

....

## Wednesday November 15, 1843

... Saw a sail to the windward... At 11 a.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing W dist. 25 miles. Lat. 00°43 [S]. Long. [blank].

## Thursday 16

... Stood in to the land. Spoke the **Thule** of Nantucket...

## Friday 17

... Spoke the **Phoebe** of Nantucket... Lat. 00°04 S, Long. 170°08 [E].

...

---

1 Ed. note: Perhaps the Margaret.



Thursday 7 [December 1843]

... Busy trading with the natives. At 2 p.m., stood to the N... Shipped a native of this island. Lat. 00°29 S. Long. 168°40 [E].

...

[The ship went to Samoa to recruit, then returned to the Gilberts in March 1844.]

...

Friday 29 [March 1844]

... Byron's Island in sight. Perote [Beru] bearing WSW dist. 15 miles... Latter part, stood in shore. Canoes came off in chase. Stood to the SE. Lat. 1°25 [S]. Long. 176°05 [E].

...

Tuesday 16 [April]

... Picked up 2 canoes with 6 men and 1 woman. Took them on board. Took the canoes in and made all sail. Saw one to the windward but lost sight of them. The canoes came down from Hope [Arorae] Island as nye as we could ascertain. Lat. 00°55 S. Long. 172°44 [E].

...

Monday 22

... Spoke the **Emerald**, 4-1/2 months out, bound to Japan, clean. Lat. 2°35 [S]. Long. 171°50 [E].

...

Thursday 9 [May 1844]

... At 9 a.m., saw Hope Island. Stood in shore. About 10 canoes came off. Put out the canoes and sent our natives on shore and made sail, course NW by N. Lat. 2°35 [S]. Long. 177°06 [E].

...

Thursday 23

... Spoke the **Seringapatam** of London. Syudnam in sight. Lat. 00°13 S. Long. 174°36 [E].

...

Tuesday 11 [June 1844]

... At 5 p.m., spoke the **St. Peter**, 20 months out, 500 bbls...

...

[The ship cruised in the neighborhood of Nonouti, Abemama, Beru, Tamana, and Onotoa for a long time, without success. In August they went toward Banaba.]

...

Sunday 4

... At 8 a.m., saw Ocean Island bearing W1/2N dist. 24 miles...

Monday 5

... Stood in to the land and took a raft of 12 casks on shore for water. Discharged a native of the island. Took on board a native of Rotuma to work his passage.

Tuesday 6

... At 3 p.m., the boats came off. Made sail to the NNE... Left on shore one man in consequence of ill health.

...

Thursday 15

... At 2 p.m., spoke the **Rose** of Halifax. Lat. 00°40 S. Long. 169°04 [E].

...

Monday August 19, 1844

... At 2 p.m., saw Ocean Island bearing South dist. 25 miles... Stood in to the land. At 7 a.m., went on shore. Took off the raft of water. Stood to the ESE.

...

[By September 1844, the ship went east to Tabiteuea, Onotoa, Beru, Nukunau, Aorae, then she slowly worked her way north again in March 1845, as high as 50 degrees of north latitude, and back towards the South Pacific, then home.]

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**Document 1843D**

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**The logbook of the Columbia of Nantucket,  
Captain George F. Joy**

*Source: Ms. in the Nantucket Historical Society; PMB 820; Log Inv. 1118.*

**Extracts from the log kept by Joseph C. Marshall**

...  
[The Columbia was cruising on the Line in June 1842, but the log is incomplete, with sparse entries about whaling successes, and no details about islands sighted. It was back on the Line in January 1843, and in the Gilberts in February.]

...  
24th [February 1843]  
First part rainy Middle the same Last Made Byrons [Nukunau] Island.

...  
March 8th  
First part fine Employed in ships duty at 4 PM shortened sail a very large Canoe in sight. Capt Made it 41° in 2460 miles Long last part Employed in ships duty.

...  
March 13th  
... Laid with the main yard aback a couple of hours to trade with the natives [of Beru Island]...

...  
2nd [April]  
... Made Pleasant [Nauru] Island...

...  
[The ship made Rota on 17 April.]

**Bound for Guam.**

18th [April] Lat 13°21' Long 144°30'00"

First part fine at 1 PM Made the island of Guam. Standing in for land under all sails at 4 PM shortened sails and tacked ship land under our lee spoke the **Massachusetts** of Nant. 20 m. out 900 bbls S. Oil. So Ends.

19th

First part squally at 2 PM comes to anchor in the harbour of Guam in company with 8 ships furled the sails washed the bends and stern Last part began to break out to cooper oil.

20th

First part fine employed coopering oil the **Young Phoenix** sailed for Umatac Bay. the **Henrietta** of London came to an anchor in the Harbour So ends.

21st

First part fine. Coopering oil the **Susan** of New Bedford came to an anchor[.] last part fine.<sup>1</sup>

22nd

First part fine. finished coopering and washing decks the **Matilda** of London came to an anchor. the **Monticello** left for Umatac last part Painting ship tarring down Boat- ing wood &c.

23th

First part finishing and painting ship the **E. Starbuck** and **Oregon** left ...<sup>2</sup>

### **Lying in Guam.**

24th 25th 26th & 27th

Larboard Watch on ships duty. Starboard on Liberty Watch came on board at Sun- down so ends.

28th 29th 30th May 1st

Starboard Watch on ships duty[.] Larboard on Liberty came in board at sundown So ends.

2 & 3th

Employed Wooding stowing potatoes setting up shooks rwe(?) catface a ??? so ends.

1 Ed. note: There were two ships named Susan in the area (see list at Maui below). The Susan of Nantucket was reported a few days later at Kosrae (see Doc. 1843L).

2 Ed. note: This is a rare mention of the whaler Elizabeth Starbuck of Nantucket (ref. Starbuck, p. 376).

3th [rather 4th]

First part fine setting up shooks for water went to Town with the Boat returning at sundown So ends.

5th

Left for Umatac for Water.

6th

First part came to anchor in Umatac Bay furlled the sails in company **Charles Frederick** of N. B.<sup>1</sup> sent a raft of casks in shore filled and got them in at 5 PM so ends.

7th

First part getting off water Potatoes &c last part got under way so ends.

8th

First part cruising off the town sent a boat in shore so ends.

9th 10th

Lying off and on in company with a number of ships.

11th

Capt came on board. and made all sail stood out to sea.

May 21st

First part fine at 5 PM made the Bonin islands...

[When the ship Columbia reached Maui, Hawaiian Is., there were 139 ships lying at anchor there in July 1843 (the list is given). A total of 79 of them are said to have been Right Whalers. The total number of barrels of oil aboard these ships amounted to 224,836. The Columbia was back on the Line in January 1844, but soon headed for the Marquesas, etc.]

[The logbook contains a number of sketches of whaling ships at various locations in the Pacific, but one is that of Cabo San Lucas in Lower California. There is a list of ships at Mauri in 1843, part of which is as follows:]

...

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This was the only voyage of this ship to the Pacific Ocean (ref. Starbucvk, p. 386).

## Whaling ships at Maui, Sandwich Islands, in July 1843

Name of ship	Homeport	Captain	Mths out	Sperm	Whale Oil <sup>1</sup>
Obed Mitchell	Nantucket	E. Coffin	25	10000 S.	
Russell	N. Bedford	Stall	28	8000 S.	
Triton	N/ Bedford	Chase	17	450 S.	
Midas	N. Bedford	Parker	17	80 S.	2340 W.
Acushnet	Fairhaven	Pease	33	930 S.	750 W.
William Hamilton	N. Bedford	Cole	13	300 S.	1700 W.
Edward Cary		Nantucket	Tobey	24	1000 S.
Martha	Newport [R.I.]	Davenport	23	15000 S.	
William & Henry	Fairhaven	Benjamin	23	750 S.	
Rosalie	Warren	Mosher	14	4100 S.	140 W.
Walter Scott		Nantucket	Bunker	36	12000 S.
Martha	Hudson [NY]		Whelden	27	500 S.      2400 W.
Susan	Nantucket	Russell	22	5500 S.	
Mary Mitchell	Nantucket	Lawrence	13	3500 S.	
Clifford Wayne	Fairhaven	Crowell	30	14000 S.	
Bark Hector		Warren	Martin	14	4500 S.
William & Eliza	N. Bedford	Rogers	48	140 S.	900 W.
Bark Lexington	Providence	Jayne	22	4500 S.	
Triton	Warren	Saunders	21	130 S.	1750 W.
Susan	N. Bedford	Howland	29	8000 S.	
Vineyard	Edgartown	Crocker	36	940 S.	
Mayflower		N. Bedford	Crocker <sup>2</sup>	34	50 S.      245 W.
[Bark] Fortune	Plymouth	Almy	37	450 S.	
Commodore Preble	Lynn	Ludlow	14	80 S.	1000 W.
Canton	N. Bedford	Lucas	23	1000 S.	
Bark Ranger		London	Greene	37	14000 S.
Addison	N. Bedford	West	29	950 S.	
Gratitude	N. Bedford	Stetson	30	12000 S.	

Whole number of Ships 139

Sperm Whalers 59 Ships

Amount of Sperm Oil 11,888(?)

Average to each 307

-----  
Right Whalers 79 Ships

Amount of Whale Oil 142,945

Average 1272 for the season on Japan  
-----

1 Ed. note: The unit for the sperm, or whale, oil appears to have been Pounds. Some ships would at times sent some oil home aboard other vessels bound home.

2 Ed. note: Error in transcription, copying the above; should be Gifford (ref. Starbuck, p. 374).

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## Document 1843E

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# Logbook of the Lalla Rookh of New Bedford, Captain Owen Raymond

*Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 873; Log Inv. 2798.*

*Note: The spelling is so bad that I have had to rectify it somewhat, for better understanding.*

### Extracts from the log

...

Remarks on board Wednesday January 11th 1843

... Spoke ship **Rajah**(?) of New Bedford Capt West 17 months out 700 [bbls,]<sup>1</sup> and so ends these 24 hours in company with the **Callafoney** [i.e. California] 13 observations. Lat [blank].

Remarks on board Thursday January 12th 1843

... In company with the Callafony of New Bedford at 6 pm spoke the ship Donymo [i.e. **Drymo**] of Sipocan [i.e. Sippican] Capt Hammond{s} 17 months out 350 bbls[.]<sup>2</sup> middle & later part brisk trades. Lat 00°14 S.

...

Remarks on board Sunday January 22th 1843

... Spoke the ship Nassaw [i.e. **Nassau**] of New Bedford Capt Weeks 17 months out 800 bbls ends with fine weather. Lat 00°09 S.

...

[On February 1st 1843, the ship was near Christmas Island in the Line Islands. There is no record of longitudes in this log.]

...

---

1 Ed. note: This must indeed be the ship Rajah, Captain West, that effectively left New Bedford in August 1841 (ref. Starbuck, p. 374).  
2 Ed. note: This must indeed be the ship Drymo, Captain Hammond, that left N.B. in August 1841 (ref. Starbuck, p. 384).

Remarks on board Saturday February 25th 1843

These 24 hours Commences with brisk trades running down to the lee end of touching [Makin] island all hands employed clearing away heads<sup>1</sup> middle part moderate so ends at 8 am several canoes came off we bought some coconuts &c. Lat. 3°11 N

Remarks on board Sunday February 26th 1843

These 24 hours commences with baffling winds with the SW Point of Pitts [Butari-tari] island bearing NE at dark distance 3 leagues wore ship at 12 and headed NW middle part moderate winds later part squally weather with squall of rain all hands employed boiling oil.

...

Remarks on board Tuesday February 28th 1843

These 24 hours commences with squally weather and plenty of rain[.] Cruising off Pitts island at dark SE point bearing N distance 4 leagues middle & later part squally weather at 9 am run in and bought some coconuts and so ends these 24 hours.

...

Remarks on board Sunday March 5th 1843

... At 4 pm saw halls [Maiana] island bearing ENE distance 5 leagues... No observations.

...

Remarks on board Saturday March 11th 1843

All these 24 hours light trades from the NE all hands employed stowing down spoke the Barque **Lexington** of Providence Capt Jane 14 months out 250 bbls stowed down 120 bbls and had for to wait for the oil to cool untill morning. Lat 1°35 S.

...

Remarks on board Monday March 13th 1843

... Spoke the Barque **Lexington** of Providence R.I. Capt Jayne 14 months out 200 [sic] bbls.....

Remarks on board Monday March 24th 1843

... Spoke the ship **Java** of Fairhaven Capt Lane 19 months 900 bbls...

...

Remarks on board Saturday April 1th 1843

These 24 hours commences with moderate trades and cloudy weather[.] spoke the ship **Java** of Fairhaven Capt Lane 18 months out 900 bbls[.] at 2 pm saw Ocean [Bana-ba] island bearing WSW distance 4 leagues[.] middle part strong trades at daylight kept off and run down under the lee of the island and baught some coconuts &c. ends with strong trades Course NW.

...

---

1 Ed. note: They had just finished cutting in 7 whales.



**Remarks on board Monday April 3rd 1843**

... At 5 pm saw pleasant [Nauru] island bearing NW distance 5 leagues...

**Remarks on board Tuesday April 4th 1843**

... Discharged the canoes at 3 am and stood NW, spoke the ship **Java** of Fairhaven Capt Lane... at 2 am spoke the **Columbia** of Nantucket Capt Joy 19 months out 900 bbls... Lat 00°53 N.

...

**Remarks on board Wednesday April 12th 1843**

These 24 hours commences with brisk trades and fine weather at 2 pm saw Ascension [Pohnpei] island bearing W by N distance 6 leagues lay off and on all night at daylight made sail and run in to Ascension harbor Came to anchor in 19 fathoms of water.

**Remarks on board Thursday April 13th 1843**

These 24 hours commences with moderate trades and fine weather at 2 pm sent a boat ashore with a raft the others employed on board of the ship[.] middle & later part calm.

**Remarks on board Friday April 14th 1843**

These 24 hours commences with calm weather all hands employed washing and scraping ship at 8 am commenced painting ship and sent a boat to fill water took off one raft and so ends these 24 hours.

**Remarks on board Saturday April 15th 1843**

These 24 hours commences with moderate weather all hands employed painting ship and getting water middle & later part moderate so ends.

**Remarks on board Sunday April 16th 1843**

These 24 hours commences with moderate winds and light squalls of rain middle & later part the same.

**Remarks on board Monday April 17th 1843**

These 24 hours commences with moderate trades and attended with light squalls of rain sent one watch on liberty and the other employed painting ship.

**Remarks on board Tuesday April 18th 1843**

These 24 hours commences with squally weather and plenty of rain one watch on liberty the other on ships duty at 8 am let go the starboard anchor ends with plenty of rain.

Remarks on board Wednesday April 19th 1843

These 24 hours commences with squally weather and plenty of rain one watch on liberty took on board 1 boat load of wood and stowed it away &c.

Remarks on board Thursday April 20th 1843

These 24 hours commences rainy weather one watch on liberty the other on ships duty middle & later part rainy weather.

Remarks on board Friday April 21st 1843

All of these 24 hours plenty of rain one watch on liberty and one on ships duty took on board 2 boat loads of wood.

Remarks on board Saturday April 22nd 1843

These 24 hours commences with squally weather and plenty of rain one watch on liberty and one watch employed getting off wood and towing off ships.

Remarks on board Sunday April 23rd 1843

All of these 24 hours plenty of rain one watch on liberty.

Remarks on board Monday April 24th 1843

These 24 hours commences with squally weather and plenty of rain one watch on liberty and the other on ships duty took off one raft of water &c.

Remarks on board Tuesday April 25th 1843

These 24 hours commences with squally weather and plenty of rain at 8 am cleared the chain and hove up the larboard anchor bent some new poles and cleared decks for sea.

Remarks on board Wednesday April 26th 1843

These 24 hours commences with squally weather and plenty of rain waiting for a fair wind to get out loosed the topsails at daylight and hove short the wind being ahead we furled them again.

Remarks on board Thursday April 27th 1843

These 24 hours commences with squally weather and plenty of rain all hands on board waiting for a wind to get out at 9 am took our anchor and proceeded to sea unbent the chains and stowed them below and so ends these 24 hours.

...

Remarks on board Thursday May 4th 1843

These 24 hours commences with brisk trades and smoky weather the watch employed at ships duty Course NW by W at 5 pm saw Rota island bearing WSW distance 6 leagues middle part moderate trades at daylight kept off and run down to the town saw the

barque **Perle** [sic] lying off & on[.]<sup>1</sup> at 8 am sent 1 boat on shore at 11 returned at 12 sent 2 boats on shore.

Remarks on board Friday May 5th 1843

These 24 hours commences with moderate trades and pleasant weather lying off & on at rotta getting off recruits middle & later part light trades.

Remarks on board Saturday May 6th 1843

These 24 hours commences with light trades and fine weather lying off & on at rotta getting coconuts middle & later part light trades.

Remarks on board Sunday May 7th 1843

These 24 hours commences with light trades and fine weather at 1 pm the boats came off and all things being on board we proceeded to sea middle & later part moderate trades at 4 am saw tinian island bearing E distance 10 leagues. No observation these 24 hours.

Remarks on board Monday May 8th 1843

These 24 hours commences with light trades and fine weather Spoke the barque **Pearl** of Sipocan 16 months out 100 bbls middle & later part moderate trades and fine weather. Lat 17°40 N.

...

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The Pearl of Sippican (see below, ref. Starbuck, p. 380). She became lost on the Japan Ground the following August, with 6 of her crew killed.

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## Document 1843F

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# Logbook of the bark Lexington of Providence, Captain John P. Jayne

*Source: Ms in the Providence Public Library; PMB 874; Log Inv. 2871.*

### Extracts from the log

...  
[The log begins with the ship lying off the coast of Japan, then bound south in November 1843.]

...  
Friday 17th [November 1843]  
Strong winds and fine weather Middle and Latter part the same all hands culling potatoes thus ends.

Saturday the 18th  
Fresh winds and fine[.] Steering to the South under all sail Middle and Latter part the weather much the same and employed in setting up rigging.

This day at daylight missed another of our number[,] a lad by the name of James Lyman who as we supposed went over the side in the night and fell over board and not knowing how to swim sunk to rise no more and so he has gone to his long home[.] Making the 3rd that has been taken from our crew in an instant as one may say since we sailed from home and all at the time in perfect health & boyant hopes of many days to come but such is the life of Man. he is born and lives a few fleeting years and then is taken away and is forgotten by his fellow man, as we see today, for the ships work goes on with the same carelessness and indifference as though nothing had occurred more than common. oh thoughtless and eluded man what will make you think of the past the present and the future and live as though you would not live always.

...

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## Document 1843G

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# The romanticized story of the whale-ship Potomac, alias Arethusa

*Sources: Ms. journal aboard the Whaleship Potomac, Isaac B. Hussey, master, 1842-1845, MR 87 in the G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic, Connecticut; published as a book by Capt. W. H. Macy. There She Blows! or, The Log of the Arethusa (Boston & NY, 1877).*

*Notes: William Hussey Macy was boat-steerer aboard the Nantucket whaler Potomac, Captain Isaac B. Hussey (Owners T. & P. Macy) during her 1841-45 voyage to the Pacific Ocean (ref. Starbuck, p. 376). It was the Potomac's first voyage, having recently been built at Mattapoisett. The ms. journal is not listed in Sherman et al.'s Whaling Logbooks.*

## The Log of the Arethusa—Romanticized version

...

### Chapter XVI.

...

[Byron's, or Nukunau Island]

The next day after "cooling down," we ran to the westward and made an island, low but well wooded; the top branches of the beautiful cocoanut-tree being the first object to break the horizon line. This, the mate informed me, was Byron's Island, the weather-most of Kingsmill's Group. Very soon the sails of numerous canoes were to be seen approaching, for a ship can be discovered almost as soon as she makes the land, all the islands of this group being low. The fleet of canoes was constantly receiving fresh accessions as we drew nearer the land, the number increasing till more than a hundred could be counted from the deck. They worked to windward rapidly, having immense triangular sails of matting. The first canoe that neared us came boldly alongside, throwing a line which was caught by eager hands on deck, for we were all on the tiptoe of curiosity to cultivate closer acquaintance with this singular people.

"Here he comes, stem on for Dover Castle!" said the second mate, as the canoe's bow struck in the waist with considerable force, and then, snubbed by her warp, she swung fore and aft, while the savages, taking the line in to one of the thwart timbers, "bowed her off" with much skill, for the ship was going at a smart rate through the water. By this time other canoes were crowding upon the first one, all anxious to be the first to make a trade with us; each with a line of its own ready to throw to us, or else

clamoring for a rope's end to be thrown from the ship. Some fell short, and the ship flew past them; but, nothing daunted, they fell into her wake, knowing that she would heave to soon. Some ran into others, doing considerable damage to their frail structures and increasing the clamor and confusion. I noticed one strapping fellow in the first canoe, who, with both hands full of "truck," was making the most urgent signs and cries for a rope to be thrown to him. Curious to see how he would manage, I flung him one which he seized with his teeth, and without hesitation threw himself overboard, still holding his wares in both hands and five or six "sennit" hats upon his head. He swung alongside towing by the vice-like grip of his teeth upon the rope, the ship moving at a rate that I should suppose would have torn any white man's jaws out of his head, unless he opened them and let go his hold. I jumped into the chains and reaching down, managed to relieve one of his hands of its load, so that he could have one arm and his teeth to tow by, for it was hardly possible to get him on board until the ship's way was stopped. A canoe was now driving right upon him, having swung in against the ship in consequence of collision with another, but he paid little heed to her, simply diving under and rising again the other side of her, seemingly as much at home in the water as a porpoise.

Faster and faster the reinforcements of canoes gather, and the Babel of guttural shouts and yells exceeds all descriptive powers. Each canoe contains at least one representative of the gentler sex; some of them two or three; but the women, contrary to all rules among civilized communities, have but little to say. Crash! I run to the other side of the deck to see what has happened; an unfortunate canoe has filled and swamped alongside, torn her thwart out by the strain upon the warp, and the apparent wreck is drifting into our wake, the crew swimming off with her, for the women are as amphibious as the men, their yells rise louder than ever, while screams of derisive laughter greet them on every side from their unsympathizing consorts. As Manoel the Portuguese expressively says, it is "every man for himself" in this crowd. Anxious to know how they will conduct under these circumstances, I jump up on the shearpole and follow them with my eye. As soon as they wind their way out of the thickest crowd of the pursuing canoes, they seize their own by the head and stern, and shooting her violently fore and aft a few times, she slops about half the water out over the two ends; a man then jumps lightly into her, and commences baling; soon she will bear another man; and it is not many minutes ere she takes her place in the fleet, though now occupying a rear position, a bit of seizing stuff completes her repairs, and they are after us again, joining in the general laugh, and eager as ever.

"Haul the mainsail up! and square the main yard!" cries the old man with a desperate effort to make himself heard above the clamor and din.

The orders are repeated by the mates, and the ship is soon hove to, the canoes closing up around us. Everything of a portable nature has been picked up about the decks, and stowed away out of reach, for all savages are known to be adepts at thieving; indeed, their exploits in this way would do honor to the most expert "professionals" in England or America.

Some caution against treachery is also necessary at all times in dealing with these people, though, as a general rule, where they come without arms, and accompanied by women and children, no danger is to be apprehended.

As soon as the ship's way was stopped, the islanders poured in over the rail in vast numbers, and a brisk traffic was carried on for cocoanut, mats, hats, shells, etc. Tobacco was the precious metal and root of all evil with this people. Iron they seemed to care very little for, unless an opportunity offered to steal it, but "tabahky" was the very goal of their desires, and for this they would barter soul and body. Articles of clothing were in no request; indeed, they offered some for sale for bits of tobacco, having probably stolen them from previous visitors. "The costumes of these natives are exceedingly light and airy, the men having absolutely no covering beyond what Nature has provided; while the females were restricted to a single garment not unlike the Highland *philibeg*, the material being grass or seaweed.

MORE canoes kept paddling up alongside, and attaching themselves to the offside of the first comers, till the ship was surrounded with them several tiers deep, extending to a considerable distance; for these crafts occupy much space in beam, not so much from the size of the boat itself, as of the bulky "outrigger" built out one side to balance her when carrying sail. These islands produce no trees suitable for making "dug-outs" of any considerable size, and the canoes are built of little pieces of wood, hundreds of pieces in a single craft, holes being made near the edges, and the pieces lashed together with innumerable little "seizings," a sort of mortar or white cement is plastered on to fill up the numerous joints, and the still more numerous little holes for the lashings. This only partially answers the purpose; for though the boats are not deficient in the qualities of speed and buoyancy, they are never tight, and one man is kept almost constantly baling. The lashings, as well as all their ropes, some of considerable size, are ingeniously twisted from the fibrous outside or husk of the cocoanut.

Two white men came on board, one of whom had been here several years, and had become quite domesticated. He seemed to have considerable influence among the natives, and doubtless was as arrant a savage as any of them when on shore. This man told me that the work of building canoes was constantly going on at their naval dockyard, and that he could hardly perceive the progress made from day to day; several months being consumed in finishing one of them. And no more work is done to them than is absolutely necessary to fit them for service, for the people evince none of the artistic skill and taste in ornamenting their vessels, for which many other of the Polynesian tribes are noted.

The man whom I had assisted by throwing him a rope, and relieving him of a part of his load, attached himself particularly to me, and we drove a smart barter trade, highly satisfactory to both parties. He soon gave me further evidence of his powers of jaw, as, laughing at my bungling attempts to husk a cocoanut with an axe, he seized the whole bunch of nuts, and jerked the husks all off with his teeth, in less time than I should have taken to finish one, considering his services amply rewarded with a morsel of "tabahky." I bought all his stock of mats, and as many of the hats as I could adapt

to my very accommodating head, in other words, all which were not more than eleven sizes too big for me. The next thing produced for my inspection was a cocoanut shell, filled with a sort of syrup, into which he ran his finger and sucked it with infinite gusto, at the same time tempting me to do likewise.

"Id-id-ee tikee-moe-moe!" he yelled.

"What the devil is that?" said I.

"Tikee-moe-moe?" he repeated. "Tabahky!"<sup>1</sup>

I found this a very nice article, light in color, clear and thick, not unlike honey. I bought it eagerly, and gave my friend to understand I would like to have more. In less than ten minutes he had brought me more than a dozen, which I purchased at sight of the shells, and carried below. I discovered the next day when too late, that only the first one was worth eating, the rest appearing to be about equally compounded of very black molasses and sea-water.

I made my out-door agent understand that I wanted to collect shells, showing him one as a specimen. He rushed to the side, shouting to his comrade in the canoe, "Teroot!" and returned with a few which were not worth much. My "wants" having been thus advertised, I was beset with cries of "Teroot!" for the next half-hour; for every barbarian peddler who had a beech-wornshell or fragment of a shell to dispose of, pushed it into my face with the same war-cry. I selected a few, which I thought worthy to be added to my collection. But I was by no means rid of the rest, after so doing; for I was pursued from post to pillar, and the same specimens, transferred to different hands, loomed before my eyes dozens of times, with the savage cry "Teroot! Tabahky!"

"I'm saying', ould chap, what's the matter wid y'er leg?" said the voice of Farrell near me.

I turned and saw an elderly, grave looking man climbing in over the rail. As he landed on deck, he presented a singular phenomenon; having one well-proportioned leg of the natural size, while the other one at the calf would have filled a deck-bucket.

"Say, ould chap, what ails y'er leg?" repeated the Irishman.

"Ididee tikee-nut!" shouted the old man, holding up over his head a bunch of nuts, knotted together by strips of the husk.

"Ah! the divil take your tiikeenuts, it's your leg I'm looking at. Who ever saw the likes?"

"Tabahky!" roared the venerable savage, keeping an eye to business.

"What made y'er leg swell that big?" pursued Farrell.

"Tikee moe moe!" was the answer, in a voice of thunder.

"An' sure, I'll ate none of it, if it has that effect."

"Why," said the cooper, "don't you see, he's got the 'fay-fay.' There's plenty of that disease on these islands. There's a man in that canoe under the quarter there with one

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This treacle, obtained by boiling the coconut toddy, is indeed called "te kamuimui" in Gilbertese (see Doc. 1841L)



of his arms puffed up bigger than my body, you can see it wobble every time he moves. Now, twig this old gentleman when he walks.”

“Isn’t it painful, do you think?” I asked.

“No, they say not, after it’s swelled, and set to its full size, for I believe it’s never cured. It is common on many islands in the Pacific, and at Rotumah, particularly so. Most of the white men have it there, that is, those who have lived there any length of time. It is caused by the diet, I suppose.”

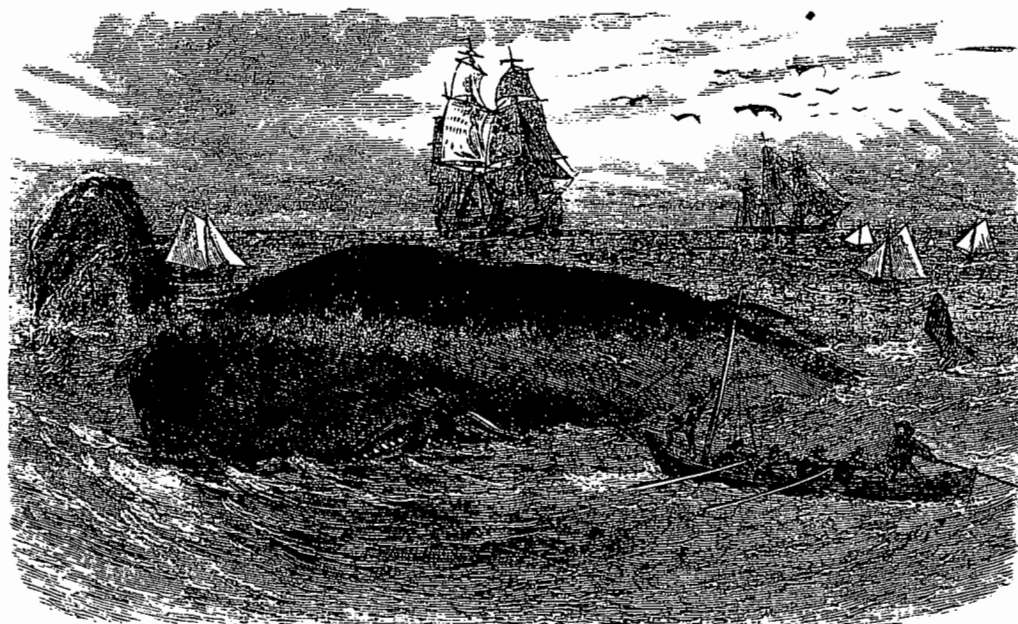
“Yes, that’s what the oulc chap tould me, ’twas the tikeenuts and that swate tracle stuff made it swell,” said Farrell.

“Mr. Grafton, we must get rid of these canoes now as fast as possible. We can’t afford to drift any more. Brace full the mainyard and down tacks!” said the captain. “They must take care of their own canoes.”

This manœuvre produced some commotion among the visitors, and scattered the greater part of them. Some who had not been fortunate enough to dispose of all their wares, still hung on, offering goods at very low prices to close out the stock.

“Keep cool, don’t drive them,” said the mate. “I’ll get clear of them all, in a minute.”

He went down below, and soon returned with a musket, which he pointed in the air over their heads, and pulled the trigger. A stampede ensued, and a repid succession of plunges overboard as well as into the canoes, soon cleared the deck of all the frightened savages; and the fleet were soon standing in for the land, presenting a picturesque and beautiful view, as the declining sun shone upon the numerous triangular sails and flashing appdles; while we hugged the wind under all sail to hold our weather position.



THE FIRST WHALE.

## CHAPTER XVII.

*Kingsmill's Group.—Singular Whaling Incident.—Hard and Fast.—A Perilous Position.*

We now made our cruising-ground for a time among the islands of Kingsmill's group, setting the starboard and larboard watches again, as it was necessary to keep sail on the ship day and night, to avoid drifting off the ground altogether. This necessity i owing not only to the prevalence of the trade wind which blows in the same general direction at all times, except when replaced for very short periods by the "westerly monsoons," so-called; but also to a current, varying more or less in force, which sets to the westward all through this chain of islands. These circumstances, in connection with the low and dangerous character of some of the islets, as well as their uncertain position on the charts, demanded great vigilance in the night watches, and the strictest orders were given to the officers in this particular.

The scenes at Byron's Island were repeated at others with little variation in general outline; for, almost as soon as land was seen, the triangular sails would also make their appearance; and but few days passed without communication and traffic with some of them. I soon learned to judge of the age of a cocoanut before buying it, for, as there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, so it requires but a short stage in the growth of the nut to change the milk from Olympian nectar into the most insipid slops; while I was careful not to rush blindly into *tikee moee-moee* speculations without investigating the matter to the very bottom. My little stock of rarities in conchology was much augmented by small additions made at various times; and I had rather more hats, as well as bigger ones, hung up in my bunk, than the **Arethusa** had in her slopchest; for some of my first purchases in this line would have set loosely on Daniel Lambert.

These little episodes, interspersed with the excitement of whaling adventures, served effectually to break the monotony of a long cruise at sea, and to make the time pass quickly and pleasantly. Sperm whales are frequently seen, and we were successful, as a general thing, in taking them. The whales here ran small in size; the cows seldom yielding above twenty barrels, oftener fifteen or sixteen. Now and then a school would be met with, accompanied by one old eighty-barrel patriarch, or *school-master*, as he might be not inaptly termed. Of course, our principal efforts were directed to capturing this fellow, if possible. In one instance, we succeeded quite unexpectedly, and in a very singular manner.

We lowered in pursuit of a school of small whales, no large one having been seen among them before we left the ship. The whales in some way took the alarm before we got up to them, and when the mate called me up, they had all gone down but one cow with a small calf. I drew back my iron for a dart, but the cow had already pitched, and was too far from me to make a safe thing of it. "Strike the calf!" said Mr. Grafton; and, with a twinge of conscience at the cruelty of the deed, I threw an iron at the infant whale, who seemed hardly able to carry it off in his back. However, down he went, and we gave him line freely, as we were fearful of drawing the iron. We felt pretty sure that when he rose again, we should have a chance at the mother; and that chance was good

of the rest of the school "bringing to." In such a case, we might get a good "cut" of oil, by striking a whale which, alone, was of little or no value. He had "sounded out" forty or fifty fathoms of line, when the strain suddenly relaxed, and the line hung slack. "We are loose!" cried the mate. "Haul in line!" then shouted to the other two boats, who were hovering near us, to "Pull ahead!" They sprang to their oars to take the next chance at the school when they should rise, while we gathered in our stray line quite leisurely. Presently our line seemed to be foul of something, which offered a strange kind of resistance to our efforts; it did not bring up firmly, but seemed to be grating or chafing against something, so that we still gained on it, though making slow progress.

"What can be the matter?" I asked.

"I don't know," said Father Grafton. "I can't account for the line acting this way." Just then there was another heavy surge upon it, then that peculiar grating and slipping, and we got in two or three more fathoms of it. "Something is under us," said he. "Slack line and stand by your oars!"

We slacked away and sterned off a little. Presently there was a commotion and lifting of the sea as it were, close ahead of us, and with a roar as he broke water, the ponderous "junk" of a "ninety-barreller" was forced up into view; he straightened, showing us his vast breadth of beam, and then with a thundering flap of his immense flukes upon the water, which half-drowned us all in the spray, he started to windward, towing us after him! Astonishment held us all mute for a moment, but the mate, seeing that he was fairly "harnessed," soon recovered his usual coolness.

"Clear away my lance!" said he to the bowman, as he placed the second iron in the crotch ready for darting. "We're fast to him, Blacksmith, but *how*, the Lord knows, I don't. If that's the whale that you struck, he has *grown* out of all knowledge within a quarter of an hour!"

The old man and second mate were coming to the rescue, having soon perceived the state of affairs. They were as much puzzled, of course, as we were; but, if we had hooked to the school-master, that was enough for the present. The second boat was soon fast, and when we hauled up to lance, the nystery was explained. The large whale had fouled the line with his lower jaw, and the strain had drawn the iron from the little one. The monster in his struggles had rolled over and we had been hauling the line across his jaw, till we had got the slak all in, and the harpoon and pole had formed a toggil across his "jole" at the corner of his mouth. In an hour's time we hauled him alongside the ship, well pleased with the exchange we had involuntarily made of a calf for a full-grown bull.

We had cruised this ground over working down to leeward of Ocean [Banaba] and Pleasant [Nauru] Islands, which lie somewhat detached from the main cluster of the group, and, then taking the advantage of a westerly monsoon, which brought us back to Byron's Island, we cruised it all over again. We had taken about six hundred barrels of sperm oil, and it was nearly time for us to be making a port, as we intended to take the next season "on Japan."

We had been in sight of one of the islands one afternoon, and several canoes came off for a short time, but the weather had been overcast and rainy, and we had no observations of the sun; and as we had but an indifferent one the day before, we were in doubt from what island the canoes came. We knew we must be somewhere in the vicinity of Simpson's [Abemama] and Henderville's [Aranuka] Islands. The wind was light the first part of the night, and we stood on the southern tack till midnight, when we wore ship, and headed back to the northward. This was done in our watch, and when we went below at three in the morning, it was cloudy weather with light rain squalls. Nothing had been seen; the wind was light and the sea unusually smooth, as it seemed to us, indicating that we were under the lee of one of the islands. The second mate was cautioned to keep a good lookout ahead and off the lee bow, and we went below, feeling no uneasiness as it would be daylight in an hour. The captain had been on deck at about two, and he thought from appearances and from the strength of the current, that we must be to the westward of our reckoning, and now under the lee of Woodle's [Kuria] Island, and, if so, we had sea-room enough for the present.

[Running aground on the reef at Onotoa atoll]

The heat kept me awake for some time after I turned in, or rather lay down on my chest-lid, for I could not endure the temperature in the bunk, and the weather was too damp to take my jacket and pillow on deck, or into one of the quarter-boats as I was in the habit of doing when it was fine and dry. I could hear Mr. Dunham and Fisher moving about and talking over me, for a short time; then all was still, and overcome by drowsiness I fell asleep.

A trembling movement of the ship with a grinding sound beneath me brought my feet to the floor with a bound; my trousers and hat were seized at the same instant, and the mate, Mr. Bunker, and myself reached the deck all at once, crowding each other on the stairs. The captain was already there. None of us asked another what was the matter; we seemed to wake with an instinctive understanding of the whole truth in its painful aggregate; and our first glances around were merely to take in the details of the situation.

Cocoanut trees were looming on the starboard bow, seeming in the gray light to overhang the ship, and gradually receding along the beam and quarter, as the land trended to the south-east. All was clear blue water off the lee bow, but day had broken, and a line of cocoanut trees against the western skies indicated another island within a few miles off the lee beam. We had run on the lee end of one of the islands, for the line of the reef, as marked by the color of the water, was only one point off the port bow. A quarter of a mile more off would have carried us all clear, and into the channel between the two. The wind was very light, and partially embayed as we were it was so smooth that there was little or no breaker near the ship, and she scarcely moved after the first shock of running on the reef.

I had taken these few hasty notes while we were hauling everything in aback, with the hope of forcing her astern, but the power of her sails was not sufficient with so light

a breeze. The pumps were tried, but showed no leak, and the hand lead was passed along for sounding. No questions were asked, no fault found, though we all understood well enough how it happened. As I have before intimated, the second mate, though so good an officer in all other respects, had the fatal weakness of falling to sleep at his post. I knew as well as if I had seen it myself, that after stirring about a short time and setting a lookout, he had sat down and dropped off into the land of Nod. Of course, if the officer of the deck sleeps, all the rest will be likely to follow his example; Jack not being disposed to take upon himself any cares for which another is better paid. I have no doubt to this day, that, at the moment the ship struck, every man was asleep, both above and below deck, but the captain, who was just coming up the stairs.

The hand lead gave eight feet of water under the bow on the starboard side. From this depth it was evident the reef rose abruptly; as, ten feet ahead of us the rock was dry and our martingale was almost touching it. Under the larboard bow we got ten feet, and a boat's length from the ship the lead indicated five fathoms. The kedge anchor was being prepared for service, for we could hear the voices of natives on the beach, and doubtless the canoes would surround us as soon as daylight should arrive, and the alarm be spread; so that whatever was to be done must be done soon or we should have to fight an army of hostile savages. But soundings taken thirty yards from the ship gave sixty fathoms off the port bow, and at fifty yards distance no bottom was reached with a hundred and fifty fathoms. No kedging could be done in that direction to swing her bow off. We sent the boat astern with no better success. The deep sea line failed to find any bottom, and it was evident the ship hung by her bow only, on the very angle of a reef which rose boldly from the depths of the ocean. Under the forechains we had fourteen feet, which was enough to have floated the ship. We had the satisfaction of knowing that a pull of a couple of fathoms in either of two directions would place her in her native element, but how were we to get it? Our kedge anchor was useless, owing to the great depth of water on the off side and astern of us. A strong breeze acting upon the head sails thrown aback would probably have done the work for us.

Daylight, while it gave us a clear view of our position, also brought new dangers, for several canoes were already hovering near, and others could be seen shoving out all along the beach. We could see that the men were all armed, and that no women were in any of the canoes. This was sufficient evidence that they meant mischief, and would venture an attack upon us in our crippled position, which they would not dare make if we were under way. However, we knew their wholesome dread of fire-arms, and trusted to be able to keep them at bay, if we could contrive any purchase to haul the ship off the ledge. But one way of doing this presented itself; and we at once set about the necessary preparations for availing ourselves of it.

About two hundred yards from us, in a line nearly astern, a point or projection of the coral reef made out in a south-west direction, the rock being but little more than dry at high water; and in the scanty soil on this point, three cocoanut trees had firmly rooted themselves, one of them inclining so much seaward, that its lofty tuft of branches must have almost brushed the sails of the ship as she passed in by it. If a line could

be carried to these trees, and brought in at the taffrail to the capstan or windlass, we could heave the ship off, without doubt; but the undertaking involved considerable risk. The two cutting falls were unrove from the blocks and connected by a bend, which formed a rope long enough for our purpose, and of sufficient strength to bear all the strain that we should want to heave. This was all placed in one boat, in two large coils well spread out on top of the thwarts. ONLY one man was to go in this boat, at the steering oar, and the position was assigned to me. The other two boats were lowered, and manned with full crews, the second and third mates being placed in command. All the fire-arms had in the meantime been loaded, six-pounder and all; and most of the muskets were distributed in the boats, as there was no fear of the savages making an attack on the ship at present. They would wait to concentrate all their fighting force before doing so.

When we had completed our preparations there were not more than twenty canoes assembled, averaging about five men to each; and these were, thus far, acting only as a squadron of observation; but two had made their appearance ahead of the ship coming round the end of the reef, being the advance guard of another fleet from the north side of the island, while the number of triangular sails momentarily increasing off the lee beam and quarter promised large reinforcements from the other island. It was low tide when the ship ran ashore, and the flood was now beginning to make; a couple of hours would doubtless, give us water enough to haul her off.

The second mate's boat, pulled in advance, towing the boat in which I was steering, loaded with the hawser. Mr. Bunker, with the third boat, followed close in my wake, as rear guard, carrying the end of a light whale line which was paid out from the ship. The six-pounder was trained for a covering fire, but no fire-arms were to be used, nor any violence offered, except in case of the last necessity. The natives in the canoes intently watched our movements, paddling a little towards us, but resting again, as they saw the number of muskets in the two boats. They, of course, understood our manœuvre, but to oppose our landing would involve more risk from the guns than they cared to run. Thus holding them in awe, the operation was performed without a shot, the first boat only being beached. The crew jumped out, pulled the end of the hawser ashore by a piece of small line, hitched it securely round two trees which grew close together, while the end of the whale line was being bent to the other end of the coil; a wave of my hat gave the signal to "haul away!" I laid the boat round, was taken in tow by the third mate, and we returned to the ship paying out the hawser from both coils at once.

When about midway between the shore and the ship, having paid all out and thrown the bight clear of the boat, I was startled by a man under water swimming towards the hawser. I called to Mr. Bunker to "heave up," for it instantly occurred to me what his purpose was. He was nearly under the head of my boat, and gradually rising towards the surface as he approached his object. My boat-spade, keen as a razor, with a light warp attached to it, lay convenient to my hand. I seized it with a nervous grasp, feeling that it had fallen to my duty to shed the first blood in this affair. The savage was com-

ing up; already his arm was outstretched to grasp the hawser. I could see a knife gleaming in his other hand. My spade descended with careful aim upon his right arm, his ugly head rose to the surface in a pool of blood, and with an unearthly yell he struck out with one arm towards the canoes, holding aloft the stump of the other, cut clear off between the shoulder and the elbow!

The hawser was sage for the present; another minute and it was hauled taut and taken to the windlass, the tension bringing it above the surface. A boat's crew, well armed, remained on the point to protect that end; and in order to divide it at any point, the person attempting it must raise his head out of water and expose himself to almost certain death; for keen eyes were sighting loaded muskets both from the taff-rail and the beach. We have a severe strain at the windlass, but it was evident we could not start her yet; we must wait the rise of the tide, and, in the meantime, our chief attention must be devoted to the protection of our hawser. If our enemies could divide this, they would gain time and assemble a large force so as to overpower and massacre the whole of us. The division from the north side of the island were apparently all in sight now, and were forming a junction with their comrades, the whole force amounting to about forty canoes with two hundred fighting men, their arms being clubs and spears of wood, set thickly with rows of shark's teeth. We made no attempt to prevent the junction of the two fleets, for we did not mean to waste a charge of powder, but reserve it for an emergency. If we could protect our hawser and get another hour or two of flood tide, we did not fear a legion of them when under way; and this we hoped to effect before the arrival of the fleet from Woodle's [Kuria] Island, which numbered some thirty canoes more.

The women and children of the island, with a few old men whose fighting days were gone by, had all assembled on the beach at a short distance from the ship, anxiously waiting the progress of events. They kept up a terrible yelling and shouting to the warriors in the canoes, apparently urging them on to attack us. After a time, becoming emboldened by impunity, a party of them ran down on the rocks ahead of the ship, and saluted us with a volley of stones, some of which came in over the bows, falling among us. To get rid of this annoyance the six-pounder, with only a charge of powder and wad was now trained in that direction and fired over their heads. The effect was all we could have desired; the rabble retreated to what they considered a safe distance, and ventured no more within range.

From time to time we tried a little additional strain on the hawser, and at length had the satisfaction of feeling the ship tremble and waver a little under our efforts. On sounding now we found thirteen feet as far forward as the fore-swifter, and it was evident we hung by only a few feet of the keel from the cutwater aft.

"The hawser does not pull in the direction that we could wish it did," said the old man, now in consultation with the mate at the taffrail. "It'll pull her off without doubt if we can wait half an hour or more. But in that time, those devils will get here from Woodle's, and we shall be surrounded with enemies. Besides, I am getting anxious about Mr. Dunham and his crew, who are held at bay there on the point. You see, the hawser pulls rather too much to seaward and grinds her starboard bow hard against the

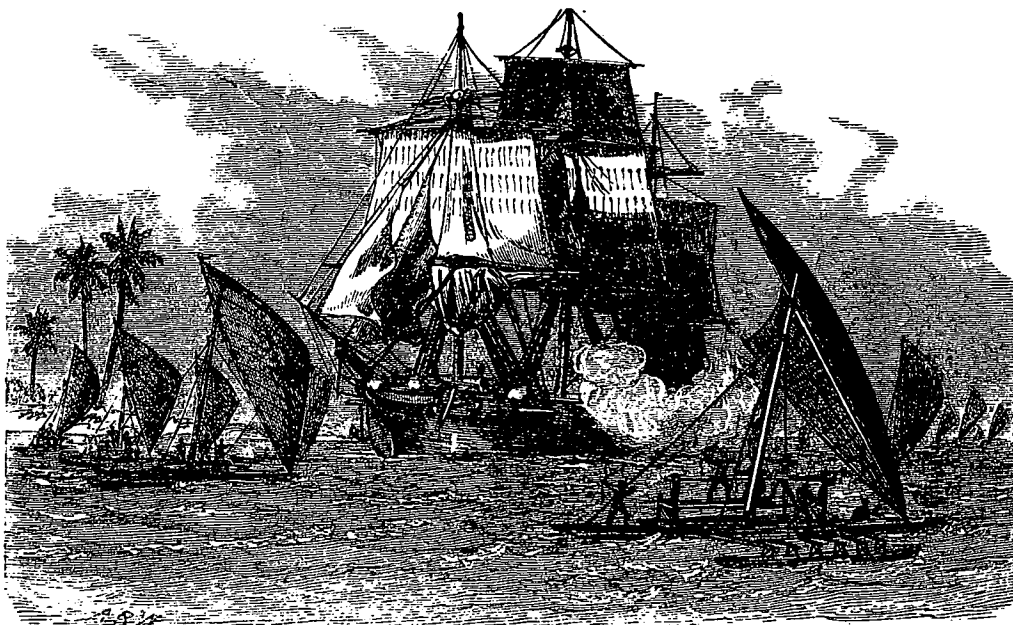


ledge. I think by the feeling of her, that if that could be slacked up suddenly her stern would swing in, and perhaps she might slide off sideways."

"I think so too," said Mr. Grafton. "But it's a ticklish thing, because, as soon as that hawser is slacked into the water, they'll make an attempt to cut it, if they've got another knife among them, which is doubtful. It would be bungling work cutting it with any of their own instruments."

"We must risk it, at any rate," said the old man, after considering a moment. "Those canoes will be here in a few minutes, and then we shall have a general attack. We'll try it, and if she does not swing as we expect we'll heave right in again, and wait the tide as we have been doing. Stand by to come up that hawser at the windlass! Sharp eyes out now at the taffrail! Keep your guns ready, and if you see a head come up near that hawser, *don't miss him!*"

He waved his hand to the windlass bits; the fall "rendered" round the barrel with a heavy surge, and the ship swung, as he had expected. Her stern trended in shore till she was about half broadside on; and her bow, sliding and grinding on the rocks, forced itself partly off, but hung again, now without motion.



OFF THE ROCKS AGAIN.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Off the Rocks Again.—A Bad Leap.—Anecdotes.—The Run to the Caroline Islands.*

"We shall have to heave taut again, Mr. Grafton, and give her another swing," said the old man. "O, if we only had another hawser to hold her stern where it is, and take this one in on the port bow! But I don't like to risk her to swing broadside on."

At this moment a hand grasping a knife emerged from the water, near the middle of the hawser, and a shaggy head rose partly above the surface. Five or six muskets cracked simultaneously both from the ship and shore. The head and arm disappeared, and the water was discolored where they went down. Another savage had met the reward of his rashness and the hawser was saved again.

"Theywont try that move again right away," said the old man, coolly. "But those canoes are almost here and I am fearful for those men who are on the point, guarding the shore end of the hawser. There she slips a little! Do you feel that, Mr. Grafton? We must risk it. Come up the hawser all together! Lay aft here, every man! Take the bight round outside and lead in on the port bow! Lively, men! You're working for your lives!"

We knew it, and needed no ourging, the heavy rope was passed swiftly from hand to hand, and brought in forward to the fore-rigging; a turn was thrown round the windlass and the brakes were instantly in motion. As she lay now, this was the very pull she wanted. Hardly had we brought a strain when she began to slide and rumble under us, and a wild hurrah burst from all our lips as she settled into her element, and her haed paid briskly off, under the power of her foretopsail. But as she did so, her stern swung in violently, and a projecting spur of the rock beneath the water met her under the counter, with a kind of dull, cracking sound that came ominously to our ears.

We could not stop to think of this now. We looked astern; Mr. Dunham was coming! He had already cut the hawser at the shore end, and his crew were pulling the boat off by it, hand over hand, while he and Fisher stood with muskets keeping their foes at bay; for, maddened with rage and disappointment, they were now beginning to close in upon him.

"Brace round the yards!" roared the captain. "Steady! meet her with the helm! Keep her right in the channel! All the muskets here now, and open a covering fire for this boat! Pull boys! pull@ We'll have you all safe in another minute!"

We no longer thought of saving powder, but fired away among the thickest of them. A dozen of them were killed or wounded and they soon found the work too hot. They hauled off with hideous yells, and we took all our men safely on board, though Fisher had a bad cut from one of the serrated spears, and the second mate and young Black Hawk were both severely wounded by stones, which had been hurled in great numbers from the canoes, when they closed up around the boat.

"Is that gun loaded with ball" asked the old man.

"Ay, ay, sir!" responded Mr. Grafton. "Say the word!"

"Luff hard, there!" said the captain. "Let her come up and shiver! Stand by, now, when she bears right—fire! Hard up, and keep full!"

The old "persuader" did her work as effectually as at Dominica. Two canoes were struck by the discharge, and the yells that rose from the terrified barbarians, now joined by the advance division of the Woodle's Island fleet, rang in our ears, but with no terrors for us, now that we were fairly standing seaward.

"Try the pumps, now, Mr. Garfton, while I look after these wounded men," said the captain. "I'm afraid we may have started a leak under the counter, but I hope not a very bad one."

The first strokes of the pump told us that his fears were not without good foundation. The water gushed from the scuppers bright and clean!

"Get me a dry ropeyarn," said Father Grafton, quietly. "Draw the boxes, and let's sound the well."

A plummet was soon extemporized, and lowered into the pump-well. It was drawn carefully up again. O, how anxiously all eyes were riveted upon it, as with suspended breath we awaited the mate's words.

"Twenty-five inches. That's not so bad as it might be," he said cheerfully. "It's some time since she struck there. Rig the other pump and man them both!"

We kept both pumps going fast and strong till they sucked. We then timed her, and when we pumped her again, we made the leak about fifteen hundred strokes an hour.

"That will keep us pretty busy pumping," said the old man, "until we get in somewhere where we can stop it. However, we may thank God we came off as well as we did. We can keep the leak under till we reach one of the Carolines, and as for the three men, I don't consider either of them wounded seriously, thought they may be disabled from duty for some days. We'll break out in the starboard side of the run this afternoon, and see if we can make any discoveries."

We broke out, accordingly, and judging by the sound, where the leak was, we cut out a piece of the ceiling. We found a place crushed in two planks in width, the broken wood still remaining, though much shattered, and forced out of its place. With a "fothering" of canvas and oakum, and some boards nailed to the timbers to hold all in place, we reduced the leak considerably. This was all that could be done to it from the inside, but we were satisfied that we could get at it, by careening the ship in a smooth harbor, and repair it, as we did the former leak at Hanayapa; as the timbers did not appear to be materially injured. We timed her again in our watch that night, and found we pumped only about nine hundred strokes an hour.

"Well," said Father Grafton, "that's much better than fifteen hundred, for it's a kind of labor that seamen abominate, and no wonder at it. There's a sameness about it that is not at all agreeable. I must say that I dislike such jobs as pumping, sawing wood, and turning grindstones."

Of course, I agreed with him entirely in this antipathy.

"I don't think," continued the mate, "that there is any other leak in her beside that one under the counter. It's likely that the copper and sheathing are much torn up under the bows, but the ledge appeared to be pretty smooth, and the pumps threw no water, up to just before the time we hauled her afloat."

"I suppose," said I, "the cooper will admit now that she leaks enough to keep her sweet. Ah! here he is, on deck, and his pipe loaded, too. Say, Cooper, have you seen any flying fish come from the pump yet?"

"No," answered the cooper, gruffly. "She don't leak much, now, that is, comparatively speaking. She's *tight*, compared to the old **Harbinger**.<sup>1</sup> But we didn't mind it so much in those days, as we should now."

"No, that's true," said the mate, "and, to go twenty or thirty years still further back, they minded it still less, and seemed to look upon pumping as a matter of course, a part of the regular routine of ship's duty. I recollect a case in point. When I was a young fellow, I happened to be present in court when a case was being tried involving the insurance on the ship **Tarquin**, sunk at sea on her homeward passage. It appeared that the **Tarquin**, when off Cape Horn, leaked a smart thousand strokes an hour; that after getting down into the trades on the Atlantic side, they had tinkered some of their leaks, and also, being in lighter weather, she made less water, so that they pumped only three or four hundred strokes an hour when off Cape St. Augustine. Well, they held on their course, and, between there and home, she gave out entirely, and sunk from under 'em.<sup>2</sup> The underwriters refused to pay, and the ground taken by them was, that the captain ought to have gone into a port in Brazil, and overhauled his ship. Well, several old sea-captains were called on the stand to give their opinions. I remember one in particular, who is still living. The question was put to him, whether, in his judgment, it was prudent for the captain of the **Tarquin**, with his ship leaking some three or four hundred strokes, and Pernambuco under his lee, to continue on towards home? "Prudent!" said the old gentleman, "Yes, why not? Why," said he proudly, "I sailed out of New Bedford in a ship leaking five hundred strokes an hour to start on a voyage!"

"Yes, that was in what they call, 'the good old times,'" said the cooper. "And that reminds me of a circumstance that happened many years ago in which an uncle of mine was one of the parties concerned. He was homeward bound in an old ship, I think it was the **Criterion**. They got in on the coast, made Block Island, and took a pilot. It came on to blow very heavily from the northward, and they were blown off the coast and the ship leaked so that they found it impossible to free her, and decided that the only safety for them was to put her off before it and run her—somewhat. Well, they let her slide to leeward with both pumps going, and when the weather moderated, they found themselves so far to the southward that they kept on, and made a port at the French island of Martinique. Here they discharged the oil, hove the ship out, stopped the leaks, and took in their cargo again. In those days, you will remember, communications with the West Indies was not an every-day thing as it is now, and nothing was

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1 Ed. note: Before 1842, this ship had belonged to New York. However, the name given here may be fictitious.

2 Ed. note: The ship **Tarquin** of Nantucket sunk off Barbados (ref. Starbuck, p. 243).

heard from that particular island for a long time. Well, in the meantime the pilot-boat reported putting a pilot on board ship **Criterion**, off Block Island, such a date. Of course, it was supposed she had foundered in the gale, and all had perished. Well, four months afterwards, away along in the the summer, the **Criterion** came down to the bar, and when my uncle went ashore he found his wife in mourning, having given him up for daed long before.”<sup>1</sup>

“I believe that’s a true yarn, Cooper, if you *did* tell it,” said the mate—“This way the watch! *Pump ship!*”

We still held on our course to the westward, to make a port at one of the Carolines or Ladrones, and made good progress with the trade winds in our favor. Our men soon recovered from their injuries, and resumed their duties, rather priding themselves upon the ugly scars received in the conflict. Whether the old man ever said anything in the way of reprimand to the second mate, I never knew. If he did, the whole matter was kept to themselves; and, indeed, it was not his habit to find fault with an officer in the presence or hearing of any subordinate. Perhaps he thought it best to overlook his almost fatal want of vigilance, in view of his gallant conduct afterwards in charge of the forlorn hope on the point, and trusted that the peril through which he had just passed would prove a salutary lesson to him for the future. If so, he judged correctly for the young officer’s eyes were opened to his own carelessness; and, in a literal sense, he kept them open the remainder of the voyage. As I learned from others in his watch, he never was known, after this affair, to sit down during his hours of duty at night.

“We are drawing down near to the Carolines,” said the mate to me one evening, about a week after the accident. “I think we shall made Strong’s [Kosrae] Island tomorrow.”?

“Have you ever been there, sir?” I asked.

“Not to go ashore,” said Mr. Grafton. “I have passed in sight of it, and I have been in and anchored at Ascension [Pohnpei], which is beyond it to the northward and westward. I hear that ships visit Strong’s Island quite frequently of late. I suppose the people are similar in appearance and character to those of Ascension. We shall reconnoiter there a little, and perhaps the old man will decide to go in, if he finds it a good harbor to stay our leak in; if not, we shall keep on to Ascension or Guam.”

“Are those people anything like those at Kingsmill’s Group?”

“Not at all,” replied the mate. “Neither in appearance, language nor general character. There is something very interesting about them; at least, those that I have seen at Ascension. They are handsomer, and lighter in color than those islanders we have left behind; and they are also more intelligent and ingenious. The women, especially, are more delicate, with good figures; some of them are really pretty. Then, in place of the gibberish of uncouth sounds spoken in most parts of Polynesia, these people have

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1 Ed. note: According to Starbuck, p. 271, that Nantucket whaling ship was condemned at Halifax in 1829. Her leakage problems wre indeed reported earlier (p. 265). Her first wahling voyage had been in 1802.

a musical language, full of soft liquids and ringing consonants, that seems more like Chinese than like anything we are accustomed to recognize as a 'kanaka language.'"

"Are they safe people to deal with?" I asked.

"Well, no more so than the generality of savages. Indeed, I think they are quite as treacherous, though not as hardy and warlike as Marquesans or New Zealanders. None of these races are to be trusted, and we must be always on our guard in our intercourse with them; treating them well, but never placing ourselves entirely in their power."

"Power makes right, with them, as it does with civilized nations," I answered, "and the same rule of diplomacy which you have mentioned will apply to our dealings with the best of them, I think."

"That's true," said Father Grafton, reflectively. "I suppose, after all, we are no better than they are, only we have a more genteel way of doing things and do them on a larger scale. We should not kill and eat a man or two whom we caught on board our ship; but if it suited our purposes, we should very likely take possession of a whole island or group of islands, and kill the people in a legal way, if they resisted; as is being done even now, by enlightened France, at the Marquesas and Society Islands."

"And if they don't take possession of all Oceania," said I, "it is only because it is not worth their while, or as we Yankees would say, 'it wont pay.'"

"Just so," assented the mate. "And if, as some think, England will protest against this occupation by the French, it will not be because of any injustice done to the natives but because it might be thought dangerous to her interests to permit France to have these naval stations in the Pacific."

"It is a delicate matter, anyway," he resumed, "to do justice in dealing with these savages. We must secure the safety of our own lives, if possible, and of our property, too. Of course, I am speaking, now, of the case of isolated ships, like our own. It seems cruel to kill or wound a savage for pilfering, especially when we remember that a plug of tobacco or a knife may appear as great a treasure to his simple mind, as a mine of gold or a fertile province to our more enlightened capacities. And yet, how else are we to prevent the annoyance, and secure our property? We cannot reason with them, nor can we punish them according to any civilized form of law. And if we kill or maltreat them, it's ten to one they will retaliate upon some other white men who may be thrown in their way at a future time. It's a difficult subject, to make the best of it," said the mate, dismissing the matter in an unsatisfied way, as hundreds of others have done; and takin gup another.

"There is evidence to prove," said he, "that the Caroline Islands were once inhabited by a race of people far superior to those now found here. The ruins of a large stone building, apparently a religious temple of some sort, still stand on the island of Ascension, away up in the interior, showing beyond all question that those who reared it possessed a knowledge of arts and of mechanical powers far beyond the capacity of the present owners of the soil. I am told that similar evidences are to be found at Strong's Island, in the form of stone walls, running in various directions about the island, which never could have been built by the present inhabitants."

“What account do they give of them?” I asked.

“So far as I can learn, it is as great a mystery to the present generation of them as it is to us; and I have never heard that they have even any traditions to account for them. But there they are,” said he, dismissing this subject, like the other, unsatisfied.

“But it is time to set these faithful pumps going again; that’s a practical matter, with not much of interesting speculation about it. *Pump ship!*”

We made Strong’s Island the next day, as expected, and running down for it, saw two ships lying at anchor in a bay on the weather side of it, making in from the south-east. The old man lowered his boat and went in, leaving us to lie off and on for his return. Soon afterwards a canoe was seen coming out with three men. They paddled alongside very quietly, in marked contrast with the jabbering barbarians whom I had been accustomed to hear at the other group, or even to the Portuguese boatmen at the Azores. I was looking at them over the rail in the waist, and wondering how the first words of their language would sound in my ears, when the man in the head of the canoe spoke up, in clear and distinct English, “Give us a rope, if you please.” The crew of the **Topaz** could hardly have been more surprised when they discovered Pitcairn’s Island, and were addressed in their own language by the descendants of the **Bounty** mutineers, than were we at hearing this polite request.

The men came on board, and it appeared that they all spoke a good smattering of English, though the first speaker took the lead, he having made a short cruise in a whaler. He told us one of the ships in the bay was American and the other English. The mate asked him if he knew the name of either of the ships, thinking at most, that he might get some clue to guess from; but, to our further astonishment, he replied, “Ship **Leonidas**, of New Bedford, Captain Taber, and Ship **Seringapatam**, of London, Captain Courtenay,” pronouncing all the names with the greatest care and distinctness.<sup>1</sup> He already knew the name of our ship and captain, having spoken the boat going into the bay.

“Well,” said Mr. Grafton, “they ought to establish a newspaper here, and secure this man as marine news reporter. It’s not one white man in twenty could have given us these particulars, and done it in as good shape;” for we had learned how much oil these ships had taken, where they were bound, and many other things of interest concerning them.

“Why, either of these men talk better English than any ordinary Kanaka who has made a four years’ voyage in a whaler.”

Our boat was seen returning, and the old man came on board with a favorable report. He gave orders to get the chains up and the anchors off the bow at once, having made up his mind to go in.

“It’s a snug harbor,” I heard him telling the mate, “and it’s easy getting into it. I have some doubts about getting out again as easy, but I guess we shall have a slant of wind.

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1 Ed. note: Both of these ships were indeed reported elsewhere to have visited Kosrae in 1844.

Taber went in only yesterday and is bound on Japan too. He wants a consort, and will stay as long as we do, in case our job of stopping the leak should detain us. The Englishman is all ready for sea, now, but he can't get out with this wind."

Within an hour we were riding quietly at anchor in six fathoms, but a short distance from the beach, and in a convenient place for heeling the ship to repair the injury which had caused us so much monotonous and fatiguing labor at the pumps.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### *Strong's Island.*

The first duty that engaged our attention after coming to anchor was, of course, to stop the leak; which was done much in the same manner as in the former case at Dominica, except that it was necessary to stow all the heavy articles forward, and bring the ship down by the head, instead of the stern. We also attached a purchase to the mainmast head, and to a tree on the shore, to assist in careening the ship.

The natives appeared to watch all these operations with great interest; and our decks were alive with them both men and women, the day after our arrival. Compared with the savages, whom we had previously visited, these people might be called gentle and quiet in their habits. Nothing could exceed the eagerness and the perseverance displayed, particularly by the women, in acquiring a thorough knowledge of our language. Every word that could be picked up to add to their English vocabularies seemed to afford them a peculiar source of delight. "What name of this? What name man?" were questions put to us at every turn, and our answers were echoed and repeated over and over, till the sound was fully mastered. Thus the English spoken by these women was not murdered, for each word was thoroughly learned before passing on to the next.

Suddenly a muttered signal or countersigning passes from mouth to mouth; all noise and conversation cease; and each remains fixed to the spot, as if struck by an enchanter's wand. Not immediately seeing any adequate cause for this, I asked, in great surprise, what it meant? One of the girls ventured to whisper an answer to me:

"You see? King George come!"

I looked over the sail. Our boat, which had been ashore was just coming alongside, and, seated with the old man in the stern sheets, was this potent autocrat, "King George," a rather good-looking, portly barbarian, whose royal robes consisted of nothing less—or more—than a common sailor's checkshirt, his legs disdaining any covering whatever. He had doubtless received his title from some ironical Englishman, and his subjects had adopted it as proudly, as it is said our ancestors did the music of "Yankee Doodle."

As his majesty's head appeared above the quarter-rail, everyone of his submissive subjects, man, woman and child, fell upon deck in a kneeling or crouching attitude, with bowed heads, and thus remained till their sovereign had completed his survey of matters above board, and passed below with the captain. During this time they rigidly maintained their positions, however uncomfortable, as immovable as a well drilled battalion of troops at "parade rest." As soon as he was invisible, everything resumed its former status, and the stir and bustle went on as before. The same etiquette, I afterwards observed, was necessary at the advent of any chief of high rank, or any of the juvenile princes of the blood royal.

Courtenay, the English captain, had visited this island several times before, and was on very intimate terms with King George. He told us to be on our guard against treachery; and informed us that an English whaleship, called the **Harriet**, had been taken



and burnt in the other harbor on the lee side of the island about eighteen months previous, though her fate had been a mystery until quite recently, as the natives, adopting the motto of ancient sea-rovers, that "Dead man tell no tales," had massacred every man of her crew. For more than a year she had been a "missing ship," when another English whaler, touching at this island, short-handed, shipped two natives, who, a few days after getting to sea, incautiously let out the secret. The ship at once put back and came to anchor in the lee harbor, and as Captain Courtenay happened to be there at the time, the two ships, acting in concert, succeeded in fishing up the **Harriet's** anchor and chain, with the charred remains of her bow, still attached. The two captains, by stratagem, secured the persons of some of the chiefs, and they confessed the truth, but no punishment had yet been inflicted by the English, though there was good reason to believe that other vessels had been cut off here, at more remote dates, and no-one left alive to tell the tale. They had even destroyed the ship's chronometers, supposing them to be alive; for King George when questioned by Captain Courtenay concerning the chronometer of the **Harriet**, answered expressively, "Kill him. Take big stone, kill him."

The **Seringapatam** still lay wind-bound for two or three days after our arrival, but at last, taking advantage of a morning when the air was quite light, through blowing directly into the bay, we put the boats of all three ships ahead of her, and assisted by the whole flotilla of canoes we towed her to sea, keeping the sails furled, and the yards pointed to the wind. We thought King George seemed rather relieved when he got rid of her. He professed great friendship for Captain Courtenay. But his regard was, doubtless, based on the wholesome fear in which he stood of him; for the ship mounted eight guns in regular broadside, besides small swivels on her topgallant fore-castle and taff-rail, and even had her arms-chests in her tops.

We were successful in reaching and repairing the injury under our counter, and, on righting and trimming the ship, had the satisfaction to find her bottom perfectly tight. We could not, of course, tell how much external injury she had received under the bow.

I did not fail, on going ashore, to notice the stone walls of which I had heard, and in which I observed some stones of great size and weight, at such heights from the ground as would indicate that the builders must have made use of mechanical power to raise them. I could get no information as to how long they had been there, or for what purpose they had been raised.

On showing ourselves near the door of a house, we were always invited to enter and take a seat among the family on the floor, and the women immediately put us through a catechism, commencing, according to established form, with the question, "Name of you?" This question must be answered, and the name repeated by the whole family, until they have the pronunciation perfect. But instead of following this up by asking "Who gave you that name?" the next query is, "Name of ship?" and then, "Name of captain?" We thought it very remarkable that we found sufficient knowledge of English in every family to conduct these exercises, in view of the fact that so few ships had visited the place, and no white man was then living among them. After these points are

all settled, a pipe is produced, with the request, usually made by one of the younger women in her most seductive tones, "You fill pipe belong to me?" Of course you feel bound to honor this draft upon your pocket store of tobacco, and, if you intend to make many calls while on shore, your pockets must be well filled. It is observable that the pipe produced on these occasions is invariably one with a large bowl, while those used for smoking are always small.

We strolled into a large building near the beach abreast of our anchorage, which appeared to be a feast-home, a royal banqueting hall. It may, perhaps have been used also as a hall of council, if so absolute a monarch as King George can be supposed to consult with anyone on affairs of state. I should suppose, from what I saw of this despot, that he might have had that peculiarity for which the first Napoleon is said to have been famous, of making up his mind first, and asking the advice of his generals afterwards. In this building, in a line extending nearly the whole length of it, flat stones, slightly hollowed so as to form basins, were set into the ground, and at each of these was seated a man, pounding kava-root with a smooth stone of convenient weight to be swung in his hand. The right arms of all these men, perhaps twenty in number, rose and fell in concert, with a slow and measured stroke, uniting the sounds produced by the twenty stone hammers upon the basins into one loud clang. Outside, fires had been built, and mysterious processes of cookery were being carried on. I inquired the meaning of all this preparation, and learned that this was a funeral feast. A woman of some rank, the wife of a chief, had died and all the high dignitaries were then attending the burial, after which they would return to the feast-house, and "partake of a grand collation," as the celebration programmers have it. I was too late to see anything of the funeral ceremonies, for they were even now on their return. The kava-root, after being pounded to a fibrous mass, is mixed with clear water in the stone basins, and the infusion is strained, or rather wrung, through a sort of coarse cloth of grassy appearance, into calabashes, and is ready for the banquet. The first strength goes to the king and chiefs; it is "spliced" two or three times, the common natives being glad to get a very indifferent article. At many of the islands of Polynesia, the kava, instead of being beaten with stones, is chewed, and the masticated mass is ejected from the mouth into a vessel, and then water added to it; this chewing operation being performed chiefly by the women. But at Strong's Island, no woman is allowed to take any part in its preparation, or even to be present at the ceremony of preparing or drinking it.

His majesty and suite being at hand, the "funeral-baked meats" were brought in, with piles of roasted bread-fruit and large bunches of bananas, and all the natives sat or squatted in their proper places, according to rank. The king, seeing us whites looking on, beckoned us to take seats near his royal person, and personally saw that we were liberally supplied with meat and fruit. We did ample justice to the fare, as became distinguished guests, and made a hearty meal. The remains of the feast were being cleared away, and we were about to leave in quest of further adventures, when the cooper made his appearance among us, with his pipe in full blast.

"Well, boys," said he, "you've been having a glorious wake, I suppose, for the old duchess, or marchioness, or whatever her rank may be. You wont get drunk on kava, though, after the aristocracy have had the first wringing of it. You might drink a deck bucketful of the slops that's handed around afterwards. How did they feed you, pretty well?"

"Yes, cooper," said I, "you should have been here sooner. You lost a good dinner by being too late for it."

"Why, what did you have for dinner?" he asked.

"Something that we sailors don't get every day in the week;" I answered. "We can appreciate roast pig when we do get it."

"Did you have roat pig for dinner?" asked the cooper.

"Certainly, we did," said I, triumphantly.

"Well, I presume you did—all but the pig," said he, dryly.

"What do you mean by that?" I inquired, dubiously. There was no smile on the cooper's face, but that twinkling of his beard was perceptible, which always denoted a high state of inward enjoyment.

"Why, pigs that are raised down our way," said he "have a different tone of voice in expressing themselves. They don't *bark*."

"Bark!" I exclaimed, as light began to dawn upon me, while some of my companions already began to look a little qualmish. "You don't mean to say that—"

"I don't mean to say anything," returned the cooper. "Come outside and see the sacrificial altar, and its trimmings."

We followed him a short distance back from the house till he halted, and pointed significantly to an ensanguined block of wood, near which lay four sets of paws, and four heads, unmistakably canine, corresponding in number to the four "roast pigs" at the banquet.

"I acknowledge the corn," said I. "I suppose if I had known the fact before dinner, I shouldn't have relished it, but it is too late to repent."

"But you might say," said one of the boys from the **Leonidas**, unwilling yet to admit that he had been sold, "that we don't *know* what animals we had for dinner."

"It needs no naturalist to tell us what animals have suffered at the block;" said I, laughing. "We may as well face the music, for there's hardly 'a loop to hold a doubt upon.' And, as another link in the chain of evedenced, I now recollect that those pigs had been decapitated before they were served up, though I hadn't thought of it before. I never knew that these people were in the habit of eating dogs."

"Yes, I could have told you that," said the cooper, "that is to say , as regards another island of this group. I know they do at Ascension, and they prefer them to pigs."

"Well," said I, "I suppose all of us can now testify that they are as good as pigs, if eaten with a sauce of ignorance."

"After the collation comes the ball;" said the cooper. You see those fellows hacking down wood, and getting ready to make a bonfire. They will light up the fire after dark,

and then dance and sing round it. But here's another game going on. Let's go and see what this means."

The natives were all gathering on a large plat of greensward, near the feast-house, and the young men were seating themselves in a circle on the ground, several ranks deep, so as to leave an arena of convenient size in the centre. The women, children and old men close up outside of this ring as spectators a space being kept clear for King George and the principal chiefs, where they could overlook the whole scene. It was evident some sort of gladiatorial show or sparring exhibition was now to begin.

At a signal from the king, an athletic young man sprang lightly from his seat in the circle to the centre of the ring, bringing his hands together with a loud clap of defiance. He was instantly confronted by another, and the sparring was commenced. Passes were rapidly made and warded off, no harm being done to the combatants, as all blows were struck open-handed. Great dexterity was displayed on both sides, the object aimed at by all this, being, for some little time, a mystery; but at length the challenger, watching his opportunity, rushed under the other's guard and seized him at the waist, which closed the combat, amid tumultuous applause from king, court and spectators. Both fell back to their places in the circle, the victor to be petted and patted by his delighted comrades, and instantly a fresh champion bounded into the arena to be met by another. Thus the entertainment continued, till nearly every young man had put in at least one appearance, and some particularly smart fellows had come off victors in several matches, so that their challenges were not readily accepted. Sometimes a careless or overconfident youth would be caught almost instantly, calling down upon himself the jeers and uproarious mirth of the whole assembly; and, on the other hand, when two of the most skilful of the gladiators were about equally matched, the struggle would be prolonged amid the eager breathless attention of the excited audience. Everything was expected to be done with the most perfect good humor; and if, as was sometimes the case, the vanquished party lost his temper, he was greeted with such yells of derisive laughter, that he was soon glad to join in the laugh against himself, in order to escape further ridicule. The men were naked, with the sole exception of a broad belt about the hips, and their eager attitudes and quick movements displayed their figures and the development of their muscles to the best advantage. We all agreed that the exhibition was a most beautiful one, possessing all the wholesome excitement that belongs to athletic sports of this kind, without the drawbacks of brutality and smothered hatred.

We remained on shore in the evening to see the dance round the fire, which is accompanied with wild chants or recitations, and has no very striking points about it. There is but little variety in the movements, and the interest depends simply upon the almost perfect concert of voice and gesture among a large number of performers. Its scenic effect is heightened by the uniform system of tattooing, the chief point in which is a stripe running the whole length of the arm on the outside, and a wider one up and down the leg, like those worn by sergeants in our army. But on the whole, the display is inferior in variety and vigor to the Marquesan "*hula hula*," or to the war-dances of the North American tribes. An incident occurred during this performance, which forc-

ibly illustrated the absolute control over the lives of his subjects possessed by the irresponsible despot, King George. One of the young men engaged in the dance failed to give satisfaction to the critical eye or ear of the king, being, as I thought, a little out of time in the chant, when, without a word, the king picked up a stone, and hurled it at him, striking full in his breast, and effectually knocking him out of the ranks, while the dance went on without interruption, as if this was merely an ordinary recreation, in which the monarch was wont to indulge when the humor seized him. A shudder and murmur of indignation ran through us visitors from the ships at this cruelty, but what could we do or say about it? The poor delinquent gathered himself up and slunk away, evidently suffering dreadful pain. He must have been severely, if, indeed, not dangerously injured; but it seemed a matter of indifference to his royal master whether he lived or died.

"I suppose," said Mr. Grafton, who was standing near me, "you feel just as I do about that affair; as if you'd like to hurl that same rock back at the king's breast with a will."

"Yes, sir," I replied; "but it wouldn't be policy for us to attempt anything of that kind."

"Hardly;" returned the mate. "We should have a hornet's nest about our ears in short order, if we touched his sacred person. I presume these young men consider it all right, and a mere matter of course, each one feeling that it may be his turn next. I have no doubt that the old savage has killed more than one of them in getting them up to their present state of drill. He holds his subjects' lives at his own disposal, as much as the Czar of all the Russias, or even more so; and, as a general rule, these savage races are very reckless of human life, seeming to attach but little value to it."

"Didn't you admire the sparring match, this afternoon?" I asked.

"I didn't see it," said the mate. "I took my gun, and went out in the woods pigeon shooting. I had pretty good luck. I got about twenty pigeons, and saw a great deal of sport besides the shooting. The old chief Seelic went with me, he is the second in rank below King George, as near as I can get at it. He took another chief of lower rank with him, and a couple of boys of no rank at all. Old Seelic and I kept company, the petty chief fell into our wake at a short distance, and the two youths jogged along astern of him. Whenever we stopped a moment down they went on their beam-ends right into the mud or wherever they chanced to be, and waited there till we started on again, keeping their stations in line. When we got into the woods, they were signalled to keep in close order, but it was amusing to see manœuvres when one of the youngsters got the first sight of a pigeon. You see, he could not speak to his superior in a standing position, nor speak to old Seelic at all, until commanded or invited to do so. So he would go down on his marrow-bones and tell the petty chief, and then he [in turn] would go down the same way with his head almost in the mud, to tell old Seelic, and sometimes while all this etiquette was going on, the pigeon would take the alarm and leave the tree, before old Seelic could bring his gun to bear on him. The old fellow is a good shot and

would drop his bird almost every time. But the war dance is about finished for to-night, and it's time to muster the boys and shove off."

We got all our water and wood on board, and a good stock of fruit, though the only recruits to be got to serve as sea stores for any length of time were yams, and these of indifferent quality. When ready for sea, we lay wind-bound two days, but on the third the trades were so far to the northward that we could lay our course through the passage in the reef, and both ship's windlasses were at once manned to take advantage of the start. It was observed that, as we began to get under way, nearly all the natives left us, and that very few were in sight even on the beach. As our anchor made its appearance at the surface it brought with it the bight of a small chain, which had caught across the stock. The few natives about the ship got sight of it as quick as we did, and, as conscious guilt needs no accuser, in the twinkling of an eye, they were off for the shore, some in canoes and others jumping overboard. It was a critical moment for us, as the ship was swinging, and we could not afford to lose the wind, so we "hooked cat," and secured our anchor, the bight of the chain slipping off the anchor-stock, and falling back to its submarine bed, where it had probably lain for several years. It might have been the cable to a vessel of a hundred and fifty to two hundred tons. In a few minutes both ships were standing out through the narrow passage, the **Leonidas** leading, as the increased strain on our windlass in lifting the anchor had given her the start.

It was barely possible that the chain might have been slipped or accidentally lost by some vessel; but probabilities were strong to the contrary. The evident uneasy feeling of the natives, when we were about taking up our anchor, was a significant circumstance. Could we have let go the other anchor, and taken time to investigate the matter by underrunning the small chain, we should, no doubt, have found positive evidence of treachery, and might have shed light upon the fate of some long-missing vessel.

We ran to leeward of the island and shaped our course to the northward and westward, not sighting any other island of the Caroline group. In a few days we parted company with the **Leonidas**, and went our way alone toward the Japan cruising-ground.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Radack Chain.—Watering at Ocean Island.—Incidents on the Run to Sydney, N.S. W.*

The words "on Japan," as used by sperm whale-men, do not necessarily indicate the near vicinity of the islands of that name, but indicate all that part of the North Pacific Ocean to the eastward of them, even to the meridian of 180 degrees, between the parallels of twenty-five and forty degrees...

The season "on Japan," as usually made, was from April or May to September, and the usual route was to run well to the westward in the early part of the season, and then work back again, making the autumn port at one of the Sandwich Islands; a group which has derived great importance from its position, seeming to have been providentially dropped midway in the North Pacific, as a "half-way house," between the two continents, as well as a haven of refuge for the belated whalers from all the northern cruising grounds.

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1 Ed. note: The log-keeper, Wm. H. Macy, was next aboard the whale-ship Alpha, voyage of 1846-50, a ship which visited Micronesia also (see Sherman, et al. Whaling Logbooks, n° 250. Therefore, his book may have been a compendium of his experiences aboard both the Potomac and the Alpha. He was still whaling in the Atlantic as late as 1859 (Sherman, op.cit., n° 2317).

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## Document 1843H

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# Logbook of the ship Oregon, Captain Sherman, 1843-45

*Source: Ms. in the Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Mass.; PMB 853; Log Inv. 3697.*

*Note: The original ms. must be consulted as the negative-type MCF was badly done. The log has no good clues about dates, positions, etc.*

### Extracts from the log

...

28th [January 1843]

Strong breeze from the N West at ... Simpson's [Abemama] in the morning ... the **E. Starbuck** seen... Long. 186° West

...

14th [February]

... at 12 o'clock spoke the Barque **Isabella** of Fairhaven 15 months out 600 [bbls.] wore Ship ... Lat. 30' South. Lon. 177°44 East.

...

21st

Light breeze from the NNE[.] at 4 o'clock am wore Ship at daylight saw Sidenhams [Nonouti] Island off the lee bow and one Ship at 7 o'clock am raised another sail to the northward of the Island at 10 am spoke the Barque **Pearl** of Sippican 15 months out 15 bbls oil stood to the NW the Barque standing to the eastward The Ship **Lydia** off the lee quarter standing to the eastward at 5 o'clock pm 4 canoes came off from the north end of the Island hauled aback the main yard for them at half past five braced forward and stood to the NW at sunset took in sail at 12 o'clock at night hauled aback the main yard raised a sail off the Island.

22d

... Raised Hendervill's [Aranuka] right ahead... at 8 in the evening spoke the Ship **Monticello** of Nantucket 19 months out 1050 sperm stood to the SE by the wind the **Starbuck** standing to the NW.

Lat. 15' north. Lon. 175°58 east.



23rd

Strong breezes from the NE steered NW at 5 o'clock am raised a ship off the Larboard bow at 9 spoke the **Monticello** and the Captain went on board at ten raised a school of whales off the starboard bow down took from both Ship, and after them..

...

11th [March]

... at 4 o'clock pm raised a sail off the lee beam kept off for her at 7 pm spoke the Barque **Henrietta** of London 15 months out 200 sperm.

...

16th

Fine breeze from the NE at 6 o'clock in the morning raised Pleasant [Nauru] Island off the starboard beam at half past 6 taked Ship raised two ships one off the weather bow one off the weather quarter one off the lee beam at 2 o'clock pm lowered a boat and went on board the **Massachusetts** of Nantucket 18 months out 850 sperm[,] gammed with her until 10 o'clock in the evening dead calm.

17th

... Pleasant Island in sight... at 12 o'clock spoke the **Berdmondsey** gammed with her until 7 o'clock in the evening...

...

23rd

Strong breeze from the NE at 2 o'clock in the morning wore Ship layed with the main yard aback heading NNW at daylight raised land called Strongs [Kosrae] Island right ahead made all sail and run for it run the land down at half past 9 am raised a Ship off the larboard quarter standing towards us at ten raised two more ahead wore Ship at 12 o'clock spoke the Ship **Mt. Vernon**[,] the **Massachusetts** and the **E. Starbuck** of Nantucket gammed with them until eight o'clock in the evening steering NW by W at eight luffed to and the larboard tack all three ships in company.

Lat. 5°14 north. Lon. 162°30' east

...

31st

Strong breeze from the NE steered WNW at 6 o'clock am raised the Island of Guam off the lee bow run for it at 5 o'clock pm got the Pilot on board layed off and on for the night to the westward of the harbour.

April 1st

At daylight stood in for the harbour got in and dropped anchor at half past eight am [ini] 21 fathoms 4 Ships in the harbour[:] the **Howard** of Nantucket 15 months out 1200 Sperm[,] the Ship **Surprise** of London 22 months out 30 bbls sperm[,] the ship **Young Phoenix** of N.B. 27 months out 2000 sperm[,] the Ship **Wm. & Henry** of Fairhaven 15 months out 550 sperm[,] at 2 pm the Ship **California** of New Bedford 10 months out 350 sp. came in and anchored.

2d

All hands on board doing nothing at ten oclock am the Ship **Monticello** of Nantucket came in and anchored 20 months out 1000 sperm.

3d

Turned lee this morning cooping the oil from the Main hole at 11 oclock am the **E. Starbuck** of Nantucket came in and anchored 17 months out 500 [bbls sperm.] at 4 am the Ship **Berdmundsey** of London came in and anchored 17 months out 450 sperm[.] at 7 am the **Howard** sailed for Japan.

4th

All hands on board cooping the oil no arrivals or clearances today.

5th

Finished cooping today and washed off in the afternoon no arrivals or clearances.

6th

The starboard watch went ashore on liberty the larboard watch on shore/board cleaning Ship.

7th

The starboard watch on shore The larboard watch on board painting Ship.

8th

The starboard watch on shore the watch on board painting Ship.

9th

The starboard watch ashore the larboard watch on board painting Ship the Ship **Surprise** of London sailed on a cruise on Japan.

10th

The starboard watch on shore the larboard watch on board painting the Ship.

11th

The starboard watch on shore on liberty.

12th

The starboard watch on shore on liberty.

13th

The starboard watch came on board at 10 am the larboard watch went on shore at 3 pm.

14th

The larboard watch on shore the starboard watch on Ships duty.

15th

The larboard watch on shore the starboard watch on board tarring down the rigging[.] the Ship **Wm. & E Eliza** of N. Bedford came in and layed off the town for recruits 5 days from Ascension [Pohnpei,] 4 months from Oahu 140 sperm bound up the Northward right whaling sent home 2200 bbls sperm oil from Oahu 35 months from home.<sup>1</sup>

16th

The larboard watch on shore the Barque **Henrietta** of London passed the harbour bound to Umatac for water.

17th

The larboard watch on shore the starboard watch on board getting wood on the Ship[.] the Ship **Massachusetts** of Nantucket came in and layed off the town for recruits 850 sperm bound on Japan 15 months out 7 days from Ascension.

18th

The larboard watch on shore the starboard watch wooding the Ship **Columbia** of Nantucket 17 months out 950 sperm came in and anchored the **Massachusetts** left the Island this afternoon for Japan.

19th

The larboard watch on shore the Ship **Young Phoenix** sailed for Japan 28 months out 2000 sperm the Barque **Henrietta** of London 21 months out 200 sperm came in and anchored.

20th

The Ship **William & Henry** of Fairhaven 16 months out sailed for Japan at ten o'clock am the larboard watch came on board 2 of the men missing in the afternoon[.] The Ship **Japan** of New Bedford came in and anchored 24 months out 600 sp.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: She had been longer away from home, 3-1/2 years in fact (ref. Starbuck, p. 354.)

21st

The Ship **California** of New Bedford and the Ship **Monticello** of Nantucket sailed for Japan[,] the Ship **Matilda** of London 22 months out 600 sperm[,] the Ship **Champion** of Edgartown 20 months out 700 sperm came in and anchored.

22nd

At daylight called all hands and got under way for Umatac to water the Ship the **E. Starbuck** got under way about an half an hour ahead of us at ten am dropped anchor at Umatac 18 fathoms[,] the **E. Starbuck** anchored about ten minutes ahead of us.

23rd

All hands employed in watering the Ship.

24th

Finished watering today the Ship **Berdmondsey** of London came in and anchored for water.

25th

At 7 oclock am got under way and beat to the windward the **E. Starbuck** got under way an hour after and beat to the windward at 4 oclock pm got off the town and sent a boat in but did not get the men at sunset down tacks and worked to the windward for Rota.

26th

Wind from the NE Rota in sight to the windward beating all day.

27th

Beating to the windward all day against a steady NE wind Rota to the windward.

28th

Wind from the NE beat up to the Island and laying off and on for the night.

29th

This morning sent a boat in to procure some hogs at 12 oclock the **Mount Vernon** of Nantucket came down and sent a boat in[,] 8 days from Ascension 42 months from home 2100 sperm bound on Japan we got 15 hogs[,] went on board at sunset and with Ship in company steered for Guam.

30th

Strong breezes from the NE running for Guam the **Mount Vernon** went in and anchored about ten oclock am we went off the town and the Captain went on shore and stopped all night the Ship laying off and on the **Berdmondsey** left the Island for Japan.

May 1st.

Sent a boat in this morning and landed one man sick and shipped another got the two men that were missing left the Island at 12 o'clock am for Japan got the starboard anchor on deck and unstocked it.

2nd

Light breeze from the NE stood to the northward all day by the wind.

Lat. 15°18 north. Lon. 144°51 east.

...

8th

Strong breeze from the ENE stood to the northward all day at 2 o'clock pm raised land called Augustine Island one of the Sulphur [Iwo] Islands.

Lat. 23°50' north. Lon. 143°25' east.

<sup>1</sup>  
...

---

1 Ed. note: This ship was also present in Micronesia in 1844 and 1845.

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## Document 1843I

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### Subsidy for the Marianas, 1844-1846

*Source: PNA.*

#### Budget presented for the years 1844 to 1846

#### Planned expenditures to justify the amount of the subsidy for the Mariana Islands for the years 1844, 45 and 46.

In accordance with the plan approved by the Superior Council of Royal Finance on 21 October 1828, and that was ordered to be remitted by the Superior Decree of the 4th instant, showing the salary that corresponds to each category.

#### Budget for Military Expenditures

#### Chapter 2, Art. 1: Salaries for active personnel.<sup>1</sup>

		Monthly	Annual	3 years
1 Governor	150	1800	5400	
His travel expenses		---	300	1500
1 Sergeant-Major		25	300	900
1 Adjutant 1st class		12	144	432
1 Adjutant 2nd class		10	120	360
		---	-----	-----
			2,864	8,592
			=====	=====

#### Budget for Civil Expenditures

#### Chapter 7, Art. 2. Part 1, Administration.

1 Administrator, or Accountant		50	600	1800
1 Government Secretary		14	168	504
1 Port Captain		8	96	288
1 Mayor-Administrator of Tinian		12	144	432
12 workers @ 1 pesos/month		12	144	432
2 workers @ 1 pesos 2 reals/mth		2;4	30	90
1 Mayor of the Island of Rota		12	144	432

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Rounded off to pesos, disregarding the reals and maravedis.

---	----- 1,326 =====	----- 3,978 =====
-----	-------------------------	-------------------------

### Idem, Part 2, Salaries and expenses of Supply Store employees.

1 Store-keeper	9	108	324
1 Assistant	2:4	30	90
1 Armourer	7	84	252
For various iron parts & other ordinary & extraordinary expenses ---		200	600
		----- 422 =====	----- 1,266 =====
For the maintenance of absolutely poor prisoners ---		50	150
		-----	-----

### Idem, Part 3, Salaries for the Troop (soldiers on active duty).

1 Captain	13	168	504	
1 Lieutenant	10	120	360	
1 Second-Lieutenant		9	108	324
1 Sergeant 1st class	7	84	252	
3 Sergeants 2nd class @ 6 p/mth	18	216	648	
2 Corporals 1st class @ 5 p/mth	10	120	360	
2 Corporals 2nd class @ 5 p/mth	10	120	360	
2 Drummers @ 4 p/mth	8	96	288	
44 Soldiers @ 4 p/mth	176	2,112	6,336	
		----- 3,144 =====	----- 9,432 =====	

### Idem, Part 3, Salaries for retired and invalid personnel.

José León Guerrero	6	72	216	
Francisco de la Cruz		6	72	216
Antonio Palomo	6	72	216	
Damaso de San Nicolas	4	48	144	
Juan Díaz	4	48	144	
Nicolas de Borja	2:6	45	136	
José Raymundo Montufar	5:3+	55+	196+	
Nazario Flores	3:4	42	126	
José Pangalín	3	36	108	
José Sigüenza	3;4	42	126	
Ramón Villagomez	3;4	42	126	
Tomás Mendiola	3;4	42	126	
Mariano Aguon	3;4	42	126	

## Summary

Salaries for active personnel	---	2,864	8,592
Salaries for the Administration	---	1,326	3,978
Salaries for Supply Store, etc.	---	432	1,266
For the maintenance of prisoners	---	50	150
Salaries for the Troop	---	3,144	9,432
Salaries for retired & invalids	---	668+	2,005+
		-----	-----
		8,474+	25,523+
		=====	=====

**Notes:**

In the budget for the subsidy for the years 1847, 48 and 49, there will be a decrease for Invalids and increases for the Governor to be, as well as for the present Administrator of the Royal Treasury.

The sum total of the planned expenditures amounts to twenty-five-thousand-four-hundred-twenty-three pesos, four reals, and twelve maravedis.

Accountant General of the Army and Finance.

Manila, 12 July 1843.

(Signed) Bastarrechea



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**Document 1843J**

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**Logbook of the ship Balaena of New Bedford,  
Captain Richmond Manchester**

*Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 575; Log Inv. 522.*

**Extracts from the log kept by Charles H. Robbins**

...  
[From the coast of Peru, the ship cruised on the Line heading westward towards the Gilbert Islands.]

...  
Tuesday 4th [April 1843]

First part strong winds & cloudy steering to North, At 2 AM finished boiling & made sail, Latter part pleasant weather, saw the land bearing NNE dist 12 miles[.]

At noon Latt by Obs 1°35 S.

Wednesday April 5th 1843

All this day light winds and pleasant weather steering by the wind to the North the Land in sight, At 4 PM the canoes came off with Fish[,] Mats & Cocoanuts to trade for tobacco, At 5 tacked to the south the west point bore North dist 5 miles, Middle part steering SSE, Latter part by the wind SE, saw porpoises.

Latt by Obs 2°26 S. Long by Chro 174°42 E.

...  
Monday 17th

All this day light winds & fine weather steering by the wind to the south. Latter part steering to the Northward in company with the **George & Susan**. At 11 AM saw the land.

Latt. 00°38 S. Long 169°54 E.

Tuesday April 18th 1843

All this day light winds & pleasant weather steering for the Land in company with the **George & Susan**, At 3 A.M. spoke her & luffed to the wind heading SE the land bearing SW dist 10 miles

Lattitude by Obs 44 miles South, Long by Chro 169°54 E.

At 2 AM wore ship to the North, At daylight kept off for the land, At 8 the Captain went on shore At noon Came on board. land 3 miles dist.

...

Wednesday 26th

First & Middle parts light winds & rainy, Steering NW. At 6 AM saw the land, Qualan [Kosrae] island. Latter part pleasant Employed at ratlines the main rigged, At Noon the land bore E 1/2 S dist 20 m.

...

Saturday 29th

First part fresh breezes & cloudy. At 2 PM, spoke the **Edward** of Hudson. Middle part fine weather steering by the wind to the North at 12 PM wore to the South Latter part steering W by S.

Latt by Obs 6°45 N. Long by Chro 157°10 [E]

Sunday 30th

Fine breeze & pleasant weather. Steering W by South. the **Edward** in sight. At 2 PM saw the land. At sunset took in sail & luffed to the wind heading to the North[,] land dist 10 miles bearing West. Stowed 30 bbls of Oil in the Main hold. Middle part lying off the south side of the Island. At 7 AM took the pilot. At Noon Anchored at the Harbour in the west side of the Island. found the **George & Susan** & the Bark **Fortune** of Plymouth at Anchor. On the 7th the Ship **Susan** of Nantucket came to anchor 17 months out, 400 bbls.

Thursday May 11th 1843

First part light breezes & pleasant weather. lashed the larboard anchor to the bows & got ready for sea, having on board 15 Boat loads of wood some Bananers few Yams & 150 bbls of water, At daylight weighed anchor & towed out to sea. Latter part light wind Steering to the Eastward by the wind. Stowed the anchor 7 chains.

Latt by Obs 6°35 N. Long by Chro 158°30 E.

...

[This logbook was used for drying plants and has become full of stains that make the deciphering of the text difficult, if not impossible in places. The ship then headed for the coast of California, it seems, before returning to the Line, then Samoa, before turning back north, bound toward Japan. No islands of Micronesia were sighted along the way; they must have been deliberately avoided. After this last cruise for whales, the ship headed back home.]

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**Document 1843K**


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## Logbook of the ship Howard of Nantucket, Captain Alexander Bunker

*Source: Ms. in the Kendall Whaling Museum, Sharon, Mass.; PMB 831; Log Inv. 2350.*

### Extracts from the log kept by Edward Nichols

...

#### Remarks on board bound to the southward from Japan Sept 1843.

...

[The ship went clockwise to the Line and to Rotuma, then back to the Line.]

...

Sunday Jan the 21 [1844. Entry] N° 811.

... 2-1/2 months since we have seen the spout of a Sperm whale... Lat. 00°3 N Long 175°1/2 East

...

Tuesday Jan the 23d N° 813.

These 24 hours commences with a fresh breeze from NNE but in the whole began to boil[.] at 3 PM saw Simpsons [Abemama] Island bearing NW dist 17 leagues at 6 tacked to the Eastward Latter part a fresh breeze at 7 AM tacked Latter NW at 8 finished boiling at 11 spoke the **Australian** of Sidney, Lat 00.00 Long [blank]

Wednesday Jan the 24 N°814.

Commences with fine wind & weather the land in sight. at 5 PM spoke the **Rose** of Halifax 17 Mths [out] 700 [bbls,] Simpsons Isle bearing NNE dist. 4 leagues, First Part the Ship **J. Stewart** in sight.<sup>1</sup> Middle Part Steered by the wind to the Eastward Latter Part fine weather at 5 AM tacked to the NW at 11 Canoes Came off from Henderville [Kuria] Island, 3Ships in sight.

Lat. 00°6 N Long [blank].

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The **JamesStewart**, of St. John, New Brunswick, which was obviously travelling in company with the **Rose** of Halifax, the other Canadian whaler.

...  
 Friday Jan the 27 N° 816.  
 ... Spoke the **Monticello** 30-1/2 M. 1700 bbls...

### **Cruising about Simpsons Isle 1844.**

Sunday Jan the 28 N° 818.

First Part commences with light wind from E to ESE Steering by the wind to the SE at 1 PM Henderville Island in sight bearing to the NW 2 ships in sight. at 6 PM shortened sail at 11 PM tacked to the Northward Latter Part a fresh breeze Henderville Isle in sight tacked in for the land at 5 AM saw breaches at Noon canoes alongside.

Lat. 00°06 N.

#### **[A mutinous crew]**

Monday Jan the 29 N° 819.

Commences with strong breezes & clear weather and as I came on deck after dinner I perceived a disturbance forward. I went forward & found it was be/through a Sandwich Island Native they first remmended with the 2d Officer, the Officer told the Native to stop his insolence which he did not incline to do[.] the 2d Officer took hold of him and ordered him aft[.] he would not go, 7 of the Crew with one accord interfered, & said he should not go aft, the Captain ordered him aft[.] the Crew said he should not go aft unless the Captain promised not to flog him, which he would not do. the native afterward did go aft and was tied in the rigging[.] the Capt ordered another man aft George F Miles, he at first refused to go unless the Capt would comply to their terms [but] he at a length of time came aft & found that he was going to be tied up[.] ran forward again, & such abusive language I never heard before such as come on you damd sons of bitches I am Master of this end of the ship, this plan has been made up some time & such like the Capt ordered them all aft on the main deck & ordered me to put 5 men in Irons which I did, their names were Daniel Trivet, George F Miles, John Williams, Charles Donalson, & David Durger[.] D. Durger left the mast head & came down to join with the Others, the Capt. being informed by the 2d & 3d Officers, that David Durger said in their presence that work did not begin about a trifling thing, but had been a burning among themselves for some time[.] Capt. B. consulted his Officers & we thought that they deserved severe punishment, three of the Crew he put in the run & two he put in a stateroom. the Native he let go forward without flogging.

Middle Part, fresh breezes tacked & retacked[.] at daylight the Capt came on deck with his mind made up to flog them which he did not intend to do when he put them in Irons, after the morning work was done he ordered me to bring those men on deck that were confined below[.] he then ordered John Smith & John Brown aft & tied them up they being concerned in the disturbance, the Other five were tied up & the whole of them flogged with a Cat of 9 tails giving them from 3 to 30 lashes a piece as they seemed to require[.] afterwards they made a handsome acknowledgement to him & signed a

paper to that effect in consideration of that he let them go forward about their duty, & I think they were fortunate in getting off with so mild a punishment, 3 sail cruising in sight so Ends this day of trouble.

Lat 00°12 S Long 174°10 East.

Tuesday Jan the 30th N° 820.

... at 11 AM spoke the **Potomac** 26-1/2 months 1450 bbls[,] the **Monticello** in sight.

Lat 00°9 N Long [blank]

...

Thursday Feb the 8th N° 829.

First Part a Moderate breeze from NE & Cloudy at 6 PM double reefed the top sails. Tacked to the SE. Latter Part Cloudy & rainy at 6 AM saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing SW dist. 6 leagues, the wind light & baffling saw black fish.

Lat [blank] Long 167°30 E.

Friday Feb the 9th N°830.

Commences with blowing & rainy weather at 5 PM several Canoes Came off from Pleasant Isle at 6 steered by the wind to the Northward one ship in sight. the land bearing SE by S dist. 4 leagues Latter Part finished ther [sic] tacked to the SE set all sail[,] saw porpoises.

Lat 00°29 S Long 167°20 [E]

Saturday Feb the 10th N° 831.

First Part a fine breeze from NE by E passed by the lee of pleasant Isle Canoes came alongside. at 8 PM took in the fore & Miz top Gallant sails tacked to the Northward Pl. Isle bearing NNE dist. 7 leagues Middle & Latter Part a fresh breeze at 7 AM tacked to the Eastward.

Lat 00°9 S.

...

Friday Feb the 23d N° 843.

First Part a fine breeze from ENE employed in mending sail, saw a Ship Steering to the NW at 6 PM tacked ship all sail set[,] a strong SW Current[,] at 8 PM Spoke the **U. States** of Nantucket 27 Mths 900 [bbls] Latter Part tacked to SE all said set.

Lat 00°3 S Long [blank]

Saturday Feb the 24 N° 844.

... at 10 AM pleasant Island in sight bearing WNW...

...

Monday Feb the 26 N° 846

... at 5 PM Spoke the **Oregon** Fairhaven 31-1/2 Mths 1200 [bbls]...

Lat. 1°02 S Long 169°10 E

...

Thursday M. the 7th N° 856.

... at 5 PM Spoke the **Rosalie** of Warren 20 Mths 600 [bbls]...

Lat. 00°45 N Long 175°40 E.

...

Tuesday March the 12 N°861.

First Part Strong trades from NE by N the **States & Rosalie** in company at 7 PM tacked to the Eastward. the top G. sails furles Latter Part set all sail at 6 AM saw Strongs [Kosrae] Island bearing NE by N dist. 10 leagues at 7 tacked head up N by W saw a ship steering of from the land.

Lat 5°16 [N]

**[A near shipwreck]**

Wednesday March the 13 N° 862.

Commences with a Strong trade & squalls at 3 PM tacked head up E by S the **Rosalie & States** in sight to the leeward at 6 PM Strong Isle bearing East dist 2-1/2 leagues tacked off shore to the NW Latter Part fresh trades at 5 AM the Island bearing SSE dist. 3- 1/2 leagues steered ofof for the NW Part lee harbour.

Wednesday the Latter Part, the **Rosalie & United States** off the harbour, at 11 AM Made sail steered in for the Passage as the ships came head to the wind took the end of 2 butting falls previously made fast to the rocks & held the ship, furled the sails got out the Stream Anchor to warp the Ship up to the anchorage at 2 PM parted the lines fast to the rocks the ship backed astern & struck 2 or 3 times the ship then fell off towards the rocks on the port side of the passage. the St. anchor not holding to the ground the ship fell off against the rocks got out 2 butting falls & a coil of lanyard rope & made fast to the rocks on the port side & hove her off, backed out the Passage, headed off shore, apparently no damage done the bottom it being very smooth between the reefs, sent in 2 boats for the anchor, Could not find the ship having drawn it into deep water at 4 PM steered off NW with the loss of the anchor & a second hand butting fall & a few fathoms of other rope thinking we were fortunate in getting off[.] Middle & Latter Part fresh trades & passing squalls of rain.

Lat. 6°50 N

...

Saturday March 23d N° 872.

Begins with light trades & fine weather bound to Guam at 6 PM Rotter bearing South dist 4 leagues at 7 steered S by W at 11 saw Guam, steered SSW Latter Part fine weather at 11 AM anchored at Umata to water.

Sunday March 24d N° 873.

Begins with a fresh trade & passing squalls of rain took on board a raft of water the **Monticello** at anchor Latter Part this day fine trades fromo East.

Monday March the 25th N° 874.

Begins with moderate trades at 4 PM the **A[deline] Gibbs** came to anchor 31 Mths 1300 [bbls] Sp. Latter Part getting off[f] water.

Tuesday [March] the 26 N° 875.

Moderate trades from E by N & fine weather finished watering. 300 bbls on Latter Part Employed in various jobs of Port duty.

Wednesday March the 27th N° 876.

Moderate trades & fine weather taking off recruits Latter Part light air at 6 AM got under way for port Apra.

Thursday M the 28th N° 877.

Light trades at 1 PM anchored at P. Apra sent down the fore & Mizzen top G yards & Masts the **Monticello & A. Gibbs** anchored Employ[ed] in blacking the bends & stopping a leak about the bob stay botts. St. watch on lib[erty].

Friday M the 29 N° 878.

This day Employed in caulking under the Counter & various jobs of Port duty.

Saturday M the 30th N° 879.

Commences & Ends with fine weather Employed in caulking & getting off wood.

Sunday March the 31th N° 880.

This day fine weather one Ship laying off & on the Town, the **Wm Henry** Fairhaven 29 Months 1000 [bbls.]

Monday April the 1th N° 881.

Begins & Ends with fine weather Employed in getting off wood finished stopping leaks about the stern[.] one **Eno** (?) barque<sup>1</sup> passed bound to Umata 29 Mths 300 Sp.

Tuesday April the 2d N° 882.

Begins & Ends with regular trades & fine weather Employed in stowing water & wood.

Wednesday April the 3d N° 883.

Moderate trades & fine[.] the St. watch came on board, the Lar. on liberty.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Unidentified ship; cannot be the Oeno (shipwrecked earlier), nor the brig Juno (then cruising in the Atlantic).

**Guam Port Apra April 1844**

Thursday the 4th N° 884.

Friday the 5th N° 885.

Saturday the 6th N° 886.

Sunday the 7th N° 887.

Monday the 8th N° 888. the Larboard watch came on board. Employed in ordinary jobs of ship duty.

Tuesday the 9th N° 889.

Fresh trades Employed in getting off wood & stowing it away.

Wednesday the 10 N° 890.

Strong trades & Clear weather Employed in getting of[f] wood.

Thursday the 11th N° 891.

Begins & Ends with fresh trades Employed in ordinary jobs of Port duty the **Franklin** of N. Bedford Came to anchor 7 Mths 150 Sp.

Friday April the 12th N167 892.

Employed in various jobs of Port duty.

Saturday April the 13 N° 893.

Begins & Ends with Moderate trades. the **Adeline Gibbs** sailed this day. Employed in getting off recruits.

Sunday April the 14 N° 884.

Commences with Moderate trades from NE by E at 5 AM the ship ready for sea[.] John Williams deserted from the ship during the night at 8 AM got under way fresh out to sea steered by the Northward. Lat. 13° 40. N.

...

Friday April the 19 N° 899.

... passed in sight of 2 Islands to the westward... Lat. 18°21 N.

Saturday April the 20 N° 900.

... 2 Islands in sight... Lat. [blank]

...

Monday April the 22d N° 902.

Commences with a light breeze from ESE Steering N 2 Islands in sight to the Eastward saw smoke to the NE from Volcano Island. Later Part Steered NNW passed 6



leagues to the westward of Volcano Isle the volcano emitting Clouds of smoke, saw a ship steering to the NW.

Lat. 20°52 N.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: The ship went to the Bonins, then east of them, to the Hawaiian Islands, then back to the Line, and home.

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## Documents 1844A

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# Logbook of the ship Cortes of New Bedford, Captain John W. Hammond

### A1. Extracts from the log kept by Martin Mallory.

*Source: Ms. in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 259; Log Inv. 1272.*

*Note: Micronesia visited in 1844 and in 1845. This ship visited or saw about all of the islands of the Pacific during her 4-year voyage.*

...  
[The ship went round Cape Horn, the coast of Peru, the Line in April 1843, Japan Ground, to New Zealand, then to the Gilberts, and again to Japan Ground. After stops at Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji and New Zealand, she was back on the Line and the Gilberts.]

...  
Wednesday the 26th [April 1843]

... At 3 PM spoke the ship **Rosalie** Warren Cap Parker(?) 9 months out 700 [bbls] Boiling 5 male whales...

Lat. 50 N. Long 169°30 W

...  
[From there the ship went straight to the Japan Ground, bypassing Micronesia, but came back to the Line in November.]

...  
Friday the 10th [November 1843] 498

... Spoke the ship **Achille** Cap. Louis, Havre<sup>1</sup> 24 months out 3500 bbls whale oil bound home the capt brought a small cat with him when he came on board...

Lat 1°13 S Long. 150°38 [W]

...  
Tuesday the 14th 502

... Spoke the ship **Joseph Meiggs** 13 months out 150 sperm and 2500 of whale Capt Taber came on board and stopped a few minutes.

Lat 1°18 S Long 154°24 [W]

---

1 Ed. note: This was the French whaler **Adèle**, Captain Louis Chandler (ref. Jore, p. 398 and DuPasquier).

Friday the 24th 512

... Saw Jarvis Island...

Lat. 22' S Long 160°08 W

...

Friday the 1st Dec 519

... the ship heading south with all sail bound to the south of New Zealand...

Lat 5°55 [S] Long 166°18 [W]

...

Monday the 26th [February 1844] 606

First part light airs at NNW and pleasant the ship heading west by south and all sail at sunset took in sail and luffed to the Eastward at daylight made sail and ran off west at 7 saw Hope [Arorae] Island at 9 am luffed to under the lee of the land and the natives came on board both male and females[.] the men were fine looking people but the women were the most disgusting set of beings I ever saw, but some of our men had stomachs very strong.

Lat 2°45 Long 177°00 [E]

Tuesday the 27th 607

Light winds and pleasant and the natives stopped on board and would not go on shore latter part light rains and pleasant the ship heading NW at daylight saw Roaches [Tamana] Island astern.

Lat 2°16. Long 175°00 [E]

...

Thursday the 29th 609

First part light winds at ENE and pleasant weather the ship heading North at 3 PM saw Drummonds [Tabiteuea] Island bearing East distant 20 miles at 5 PM saw Sydenhams' [Nonouti] Island distant about 8 miles heading N by E at sunset took in sail and wore to the SE at midnight wore to the North at daylight made sail and ran off WNW.

Lat. 49' S Long 173°13 East.

...

Monday the 4th [March 1844] 613

First part light wind and calm Spoke the ship **Waverly** of N.B. 17 [months out] 700 [bbls] and the **Three Brothers** 32 months out 1200 [bbls.] Middle and latter parts light airs at North the ship heading to the westward.

Lat 55 S Long 170°16 E

Tuesday the 5th 614

First part light airs at North the ship heading to the westward[.] middle and latter parts winds and weather much the same at daylight saw Ocean [Banaba] Island bearing WSW distant about 25 miles at 4 am kept off WNW the wind at SE saw a ship to the westward.

Lat 31 S Long 169°41 E

...

Thursday the 7th 616

... At noon spoke the ship **Addison** of New Bedford Capt West 32 months 1000 bbls ...

Lat 1°30 N Long 167°34 [E]

### Off the Caroline Isles March 1844

Tuesday the 12th 621

First part strong winds at NE and mild weather the ship heading NW Middle part ship heading NNW under easy sail at daylight saw Qualan or Strong's [Kosrae] Isle bearing NW distant 10 miles kept off and ran down by the land close to the beach saw some natives on the shore two of them shoved off in a canoe but could not catch the ship at 9 am passed by to the westward of the land and saw a reef off the North side of the Island the Island looked very fruitful the land high saw a ship heading to the North on a wind the ship heading NW by W.

Lat 5°04 N Long 162°39 E

...

Thursday the 14th 623

... at 5 PM saw an Island called Wellingtons [Mokil] Island bearing NW distant 20 miles...

Friday the 15th 624

Strong trades and squally at noon luffed to the SE mean 2 reefed topsails and coursed at 1 o'clock saw Assentin [Pohnpei] bearing South distant 25 miles at sunset took in sail the land bearing WSW distant 8 miles.

Long at sunset 158°25 E

At 2 AM wore to the North the land in sight to the NWest at daylight kept off and ran down towards the land at 8 am took a Pilot and ran down to the harbour and ran in got the anchors ready and came to in 20 fathoms of water[.] a great many natives on board of both sexes.

Saturday 16th 625

One watch on shore the others coopering Broad &c weather rainy at 11 PM let go the other anchor[.] I went on shore this morning and found about the trading very bad.

Sunday the 17th 626

One watch on shore.

Monday the 18th 627

One watch on shore at daylight took the anchor and hauled in shore and took some casks on shore.

Tuesday the 19th 628

One watch on shore the other employed watering &c

Wednesday the 20 629

One watch on shore the other employed watering and painting.

Thursday the 21st 630

One watch on shore the other employed stowing water &c.

Friday the 22d 631

One watch on shore the other employed watering &c.

Saturday the 23d 632

One watch on shore the other employed repairing the sheathing &c.

Sunday the 24th 633

All hands on shore but 4 hands.

Monday the 25th 634

One watch on shore the other employed stowing water &c.

Tuesday the 26th 635

One watch on shore the other employed taking off wood &c Charles Stewart ran away.

Wednesday the 27th 636

One watch on shore the others employed stowing water and wood Charles Stewart was brought on board tyed.

Thursday the 28th 637

One watchh on shore the others employed on board.

Friday the 29th 638

One watch on liberty.

Saturday the 30th 639

One watch on shore.

Sunday March the 31st 640

One watch on liberty the others went on shore except 4 hands.

Monday April the 1st 641

One watch on shore the other employed getting ready for sea.

Tuesday the 2d 642

One watch on liberty as usual 3 of the men attempted to desert but did not succeed.

Wednesday the 3d 643

At daylight got under weigh and went outside at 8 am discharged the pilot and kept off to the North in company with the **Rosalie** of Warren.

Lat 7°19 N. Long 159°50 E

Thursday the 4th 644

First part of this day strong trades and hazy at 1 PM passed to the Eastward of Augustine [Oroluk] Island low land[.] at 7 PM spoke the **Rosalie** latter part strong trades the ship heading NW under a single reefs.

Lat 8°48 Long 157°11 E.

Friday the 5th 645

First part strong trades and cloudy the ship heading to the NNW on a wind under single reefs at 4 AM spoke the **Rosalie** and Capt Mather [rather Mosher] came on board and stopped a few minutes[.] Latter part squally.

Lat 10°35 Long 156°02 E

### Passage to Japan April 1844

Saturday the 6th 646

First part strong winds and squally the ship heading NW by N under double reefs latter part pleasant weather the ship under all sail.

Lat 12°56 Long 154°37 E

...

[The ship bypassed the Marianas on the way to the Bonins. To the Line in October, then Samoa, etc. and back in the Gilberts in July 1845.]

...

Friday the 18th

First part light airs and cloudy ship heading WSW latter part squally at 10 AM saw Hope Island and an English Bark.

Lat 2°37 Long 177°14 E.

Saturday the 19th

First part light airs and squally at 5 PM canoes came alongside the land distant about 15 miles at sunset the land bearing S distant 10 m[iles.] Middle part squally ship heading East by the wind latter part squally and baffling winds Hope Island in sight all day.

**Sunday the 20th**

First part light variable winds and squally with calms and a strong set of the current to the NE Hope Island at sunset bore SE distant about 14 miles latter part calm and squally. No obs.

**Monday the 21st**

First part light winds and squally ship heading to SW Hope Island in sight at sunset a canoe came alongside the land out of sight from the deck, took the canoe on deck latter part squally ship under all sail beating to the Westward No land in sight No obs.

**Tuesday the 22d**

First part light variable winds and squally ship under all sail working to the westward at 1 PM saw Hope Island bearing W by N distant 20 miles at sunset the land bore NW by W distant 20 miles latter part weather bad.

Lat 2°11 S Long 177°06 E

**Wednesday the 23d**

First part squally weather the land bearing NW distant 21 miles latter part clear weather ship working up to the land 2 ships in sight.

**Thursday the 24th**

First part gentle winds at North ship heading West at 2 PM the natives came off the land distant 15 miles bearing west at 4 pm put out the canoe and discharged the man we got here 18 months ago a strong current from the west. at 5 kept off south at 8 PM spoke the English ship **Margaret** of London Capt Courtney 37 months 1900 Sp.

Lat 03°39 S Long 177°17 E

...

[The ship went to Rotuma, Fiji, New Zealand, Tahiti, and home.]

## **I2. Logbook attributed to Abner Durfee**

*Source: Ms. in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 957; Log Inv. 1271, or 1272.*

### **Extracts from this log.**

...

**Monday Feb 26 [1844]**

First part of the day light winds and cloudy at 6 AM saw Hope Island, 12 miles distant at 8 the natives came on board with mats and hats and cocoanuts, for to trade, the land is very low and green the natives very pleasant at 2 the natives went on shore, the ship stood on the wind to the NW.

Lat 2°46 Long 177°00 [E]

Tuesday Feb 27

This day light trades winds and pleasant weather and pleasant ship heading NNW at daylight saw Rookes Island astern Latter part the same.

Lat 2°16 Long 175°00 E.

Wednesday Feb 28

... at 3 PM saw Drummonds Island bearing E 20 miles distant at 5 saw Sydenhams Island distant about 18 miles bearing N by E ...

...

Tuesday March 3

... at 12 Capt Hammond board the boat went on board the ship, two miles off our weather beam, called the **Waverly** of New Bedford 19 months out 2050(?) the ship **Three Brothers** of Nantucket 32 months out 1400 bbls of sperm oil.

Lat. 1°24 Long 170°45

...

Tuesday March 5

... at 8 saw Ocean Island bearing WSW,..

...

Tuesday 12

... at 6 AM saw Strongs Island bearing NNW distant 12 miles, at 8 AM saw natives on the beach ship within 2 miles of the beach saw a sail bearing W heading on the wind to the S...

Wednesday 13

... at 10 AM saw [Mc]Askill Island... at 4 PM saw Wellingtons Island...

Thursday March 14

... at 1 PM saw Ascension bearing S by W distant 25 miles ... at sunset the land bearing W 7 miles distant...

Friday March 15

First part of this day strong trades winds, ship steered SW land ahead under double reef topsails and foresail at 12 took the pilot on board stood for the harbour at 1 PM dropped anchor in the outer [anchor-]age of the harbour in company of two ships **Addison** of N. Bedford and **William & Henry** of Fairhaven the ship is loaded with natives, the Captain went on shore, all hands busy washing and scraping the bends.

...

Wednesday April 3

First part of this day pleasant At daylight got under weigh went ouot of the harbour At 8 AM discharged the pilot and steered to the N in company with the **Rosalie** of Warren Later part ship by the wind.



Lat 7°17 Long 157°50

...

### 13. Anonymous logbook

*Source: Ms. in the New Bedford Whaling Museum; PMB 321; Log Inv. 1272, or 1271.*

*Note: The MCF is very dark and text almost illegible, but sufficient to confirm the data in the other logbooks.*

#### Extracts from this log.

...

Wednesday February 26 [1844]

First of this day light airs from the SSW steered by the wind to the W by S at daylight wore to the W at 7 AM saw Hope Island bearing W by S at 10 some of the natives came on board and brought cocoanuts hats and mats.

Lat. by Obs 2°45 S Long 177°00 W [rather E]

One of the natives, a young lad, stopped on board.

...

Wednesday Feb 29

... At 5 PM saw Sydenham's Island ...

Lat by Obs 00°19 S Long by Chron 173°15 E

...

Sunday March 3

... Spoke the ship **Warren** 18 months 650 bbls ship **Three Brothers** 28 months out 1200 bbls.

Lat by Obs 1°03 S Long by Chron 171°12 E

...

Tuesday March 5

... At 8 a.m., saw Ocean Island.

...

Thursday March 7

... At 1 p.m., spoke the ship **Addison** of New Bedford 32 months 100 [rather 1000 bbls... Lat. by Obs. 1°30 N. Long. by Chron. 167°40 E.

...

Tuesday March 12

... At daylight saw Strongs Island NW distant 15 miles ... Lat. by obs. 5°12 N. Long. by Chron. 162°46 E.

Wednesday March 13

... At 9 a.m., saw McAskill's Island WSW 20 miles distant. Lat. by Obs. 6°39 N. Long. by Chron. 161°10' E.

Thursday Mar 14

... At 4 p.m., saw Wellington's Island 15 miles distant... Lat. 7°34' N.

Friday March 15

... At 2 p.m., saw Ascension bearing S by W distant 18 miles... At 12 noon, anchored in 20 fathoms of water...

...

Monday March 18

... One watch on liberty, the other employed fitting casks for water.

Friday March 22

... One watch employed getting water and recruits, the other on shore.

...

Tuesday March 26

... One watch on shore, the other employed getting off wood and water... Charles Stewart deserted.

...

Thursday March 28

... Charles Stewart caught and brought on board.

...

Wednesday April 3

... At daylight, hove short. At 7, took the anchor and steered out of the harbor... Cows and Christy and Gooding made an attempt to run away but were detected in season to stop them.

Thursday April 4

... Stood by the wind to the NNW. At 4 p.m., saw a small island off the lee beam... Lat. by obs. 8°28' N. Long. by Chron. 157°22' E.

Friday April 5

... Ship **Rosalie** in sight... Lat. by obs. 10°37' N. Long. by Chron. 156°00' E.

...

[They bypassed the Marianas]

...

Thursday April 18

... Gooding and Christy off duty with the bad disorder...

...

[At the end of June and early July 1845, the ship was once again in Gilbertese waters.]

...

Friday July the 18 [1845]

... At 9 a.m., saw a ship. At 10, saw Hope Island bearing W distant 18 miles... Lat. bny Obs. 2°57' S. Long. by Chron. 177°06 E.

...

Tuesday July the 22

... Hope Island in sight...

Wednesday July 23

... Land bearing NNW distant 16 miles... At 10 a.m., saw Hope Island in sight...

Thursday July 24

... Steered in for the land. At 4 p.m., several canoes came alongside. Discharged Joe, the native that we shipped 15 months ago. Sent him ashore in a canoe. At 5 p.m., steered S... Lat. 3°39 S. Long. 177°17 E. Spoke Ship **Margaret** of London, 37 months, 1900.

...

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## Document 1844B

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# Kosrae Island in 1844—The narrative of Dr. Baker

*Source: Article in The Friend, Honolulu, 1 May 1845; reproduced in Gerard Ward's American Activities, under Kusaie 18.*

*Note: By a process of elimination, it appears that Dr. Baker was surgeon aboard the James Stewart of St. John, New Brunswick. Only the James Stewart was left behind at Kosrae when the Wilmington & Liverpool Packet left on 25 February 1844 (see Doc. 1842F). See Doc. 1848F for the second visit of Dr. Baker to Micronesia, and his description of Guam. See Doc. 1848F for descriptions of Guyam which he made during two visits there.*

### Strong's Island

February 22, 1844.—This morning at daylight we rose the highlands of Qualans or Strong's [Kosrae] Island, and stood towards it, purposing to go in for refreshments. We ran in for the weather harbor, which is easy of access, as ships have commonly a free wind to go in with, but the same circumstances render it difficult, and often for many days together, impossible to get out as the passage is so narrow that ships can only go through with a leading wind, and from the depth of the water and other circumstances, warping is rendered difficult.

The harbor is formed by a long and shallow indentation in the shore of the main Island, along the front of which lies a much smaller Island, the space included between the two, being the harbor which is safe (except from the treachery of the natives) and very tolerably commodious; wood and water can be obtained abundantly, and plenty of bread-fruit, but very little else.

The natives of this Island bear a very indifferent character; as many as four or five ships having at various times been cut off here, and all hands massacred. Our own intercourse with them was passable and quiet all the time we lay there, and certainly their personal appearance and expression of countenance does not indicate anything like ferocity or treachery.

The people generally, except the aged members of the community, have obtained a very extensive knowledge of the English language, enough to make themselves pretty well understood, in all the customary intercourse, with shipping. But here, as everywhere else where there are no missionaries, that intercourse has been productive of evil only; the name of God is unknown, except in the way of blasphemy; chastity is a vir-

tue unknown to them before their intercourse with Europeans, and remains equally unknown and unpractised now, and the evil spirit of rum has been introduced, and found its willing worshippers. Such are the fruits of civilisation, as introduced at this Island.

The government of Qualan is in the hands of a despotic chief, assisted by many others of a subordinate rank, and the homage paid by the lower to the superior ranks is very deep and respectful. None will presume to stand in the presence of a chief, nor a chief in the presence of the king. In approaching a superior they walk erect to within a few paces of him, and then drop on their knees, the further advance being made by a peculiar sidelong movement, not very easy to be described; but if merely passing a chief, they content themselves by stooping low and passing at a respectful distance; if a chief passes an inferior he immediately sits down till the great man has gone by.—Similar deference is also paid to the female chiefs.

Their manners and customs are simple, and their wants few and easily supplied by the abounding fertility of the Island. Religious worship they have none, though there seems to be some idea of a superior power whom they fear, not however in any great degree; they consider him as the author of the rain certainly, and probably therefore of all the other phenomena of nature. This being is named Snute [sic],<sup>1</sup> or more commonly when speaking to Europeans, Blueskin, a name certainly as themselves declare, borrowed from their English visitors, but how it came to be thus applied, I could not learn. The chiefs profess to have a certain degree of influence, though not very extensive with Snute in regard to the weather, though they cannot always obtain just what they wish, in which case they affirm that Snute is sulky with them, but nevertheless they take no pains to propitiate his favor. The belief in apparitions of the dead is universal among them; their ideas of a future state are so faint and indistinct that they can hardly be said to possess it at all.

The dress of the people consists of a narrow band of four or six inches in width, and about a yard and a half long, which is wrapped around the loins and just serves as an apology for a covering. It is very neatly and ingeniously wove of the fibres of the stem of the banana plant, and worked in different colors, and often in very tasteful patterns at one or sometimes both extremities, the center part being generally all black. The material is of a silky gloss, but rather a coarse texture; it is nevertheless capable, I think, of being applied successfully to various manufactures.

The smaller Island on which the King and principal chiefs reside is in many places intersected by walls built of rough unhewn stones, some of them of enormous size; they vary much in height and in regularity of construction. Some are long continuous walls, between which runs a narrow lane or footway; others simply surround a house or houses; the principal singularity about them is the size of many of the stones, and the ignorance of the natives as to the time or purpose of their erection, which was evidently in a very remote period, as they are in many parts overgrown with vines and shrubs,

---

1 Ed. note: The newspaper *The Friend* was to recognize 4 years later that Snute was a misprint for Annute, or Annuto (see Doc. 1848G). The word for god is now spelled *Inut*.

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**Document 1844C**

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**The ship Martha of Fairhaven, Captain Sayer**

*Sources: Ms. log in Providence Public Library; PMB 876; Log Inv. 3080.*

**Extract from the log, probably kept by Zenas F. Eldridge**

1  
...

**[Visit to Nauru and Pohnpei in 1844]**

Saturday March the 16 1844

First part strong breezes from ENE steered South saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island ahead. At 4 PM 7 canoes came off[,] hove aback and traded[,] got 2 pigs and two hens[,] coconuts and hats[,] at 5 braced forward and steered NNW. Middle part the same[,] latter part wind from ENE[,] set fore topmast steering sail[,] at 9 took it in again wind hauled to NE and squally saw a finback[,] so ends.

Latt Obs 0°52 N Long Chron 166°00 E.

...

Monday March the 25 1844

First part good breeze from ENE and cloudy steered W by S all sail that would carry. Middle part strong breeze W by S. At 7 saw the land bearing WSW steered in for it. So ends.

Tuesday March the 26 1844

First part at 2 took a pilot, at 4 came to an anchor in Ascension[,] latter part employed bucketing and rafting & stowing down. Paid out discharged the sick kanaka[,] at 4 the **Oregon's** boat came in.

Wednesday March the 27 1844

First part sent in the capt[,] the **Oregon** Capt came in and brought the Cooper and took the Carpenter[,] latter part brought off the capt[,] Natives stole one small cask[,] got off a boat load of water. Employed stowing it away &c so ends.

---

1 Ed. note: The Martha was reported in Micronesia earlier, in 1842 (see Doc. 1842K, under 29 October).

Thursday March the 28 1844

First part sent another raft on shore breaking out stowing and breaking out &c[.] latter part brought off the raft and sent another on shore and two boats load of wood[.] so ends.

Friday March the 29 1844

Frist part got off a raft of water and stowed that and wod away[.] latter part let one watch of whiles and 3 kanakers go ashore got off raft of water and 5 boats load of wood[.] so ends.

Saturday March the 30 1844

First part employed stowing water and wood[.] latter part let four kanakers go on shore and another ran away[.] getting off wood and stowing it away[.] so ends.

Sunday March the 31 1844

First part getting off wood and stowing it away &c[.] latter part watch on liberty[.] so ends.

Monday April the 1 1844

First part watch on liberty[.] latter part the same rainy[.] so ends.

Tuesday Arpil the 2 1844

First part light rain[.] watch on liberty[.] latter part the same[.] blacked bends[.] so ends.

Wednesday April the 3 1844

First part headed ship the other way[.] latter part blacked the bends &c[.] so ends.

Thursday April the 4 1844

First part watch on liberty[.] latter part the same[.] so ends.

Friday April the 5 1844

First part rainy[.] watch on liberty[.] the bark **Emma** of London came in[.] another kanaka deserted[.] latter part raining [, watch] on liberty[.] so ends.

Saturday April the 6 1844

First part heavy rains[.] watch on liberty[.] latter part the same[.] kept the kanakas on board[.] so ends.

Sunday April the 7 1844

First part rainy[.] latter part fair weather[.] so one kanaka deserted[.] so ends.

Monday April the 8 1844

First part rainy[.] latter part fine wweather[.] so ends.

Tuesday April the 9 1844

First part rainy[.] traded for bananas[.] at 9 4 kanakas deserted[.] latter part got ready for sea[.] so ends.

Wednesday April the 10 1844

First part rainy and blowing strong[.] at 11 let go the other anchor[.] latter part got off 3 cask of water &c[.] so ends.

Thursday April the 11 1844

First part hove up the larboard anchor[.] sent down tackles &c caught one of the kanakas[.] latter part at daylight hove short and got under weigh[.] brought up another kanaka[.] shipped 5 white men[.] at 7 discharged the pilot[.] capt went on shore after another man[.] heavy rain and strong gales[.] unbent the chains[.] so ends.

Friday April the 12 1844

First part strong breeze and rainy[.] wind from SE[.] laying off and on[.] at sunset the Capt came off[.] squared away and steered NW by N under easy sail[.] later part good weather wind from ENE headed N[.] Made sail[.] so ends land in sight Latt Obs 7°36 N.

Saturday April the 13 1844

First part wind from ENE headed N land in sight off the lee beam sent down the mizzen topgallant mast and main royal yard and sent in the fly gib boom[.] Middle part strong breeze from NE headed NNW[.] latter part at 7 found a strong beam on board[.] tacked ship to carry him back again[.] headed SE by E[.] so ends.

Latt Obs 8°16 N Long Chron 163°36 E.

Sunday April the 14 1844

First part strong breeze from NE by E headed SE by E until 4 then tacked to the N[.] Middle part headed NNW[.] latter part the same good weather[.] so ends.

Latt Obs 8°07 N Long Chron 157°18 E.

...

[The ship headed straight for the Bonin Islands, thus bypassing the Marianas.]

...



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## Document 1844D

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# Passport issued by Governor Santa María to Richard Millinchamp

*Source: The Guam Recorder, October 1927, p. 180.*

*Note: The original was then in the possession of his son, Henry Millinchamp.*

### Passport, as translated by the Guam Recorder

Major Gregorio Santa María, Military and Political Governor of the Mariana Islands:

By these presents I grant free and safe passport to Richard Millinchamp, Englishman, who was a passenger on the English Whaling Ship **Hermanos**, Captain Richard Lorens,<sup>1</sup> who arrived at this Island without any papers on 26 September 1843, with the object in view of making experiments in coffee growing, and other plants which he had brought. Having been disappointed in his expectations of profitable returns, he gave up the idea of settling in Guam and decided to go back to the Bonin Islands where he is domiciled and proceeded as passenger aboard the ship **Eliza Frances** in command of Captain Juan Mayna<sup>2</sup> sailing this date to continue whale fishing.

Whereas, I request the Governors and Leading Alcaldes of the Provinces and the Gobernadorcillos and other ministers of justice not to place or consent to be placed any obstacle whatever, but on the contrary to give him all necessary aid, charging the same to customary accounts.<sup>3</sup> Given in the town of San Ignacio of Agaña on 23 April 1844.

Gregorio Santa María

By Order of the Governor, José de la Cruz, Secretary to the Governor.

Description: Height 5 ft [sic]; Age 45 years; Body regular size, full beard with a red scar on the right cheek.

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1 Ed. note: The Brothers, Captain Lawrence.

2 Ed. note: Captain John Miner.

3 Ed. note: Rather, charging the regular prices for goods and services purchases by him.

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## Document 1844E

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# The Emerald of New Bedford, Captain Obed Cathcart

*Source: Ms. in the Nantucket Historical Society; PMB 376; Log Inv. 1567.*

*Note: This ship was a whaler of a typical 359-ton capacity; she brought home 1400 barrels of sperm oil and 10 barrels of whale oil.*

### Extracts from the log kept by George Creasy

...  
 [Firstly, the ship went to New Zealand, then Fiji, then to Guam in May 1844. Afterwards, she visited the Japan Ground, Hawaii, then at Guam again in March 1845, back to Hawaii, then New Zealand, once again up to the Bonins, to Hawaii, Chile, and home.]

...  
 Sunday May the 12

Commences with strong trades steering SW 1/2 S at dark took in the Top G sail and reefed the topsails at 1/2 past 12 pm luffed to the wind headed to the Southward at 1/4 before two wore ship to the NE by N at daylight kept off W by S at 6 am saw the Isle of Rota bearing WNW at 1/2 past 6 am saw Guam bearing W later part steering down by the NW part of Guam Ends took a pilot from the town.

Monday the 13

Strong trades running down for Umatack bay at 3 pm let the anchor in 13 fathoms water a west of the watering place with the fort right ahead the ship got the Cask ready to go on shore in the morning at 1/2 past 4 am shoved off with 20 cask at 8 am got them up & hoisted them in[.] last part employed stowing away water ends.

### **Ship Emerald at anchor at Umatack bay, Guam.**

Remarks on Tuesday May the 14 1844

Commences with moderate trades & pleasant weather took off 90 bbls more water Moderate breezes through the night at daylight called all hands & stowed away the water at 9 am took the anchor to go down to port Apra Guam harbor ends running down along SW side of Guam very squally.

**Wednesday the 15**

Commences with strong breezes & squally weather at 8 pm came to anchor in Port Apra bay or Guam harbor in 24 fathoms water strong trades through the night latter part the starboard watch went to town on liberty for 48 hours the other watch employed usefully ends with rainy weather.

**Thursday the 16**

All this day squally weather wind from SE to S by W and a heavy swell heaving in ends at anchor.

**Friday the 17**

First part this day commences with strong winds and dirty-looking weather let go the second anchor wind from SE to WNW a heavy swell heaving in the starboard Watch all came on Board at 4 pm all night the same kind of weather the larboard Watch went to town ends weather very much unstable.

## Babys

**Remarks on Saturday May the 18 1844**

Commences with strong wind & squally weather from SE attended with a heavy swell heaving in Let go the sheet anchor all night the same kind of weather later part squally towards noon cleared of hove up the second anchor ends at anchor in 24 fathoms water in the Port of Guam.

**Sunday the 19**

Commences with strong wind and squally weather rigged in the Flying Jib boom put up water more moderate through the night later part employed Blackening the Bends Breeding out &c Do. received a Boat load of potatoes from the town ends.

**Monday the 20**

Commences with moderate weather finished blackening the bends & doing other useful jobs light wind through the night from S by E later part much the same with a heavy swell heaving in ends employed usefully.

**Tuesday the 21**

Commences with light breezes from S by E the liberty men came on Board all at one & he came down to the -int & threw and by some disturbance got warn him & the Mate he went up to the town again all night the same kind of weather later part the same went town after the man that left yesterday ends light wind from the Southward.

**Ship Emerald at anchor in Port Apra**

Remarks on Wednesday May the 22 1844

First part this day light Southerly breezes at 4 pm Came on Board with the man that left the Boat at the p--- Middle & last part light Northerly breezes & calms all ready for sea only waiting for the wind to cant so as we can lay out ends.

Thursday the 23

Begins with the same kind of weather the first part the night Do. later part squally at 6 am the Pilot came on Board got under way & proceeded to sea all hands employed stowing anchors & putting the Chains below & Clearing up the decks &c. ends lay out WNW all sail set by the wind.

Friday May the 24

Commences with very light wind from N by W lay W by N & W the Middle part of Guam bearing E by S Dist 6 leagues light breezes frm NNW through the night at 10 pm tacked to NE wind very light at 1/2 past 2 am tacked again to W by N towards morning wind started to move to the Eastward lay NNW later part light & pleasant lay NNW ends.

Lat by obs 14°07 Long in 144°29

...

Saturday March the 15 [1845]

Begins with strong trades fair weather at pm saw Guam bearing WSW Dist 6 leagues. at 6 pm got handy into the harbour & hauled of at 1 am Wore in again at 1/2 past 7 got a Pilot & ran for Youmatack Bay hands employed bending the Chains clearing the Chains &c. ends. Last in Youmatac.

Sunday the 16

Very strong trades at 1 pm let go the anchor Do. took of [f] 96 bbls water in the morning took of 70 bbls more at am took the anchor for Port Apra end Double reefed the Topsails.

[Unfortunately, the entries for the next 25 days are missing, as many pages have been ripped off from the log.]

Remarks on Saturday April the 12 1845

[First] part very light Winds all night --ly calm later part the same saw --- ends.

Lat by obs 22°17 N. Long in 143°15 [E.]

...

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## Document 1844F

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# Ship Uncas, Captain Gelett, 1844-45

## Excerpts from his autobiography

*Source: Captain Charles Wetherby Gelett. A Life on the Ocean (Honolulu, 1917).*

*Note: Follow-up to Doc. 1841C.*

### **Marriage and wedding tour.**

On the 14th day of March, 1843, just one month from the date of my arrival in Kingston, I was married to Miss Jane Russell, in Kingston, Mass., by Rev. Joseph Peckman, who afterward was married to my wife's sister, Mary H. Russell, who was bridesmaid at my wedding...

My wife and I went on a wedding tour to Saratoga, Niagara Falls, the Great Lakes, the Thousand Islands, and Montreal, which in those days was recognized as a remarkable excursion.

On my return to Kingston, I bought a two-story house of my wife's aunt, Mrs. Parris, about a block from where my mother-in-law lived...

I had enjoyed about six months of home life, when I again went to sea, leaving my wife in the new home I had provided for her, and surrounded by relatives and friends.

### **Gelett's sixth voyage as Master of the Ship "Uncas."**

The **India** having been sent away soon after my arrival, another ship, the **Uncas**, was bought for me by the company owning the **India**, and new officers and crew were shipped for the voyage.

On the fifteenth of August, 1843, we sailed for the North Pacific Ocean. On this voyage, I circumnavigated the globe, rounding the Cape of Good Hope and returning by Cape Horn. In the Indian Ocean, I fell in with Captain Barker of New Bedford, an old shipmate. I spoke him in a gale of wind, while on our way from the Cape of Good Hope to Van Dieman's Land.

### **Meeting a Christian captain in the Indian Ocean.**

Captain Barker<sup>1</sup> and myself had been friends for years, and were about the same age. He came aboard and dined with me, and, to my surprise, requested permission to ask the blessing at the table, to which I consented. This was followed by a conversation between us, wherein he informed me that a number of captains of his acquaintance had reformed their lives, and that he had united with a Christian Church at New Bedford.

The news deeply impressed me, and having had pious parents I began to reflect upon my obligations to myself and the men under my command.

...  
When north of the Sandwich Islands, in latitude 32 degrees, longitude 160 degrees west, we fell in with a school of large sperm whales...

The two whales made us 180 barrels of sperm oil. This oil at that time was worth \$1.25 a gallon, and there were 31 gallons to the barrel. Consequently, these two whales, yielded us \$6,975—a pretty good day's work.

This kind of game being such a fruitful source of revenue, will fully explain why men were willing to take so many life-risks. Out of the jaws of one of these whales I sawed out a cane, which I have at the present time, and which I will be pleased to show to any one who will call at my home in Nordhoff [California].

Late in the season, the 20th of September, we put away for the Hawaiian Islands, from where we shipped a portion of our catch. We took this season 2,500 barrels of oil, and 4,000 of whale-bone.

### **Joined the church in Honolulu.**

After returning from our first trip to the northwest coast, we remained at the Sandwich Islands about one month, recruiting.

While at the Islands I became acquainted with a number of missionary families, among them Rev. Richard Armstrong and family. His son, General Samuel Armstrong, is now president of Hampton College, Virginia. I also formed the acquaintance of Rev. Lowell Smith, and many others. The kindness and attention I received from these people is worthy of remark.

During this month's stay in Honolulu, myself and two officers and thirteen seamen united with the Bethel Church, Rev. S. C. Damon, seaman's chaplain, pastor.

So many men from one ship uniting at one time with a church, was a new thing in Honolulu and caused much comment in the government newspaper, and in public and private places.

Myself, officers, and five of the sailors, were baptised by immersion in the Pacific Ocean, the other seven sailors being baptised by pouring or sprinkling.

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1 Ed. note: Either Captain John S. Barker in command of the ship Lancaster, which had left New Bedford for the Indian Ocean in July 1842, or Captain Samuel Barker of the ship Octavia which had sailed for the Indian and Pacific Oceans on 1 August 1843 (ref. Starbuck, p. 386 and p. 398, and Hegarty's Addendum, p. 56).

The **Uncas** was the first ship to fly the Bethel flag in Honolulu harbor. I was called by the natives the “mickonary sapin”—missionary captain.

Our month’s recruiting stay at Honolulu being exhausted, we sailed south, cruising on or near the equator for about two months, and taking about 150 barrels of oil. While in low latitudes and mild weather we fitted our rigging for another northern cruise.

### **How my ten-dollar Panama hat came to grief.**

One pleasant day the mizzen-top-mast rigging was being overhauled. As I was walking back and forth on the quarter-deck, a large iron marlin-spike came down, going through the rim of my hat, and in its descent picking off one waistband button. Striking the deck the spike pierced a three-inch plank. That was how my new Panama hat came to be ruined; and it was a pretty close call for me, too.

There is always a lanyard, or cord, attached to these marlin- spikes, and a man working with one in the rigging is supposed to have it either fastened to the rigging beside him, or the cord slipped over his head.

I immediately called the man down from aloft and asked him what I had done to him that he should drop a marlin-spike onto me.

He burst into tears and begged my forgiveness. I took him by the hand and said: “I trust this will be a warning to you to hereafter be careful when working aloft.”

I did hate to have my nice Panama hat ruined, but was thankful for my escape.

...

Returning from the south we made a brief stay at Honolulu, taking on board recruits for another northern cruise. The fore part of February, 1845, we again sailed for the northern whaling grounds...

...<sup>1</sup>

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1 Ed. note: There is another logbook kept by James Ryder Allen in the Providence Public Library; Log Inv. 4693.

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## Documents 1844G

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# The story of the ship *Cassander*, 1844-46

## G1. The journal of John M. Warner

*Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 791; Log Inv. 845.*

*Note: The text was edited enough to make it readable, as the original is full of spelling errors.*

### **Retrospective journal of a Providence seaman who left home on the ship *Cassander* and spent over 14 years in the South Pacific area.**

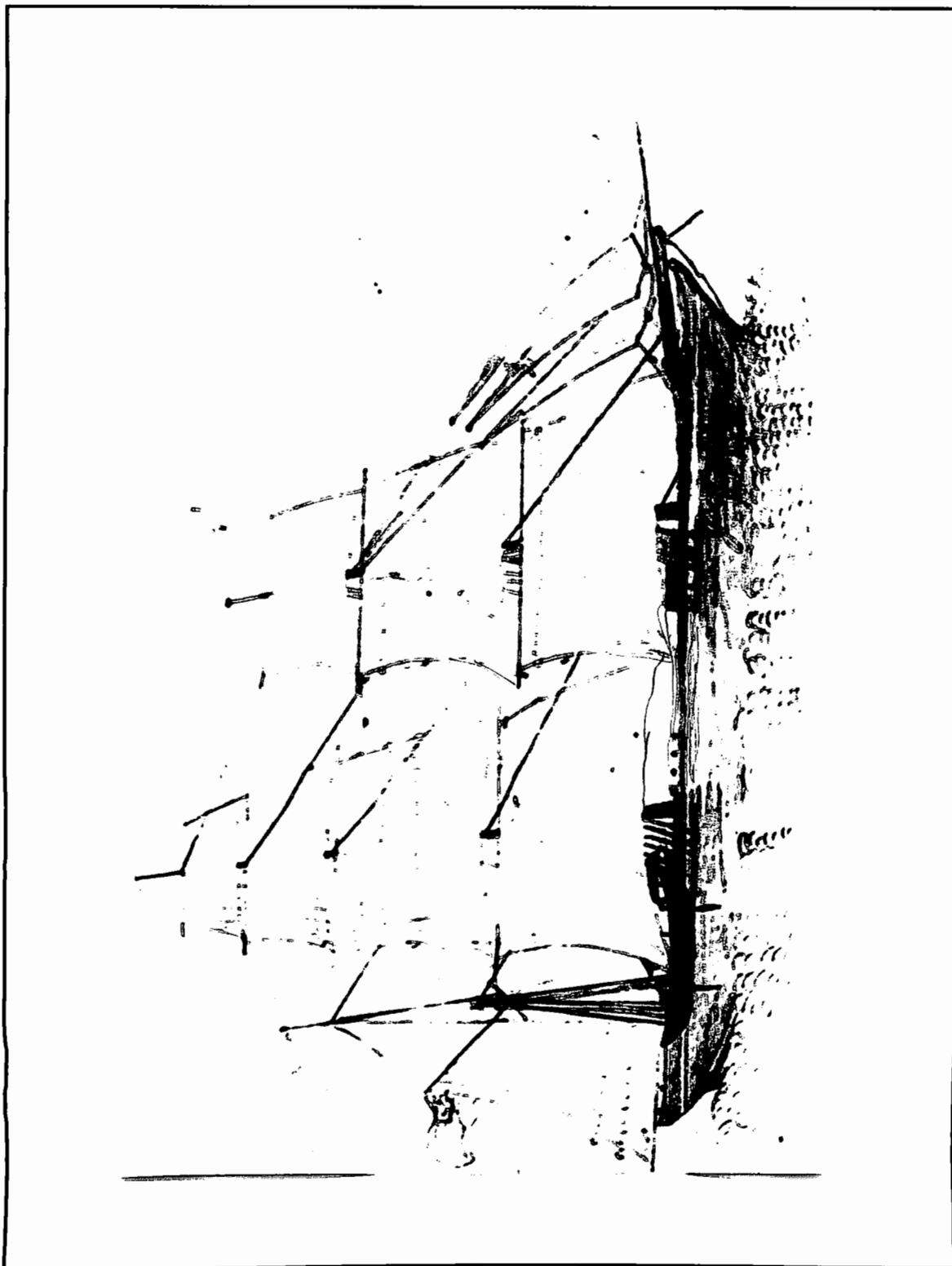
#### **Ship *Cassander* of Providence R I**

At the age of 15 I sailed from Providence on a whaling voyage to Kameatchkey [Kamkatka] we stopped at one of the Cape Verde Islands they call Sant Jago where we got some fruit all hands were over there sea sicknes so the fruit was very acceptable we only stopped one day, then shaped our course for the river La Plata where we expected to see some whales we saw some but that was our share of them[.] from there we steered for Cape Horn which we weathered after 15 days suffering with the cold it blew a gale of wind all the time[.] after getting around the cape we shaped our course for the Sandwich Islands where we arrived all safe and sound after a passage of 6 months from home[.] we got liberty to go on shore at the island of Maui where we took in wood and water. after stopping at the island a week we sailed for our whaling ground on the coast of Kameatchakey and there we found it rather to cold to our liking[.] I can assure you that I was glad to shake out the reefs when we pointed our old ship's head for warm weather again which we did after 6 months cruising[.] we was not very unlucky [sic] only getting 3 whales and lost 2[.] I began to think that whaling was not what it should be and I made up my mind to leave the ship the first opportunity after we left the Whaling Ground we steered for the line to pick up some sperm whales[.] we came across the barque **Elizabeth** of New Bedford and mated with her that is she was to have half of what we got and we were to have the same from them[.] we cruised together a short time and took a few small whales[.] one day both ships had their boats down after a small school of whales[.] we were lucky enough to get a small bull whale[.] it came on to blow hard and we lost sight of the barque and her boats[.] we shortened sail and began to cut our whale in[.] it blowing hard at the time the Captain's brother was overhauling the tackle down when his feet slipped[.] he went overboard to be sen no more[.] the ship



drifted over him after the gale of wind was over we saw and spoke the ship **Chariot** of New Bedford they said they had seen the barque and that she had lost all of her boats in the squall.

We being short of wood and water[,] went to the island of Assention [Pohnpei] on the line[,] the barque came in a short time after we arrived there she had all her boats again. when the squall came on they had killed a whale so they layed by the whale 3 days but seeing nothing of their ship they cut the flesh from the whale to eat then made sail on the boats and steered for Ascension and on their passage were picked up by a Dutch ship[,] a short time after being picked up they saw their own barque coming down before the wind and they were taken on board and sailed for the island of Asension where we were to anchor[,] we got plenty of fruit at Asension and I began to think it would be a fine place to live if I could get away from the ship. the black cook and me had always been on good terms so I asked him what he thought about it[,] he agreed at once and we concluded to start the next morning[,] it being our liberty day[,] after we got on shore we started for the weather side of the island[,] we walked all day and at night found that we had taqken a circuit and was nearly back where we had started from[,] we crawled under some low bushes to hide ourselves but it was no go for the Captain had put out a reward for us and the natives had watched us and knew where to find us[,] about 10 oclock at night the natives came on to us they had surrounded us and took us[,] they lashed the cook up to an coconut tree and put me in a hut with a woman to look out for me till morning[,] the next day we were taken on board the ship again and they had a good laugh at us but I swore that I would leave the ship somehow[,] after taking in our wood and water we sailed for the Sandwich Islands again and stood off and on at the island of Atooi the ship was bound on to the cold weather again and I did not want to go. the night we sailed from Atooi was fine the wind was light the land 8 miles to leeward of us I could not swim or I couold have got on shore the Captain had a bathing tub something like a coffin and I thought it might do me to get on shore with so when everything was quiet I went aft where the tub was lashed abaft the West house I got it lowered half down to the water but hauled it up again and put it back again where I got it from[,] if I had got into it and attempted to leave the ship I would have been drowned for I could not swim at the time[,] some time after that I told the steward of it and he tolc the Captain of it. one day the Captain shot a bird and told me to go in the bathing tub to get it[,] the tub was put into the water[,] the water was smooth[,] I got into it but over she went bottom up I was then hauled on board again I found out that the Captain only wanted to try and see if it would hold me. we went to Kameatchkey again and had nothing but cold and wet weather[,] the whale season we went into an Russian port called petter polasea [Peterpavlosk] and stopped there 3 weeks[,] 2 of our men left us there it was too cold for me to try it[,] when we left we sailed for the Sandwich Islands again we took 9 whales that season at last we arrived at the island of Maui to get wood and water and to have a run on shore[,] I began to think how I should make good my escape this time I knew if I went into the country I should be caught aqgain. there was a little barque called the **rager** [sic = Rajah] of Westport



Sketch of the bark Rajah of Westport, 300 tons, 1844-47.

and she was nearly full of oil bound home and I understood she would call into the Spanish main on her passage home<sup>1</sup> I had often heard talk of the Spanish main to be a good place for a beachcomer like me and I concluded to stow myself away on board of her[.] I had a chum to go with me[.] the barque was to sail soon We waited till the day before she would go to sea the night was dark we took the black cook to help us to get the boat in the water We took the Bow boat and bid the cook goodbye We started we pulled away under the bows of the barque and went on board[.] no one saw as the boat we let go adrift We stowed ourselves away down into the main hole[.] the next morning we heard our Captain talking on deck about us he soon went away I heard him say that they had found the boat on the beach full of water. the barque soon got under way and went to sea with us nicely stowed down[.] after we got to sea we came on deck they was surprised to see us we went to work as usual, and after a while I found out that she was not agoing to call into the Spanish main, and I meant to leave [at] the first opportunity. We went to an island called Christmas Island it was uninhabited[.] I would have left there but could not get on shore[] we layed off and on to one of the Society Islands called Wytetuck [Aitutaki?] there was a large French ship on the reef and her crew on shore[.] I saw it would not be [good] for me there[,] so I stopped by the barque[.] We sailed from there and shaped our course for the island of Rarotonga one of the same group[.] think I to myself that will be the place for me. We got there the next day I went on shore in the first boat the second time I took for the mountains.

### Ragger of Westport

I got safe on to one of the higher mountains that I could find[.] I could see all around the island that night it came on to rain[.] in the morning I saw the barque send the boat on shore and I watched the boat till it went back again to the barque[.] she soon made sail and was soon out of sight...

[His adventure continues, but has nothing to do with the Cassander. He later shipped aboard the **Walter Scott** of Nantucket, visited Sydney, shipped aboard the **Spy** then the **Triton**, of Hobartown, Tasmania. Then he served aboard the **Lady Emma**, also of Hobartown, then sailed aboard the brig **Flying Dutchman** to Melbourne, where he shipped aboard the **Eliza** of Hobart, bound to New Zealand, where he switched to the sloop **George & Henry**, soon to move to the fishing boat **Agnes Hannah**. Afterwards, he shipped on board the **Lion** of Providence.]

### Lyon of Providence.

The **Lion** whaler belonging to Providence was there and the old wish went me a whaling again[.] the gold had been found at that time in Australia[.] I tried to go but could not I had to go a shaling[.] after leaving Auckland we called at one of the Navigators [Samoa] Islands for wood and water[.] the name of the island was Apia[.] We only stopped long enough for to get our wood and water on board when we sailed there

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1 Ed. note: Voyage of 1844-47 of the bark Rajah of Westport, Captain West (ref. Starbuck, p. 412).

was a man fetched on board and flogged by our Mate Mr. Hardwick for trying to entice some of us men to run away[.] We called at a great number of islands on our cruise[.] the cruise before they had left a man [at] one of the Covell's [Ebon] group of islands to buy coconut oil from the natives so we went down to the islands to take him off[.] We called at the weathermost island 30 miles from where the man was left[.] the island that we called at was named nimerick [Namorik] the natives came off pretty thick in a very short time our decks was covered we did not take much notice of them they appeared to be friendly they sold us money for tocacco they seemed to have plenty of it. We knew by that they had taken a vessel or that one had been wrecked there[.] all of our muskets were ready loaded and men stationed ready to pass them up[.] all hands were called aft to be in readiness in case[.] we had some natives belonging to the Kingsmill group of island they belonged to the ship and could speak English[.] one of them saw a native with the natives that had come on board belonging to the same place as himself[.] he made it known to the Captain[.] We took him and keep him[.] drove the rest over the side and stood out to sea for the night and shortened sail[.] We had to get one of our natives to interpret what the native said that we had taken[.] he told us that about a week before a schooner had come to anchor in the bay[.] the natives swam on board at night[.] killed 9 men 2 women and child overboard and drowned them[.] then removed everything on shore from the vessel and they burnt her[.] let her sink at her anchors[.] that night we came across a barque called **Elizabeth and Henry** of New Bedford[.]<sup>1</sup> in the morning all hands from our ship but the ship keepers went on board and our own ship kept out of sight of the land[.] We had to keep down below in the barque out of sight[.] the barque stood in for the island[.] our plan was to take the chief when he came on board and make him send on shore for what they had taken from the schooner that they had taken[.] when the barque got close in to the island the old Captain got frightened of the canoes that were coming off and stood off shore again[.] We were well armed for the natives that we had taken had told us that they intended to take every ship they could take and he told us that they had said now is the time several times while on board of our ship[.] When our Mate saw that the Captain of the barque was frightened he went on deck and told him so and made him take us back to our own ship again[.] when we got on board of our ship we kept the ship away for the island that we had left the man on to get coconut oil[.] We had heard that the natives had killed him[.] they cut his legs off 3 days before he died[.] they layed him on the beach[.] the sun caked the Blood and kept him from bleeding to death [.] when we came to the island the canoes came off a great many of them but we took no notice of them[.] got as many outside of as possible as intent was to land and take the island and revenge the death of Tom[.] when we got close in we lowered our boats and tried to land but could not for the reef that was around the island[.] so we had to content ourselves by killing the natives in the canoes[.] We fired into them when they would caprice then we cut them up with boat

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1 Ed. note: There was no barque by that name, unless it was British. Cannot be the ship William & Henry either, as this event took place circa 1851..

spades and boarding knives[.] We killed and wounded about 10 of them and then left them.

We went into a great many islands after that and saw a great many sights[,] men women and children all go naked as when born[.] We took a great many whales but small[.] We took 1500 barrels on the cruise[.] during all the time I had not heard from home from the time that I left it[.] one day we spoke a barque from the Sandwich Islands[,] the Captain of her came on board and fetched some papers on board[.] our Captain called me aft and showed me an advertisement respecting my death or residence[;] it had been put in the [newspaper] by my father in law[.] I did not answer it[.] when the cruise was up we went to Auckland after 10 months out, my time was up now and I was paid off and went on shore and I was glad to get clear of the **Lion** I can tell you for all the ships that I had been in the **Lion** of Providence was the worst.

[He soon shipped aboard the brig **John Wesley** of London, a missionary vessel, and visited the Polynesian islands of the South Pacific, but he soon switched to the barque **Sarah Hooper** of Baltimore. Other ships he worked on were: the **Fair Tasmanian**, the **Glencoe**, the **Emir Pasha**, the **Agnes & Elizabeth**, the **Ann Ingot** [sic], the **Englishman**, the **Lady Joslyn**, the **Sea Nymph**, the **Elizabeth** of Melbourne, the **Adolphits Gates** [sic], the **Highland Lass**, the **Centurion**, the **Samuel Bodington**, the **Joseph Clark**, the **Realm** of New York, the **George Falls** of Providence, the **James Martin**, the **T. J. Hill**, the **Worcester**, the **Piadora**, the **R. B. Tamey**, the **Criterion**, the **Water Witch** of Providence, the **Milton**, the **Maid of Orleans**, the **Vandelia**, the **Arctic** of Boston, the **National Eagle**, the **Howland**, the **Charles Ward**, the **Black Eagle**, the **Zigzag** of Liverpool, the **Naval Brigade**, the **Fortress Monroe**. Then he became involved in the U.S. Civil War.]

[On facing page is a sketch that is said to be of of Fort Hatties & Clark. Besides this sketch, there are others depicting a River Gun Boat, the **Merrimac**, the **Stevens Nau-gatuc** [sic], an iron gun boat, drawn in 1861, and other scenes of farmsteads, animals, boats, and ships mentioned above, Polynesian canoes, etc.]

## G2. The logbook of the **Cassander**, Captain Henry F. King

*Source: Ms. in the Providence Public Library; PMB 791; Log Inv. 845.*

*Note: The first log-keeper was the Captain's brother who was lost at sea.*

### Extracts from the log kept by David King

...

#### List of Ships spoken

December the 4th 1844

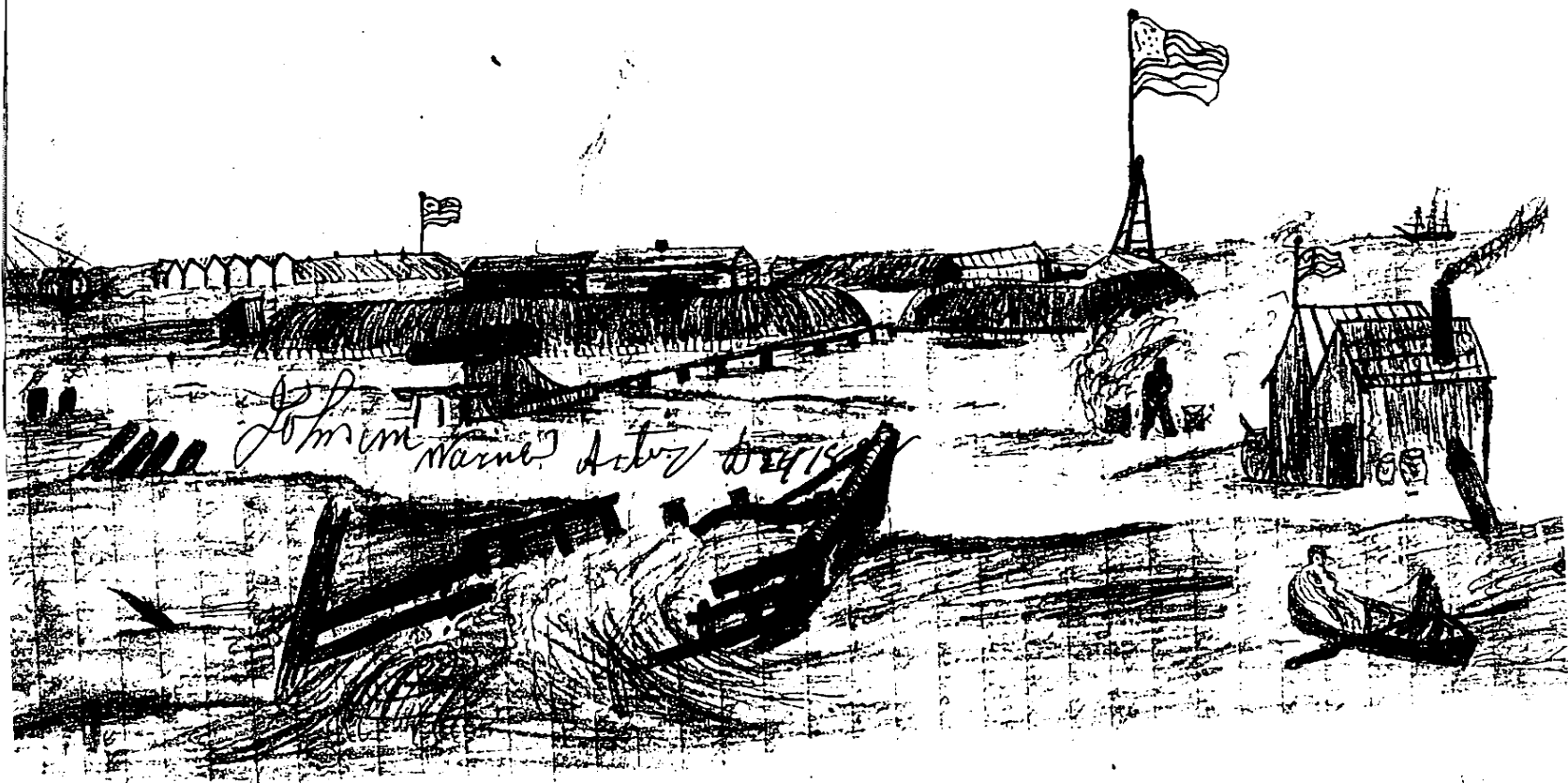
Spoke the ship **Pacific** of New Bedford 2 months 3 whales.

Spoke the ship **James Allen** New Bedford 2 months 150 bbls.

Spoke the Barque **Sarah** of Matapoissetts 9 months 30 bbls.

...

Fort 14 Hattus & Clark



John W. Warner Acty 1841

Friday Nov 28th [1845]

... at 6 A.M. spoke the Barque **Harriet** of Freetown 16 months 1000 bbls...

Lat 0.9 South Long 160° E

...

Sunday Dec. 7th

... Capt King went on board the **Harriet** gamming...

...

Thursday Dec 25th Christmas Day

This [day] commences with light winds from the N.E. course N.W. Capt King went on board of the **Harriet** to take dinner had a Pig..

Latt 4°20 South

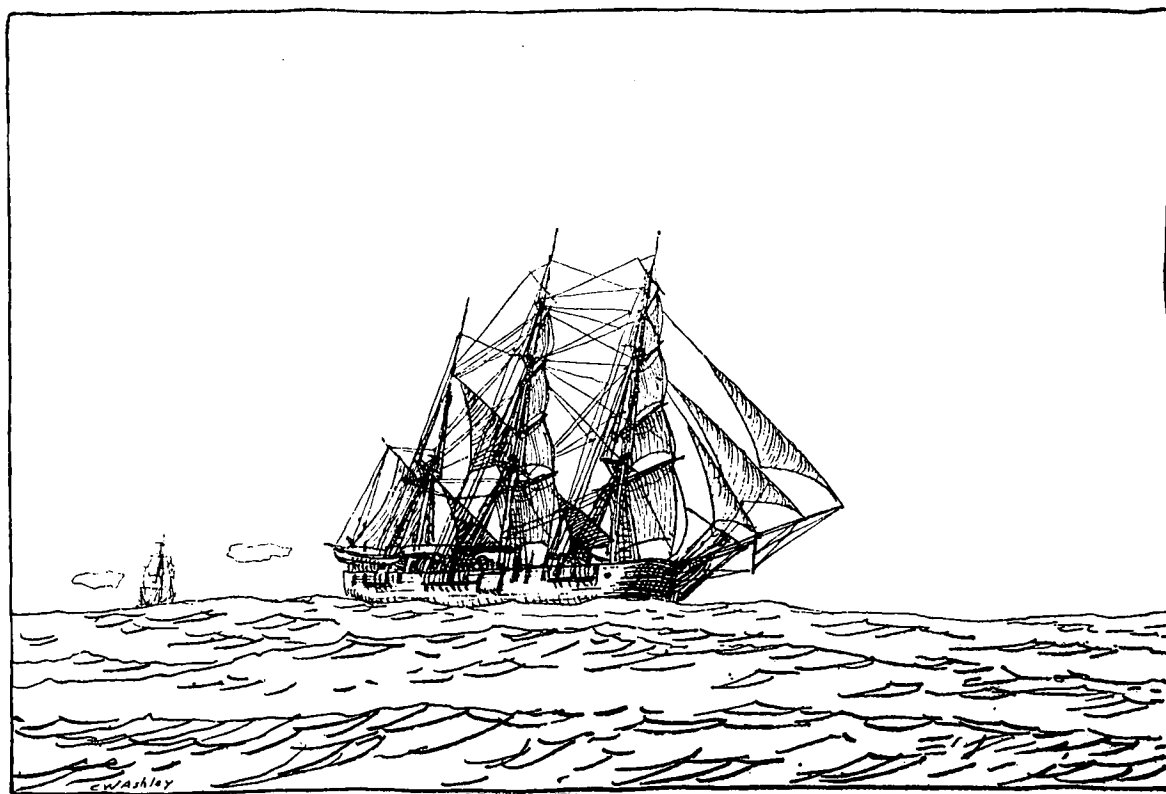
...

Thursday January the 1 1846 New Year's Day

This day commences with moderate winds & squalls spoke the Ship **Chariot** of Warren R.I. 18 months out 21 hundred [bbls] the Capt came aboard & took dinner out fresh pig...

Lat. 3°24 S Long 172 [E]

[Abrupt end of logbook, which makes one believe that the logkeeper did drown on 7 January 1846.]



**Bark Canton full and by.**



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## Document 1844H

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# HMS Vestal, Captain Talbot, from Port Jackson to Hong Kong

*Source: Nautical Magazine, 1845, pp. 337-339.*

*Note: See comments on this article by Captain Godby of the ship Clarinda (Doc. 1841G).*

## Notes during a run from Port Jackson to Hong Kong in H.M.S. Vestal, 1844.

Leaving the heads of Port Jackson on 22d November at 6 a.m. with a fresh southerly breeze, steered E.N.E. for Lord Howe's Islands...

...

From this we shaped a course for the Raven [i.e. Ngatik] Islands about N.N.W., making them at 9 a.m. of the 12th December, having kept from Stewarts Islands a moderate north-east breeze with the exception of two days, in 4° S., of light and variable weather during which we experienced squalls with rain. Crossed the Equator at midnight of the 9th in 160° since crossing the southern tropic the wind has never been (excepting a few hours of unsteady wind) south of east.

The Raven group is composed of four principal islands, and three small patches or islets, stretching off the north point of the east island; the whole apparently on one reef of coral formation, rather resembling a harp in shape, and in extent about ten miles of longitude, by 5' of latitude. According to three chronometers rated at Sydney, the centre of the group is in about 157°30' east of Greenwich, and the latitude of the south edge of the reef 5°45' N. To the south, the longest side of the reef is presented lying nearly east and west with an island on each extremity, and another (the highest of the group but smallest in circumference) about 2'.5 westward of the east island: about three quarters of a mile off the south-west end of the east island, also on the south edge of the reef is a conspicuous but small black rock, which at first was reported as a boat. From the east and west extremities the reef trends about N.W. and N.b.E., apparently coming to a point on which the north island stands, which is in the meridian of the middle island on the south edge. No opening appeared on the south side in the reef, but its continuance on either side toward the north island not being distinctly seen, it is probable such may have existed between the west and north islands, being the lee side, which appears a common feature in coral structure. Approaching the group from the eastward,

the western island was not seen until abreast the east island, and the reef connecting them not being visible from the deck, it had the appearance of a clear passage between the middle and west islands, so that for a stranger making them late in the day it is necessary to approach them with much caution. All the islands are low and densely wooded, chiefly palms from thirty to fifty feet high. A few canoes approached, one of which reached on board containing three natives, but bringing no articles for barter; their object appeared to be to join the ship, asking as soon as they gained the deck, "You want man?" I thought it not improbable that some European or American seamen may have been on the islands, who had been landed from whalers, and now required a ship, as I some time since heard it to be a common occurrence with the crews of whaling ships, when they are, as the phrase is, "sick of the lay," or discontented, that they prefer being landed among the islands to continuing an unprosperous voyage. Another circumstance to account for this choice of the men is, that some illiterate and tyrannical men who occasionally command these ships find it to their interest to induce a portion of their crew, through exercising severe discipline, to leave the ship, when making up their complement with islanders, the lay, which would be due to the seamen, tends to augment that of the master.

These natives are a dark copper colour, and naked, excepting a short and becoming petticoat of grass; they promised to bring a pig off in the morning if we would remain, but having fitted each out with a shirt, after a social glass of grog, they took their departure it being now sunset. Making the best of our way to the N.W.b.W. with light variable airs and gloomy weather for the two following days.

[Orokuk atoll sighted]

On the 15th at 7h. 40m. a.m. saw land bearing N.W.b.N. supposed to be Jane [...] Island, the wind on approaching the island veered and hauled between E.N.E. and N.N.E. very squally with rain so that no satisfactory longitude could be obtained, but as well as our means would permit the position of the island appeared to be situated on the western extremity of an extensive reef, stretching to the E.S.E. for two or three leagues, breaking heavily, and then apparently bending to the northward, in which direction (and bearing from the island we were then passing about E.N.E. three leagues) was indistinctly seen by the masthead-man only, another island. The western island which we passed to the westward of at a distance of two leagues or less was low, and resembling those of Ravens group. Nothing being seen to the westward I am disposed to consider this Island and one described by Horsburgh as, Jane Island, are identical, although their positions do not coincide, which under the circumstances can hardly be expected, when Captain Johnson who is named as the discoverer of Jane Island obtained by lunar, and from the state of the weather no great dependance can be placed on our observations for chronometer. The island reported to the north-eastward of this island is probably Meaburn Island in Norie's chart.

It is a subject for much thankfulness to the Almighty that these islands and reefs have been made under such favourable circumstances, allowing us to clear them before night,

as it would appear that the position of many that are scattered about these seas depend on rather questionable authority, and as they are so directly in the track of shipping from New South Wales to China, during the north-east monsoon, a correct survey of the New Caroline Islands is very desirable. Until that is obtained, this neighbourhood should be approached with much caution, endeavouring to pass their respectively assigned positions during daylight.

Leaving Jane Island at noon 15th with a moderate trade at north-east shaped a course for Rota Island which we sighted at 11h. 40m. a.m. of the 18th leaving N.W.b.W. distant five leagues, with a fresh trade wind at N.N.E. and misty weather. At 1h. p.m. passed the meridian of the north-east point (which is a low sloping extremity) placing it by chronometer in  $145^{\circ}36'$  E., and at 2h. p.m. passed the south-west extremity of the island distant seven or eight miles, which is in about  $14^{\circ}10'$  N., and  $145^{\circ}28'$  E. It is an isolated cliffy lump about 300 feet high, remarkably level in the centre with perpendicular cliffy sides for several feet from the summit, having the appearance of a fort, and sloping off towards the base, it is connected to the main part of the island by a **low neck, which is not visible from a ship's deck**<sup>1</sup> until within a few miles, the main portion of Rota is also rather tabled towards the south-west, about 800 or 900 feet high, with bluff projections extending from it toward the south-east shore. The eastern or weather side appeared very sterile and only scantily sprinkled with vegetation.

Steering W.b.N. 1/2N. from Rota for the Bashee Islands, passed on the following noon, along the north edge of a shoal, marked in the chart doubtful, but without seeing anything, and during the night our track was directly over the position assigned to these islands called "Spanish Islands" in Norie's chart, which was also not seen. A moderate trade from north-east and east carried us within 200 miles of the Bashee Islands by the 24th, when after twelve hours light and variable wind it freshened up at north with squally weather. At 10h. a.m. Dec. 25th made the Bashee Islands...

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1 Ed. note: No wonder Taipingot Peninsula (that is its name) was seen as a separate island by Pigafetta in 1521.

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**Note 1844J**

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**Catholic missions in Micronesia—Vicariate Apostolic of Micronesia founded in 1844**

*Source: Ralph M. Wiltgen. The Founding of the Roman Catholic Church in Oceania, 1825 to 1850 (ANU Press, 1979).*

**Notes taken from the above-referenced book.**

In the period from 1825 to 1850 ecclesiastical organisation in Oceania expanded from one prefecture apostolic to eight vicariates apostolic in Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, two dioceses in New Zealand, and one archdiocese and six dioceses in Australia constituting an ecclesiastical province.

The Vicariates Apostolic of Melanesia and Micronesia, founded on 16 July 1844, were originally proposed by Father Épalle of New Zealand on 1 August 1843 while he was in Rome.

The Vicariate Apostolic of Micronesia included all the Caroline Islands, the Marshalls, Nauru, and the Gilberts, but excluded the Marianas, which were part of another jurisdiction (Philippines).

In a letter to Cardinal Frasoni, Father Épalle had written: "I must also speak to Your Eminence about another part of Oceania, where it would be even more pressing to establish a vicariate apostolic. I mean Micronesia, that is, Northwestern Oceania. It seems to me that those who go there will certainly be successful, since the principal archipelagoes are not only disposed to receive the gospel, but are even crying out for missionaries."

The boundaries listed by Épalle for this new Vicariate Apostolic of Micronesia were: the equator on the south, 125° longitude east of Paris on the west, 180° longitude east of Paris on the east, and 13° north latitude on the north. This placed the northern boundary directly under Guam and far below the Mariana Islands, thus avoiding any possible conflict of jurisdiction with some bishop in the Philippines... Épalle pointed out, however, that although the Gilbert Islands were mostly north of the equator, some of them did reach below the equator and formed part of the Central Vicariate Apostolic. He therefore suggested that the complete Gilbert Archipelago ought to belong to the new Vicariate Apostolic of Micronesia.

“Ascension, or Ponape, would seem to me the point where one should go to start the mission without delay,” he said. “It was here that Father Bachelot, the first Prefect Apostolic of Eastern Oceania, was buried; he ... died as a result of bad treatment received while being persecuted in the Sandwich Islands. Because of its geographical position, its size and its population, this island deserves to become a central station.” Épalle then repeated almost verbatim the account that he had given two weeks earlier in his Note to Guérin about the Protestant Scotsman, James Hall, who had come from Ponape to New Zealand seeking Catholic missionaries. Épalle went on to explain how ... Protestants had tried in vain to get Catholic missionaries from Bishop Pompallier for the inhabitants of Ponape.

...  
Although the Cardinals of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith decided to found two separate vicariates apostolic, one for Melanesia and another for Micronesia, they were to be controlled by just one bishop at first; they chose Father Épalle to head this new mission field. His promotion was immediately sanctioned by Pope Gregory XVI in a brief dated 19 July 1844. On Sunday, 21 July, Cardinal Frasoni ordained him Titular Bishop of Sion in the chapel of the Propaganda Fide, at Piazza di Spagna, Rome. Two prelates were assisting Frasoni; they were Archbishop Bonamie, superior general of the Picpus Fathers, then in Rome on business in connection with his order's missions in Eastern Oceania, and Bishop Donald MacDonald of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada.

So it is that the Marist Fathers technically became the new Catholic order to be assigned to Micronesia, in replacement of the Picpus Fathers (Fathers Bachelot and Maigret) who had occupied this field briefly in 1837.

### **Epilogue.**

The Marist Fathers in Lyon, France, were supposed to have assigned “at least two priests” to Pohnpei, but there is no evidence that they were ever sent to that island. Melanesia took precedence, probably because the influence of Protestant missionaries there was already great. In the meantime, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston was getting ready to do the same thing. Protestant missionaries from the United States (Rev. Gulick) got to Pohnpei first, in 1852

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## Documents 1844K

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# The French whaler *Angéline*, cut off at Mili

*Note: The incident was investigated in 1845 by the navy ships Héroïne and Rhin (see Doc. 1845A).*

## K1. News reported at Honolulu

*Source: Article in the Daily Evening Register, New Bedford, 12 September 1845; reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Fakaofu 10.*

## Correspondence of the Boston Atlas—Sandwich Islands.

Honolulu, Feb. 12, 1845.

The French bark **Adolphe**, Capt. Morvan, arrived here, discovered in September last, an island in 9°27' south latitude and 113°27'18" east [sic] longitude, well covered with vegetation, and but a short distance from Clarence and York Islands.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th instant, the French whaleship **Angelina** put in here from the Mulgrave Islands, with the loss of the surgeon, second officer, and ten men. It seems they were tempted to land, and were immediately seized by the natives and carried off, whether to be massacred or kept as prisoners, is not known. The **Angelina** laid by eight days, with the hope of recovering them, but in vain, and then bore away from here.

...

## K2. Summary of the incident

In December 1844, the French whaling ship **Angéline**, Captain Hyenne, arrived on the north coast of Mili atoll. Three canoes came alongside and five natives were allowed on deck. Captain Hyenne decided to go ashore to collect coconuts. He took along the ship's surgeon and eight men. His first mate, Peigne, went ashore also, aboard a native canoe. The second mate, Votte, was left in charge of the ship.

After the signal for whales was disregarded by the men ashore, Votte dispatched a second boat to look for them, but they could not be found, and the natives could not

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<sup>1</sup> The merchantman *Adolphe*, Captain F. Morvan of Morlaix, Brittany, France, sighted what must have been Fakaafu, or Bowditch, Island in the Union, or Tokelau, Group; its correct position is about 173° west longitude. It had already been visited by the USS *Peacock* in 1840.

be seen either. Six hours had passed already. Votte had a gun fired at intervals, to attract the attention of those ashore, but with no result. Sunset came and the ship had to move off shore. In the night, the ship drifted so much that, by sunset of the next day, it had only come in sight of Nalu, the islet in the NW corner of Mili.

The next day, a boat was sent toward the beach when natives appeared and beckoned them ashore. The first boat was not there, so the man in charge of the boat did not land. The coast was searched, but nothing could be learned, until they met a few armed natives... Days had passed without any news from shore. Votte and his men decided to head for Honolulu to look for reinforcements.

The **Angéline** reached Honolulu on 7 February 1845 (see K1 above), but had to go back to the French-controlled island of Tahiti to request assistance from a warship. It was not until the following August that the French Navy corvette **Rhin**, Captain Bérard, arrived at Mili (see Doc. 1845A). The seamen were able to capture seven natives, in an effort to exchange them for the missing Frenchmen. To no avail. The captives were released, and another tactic was used. Bérard had his men searched the islets to the east of Nalu and, by signs, learned that white men had been seen at Nalu, that they had been killed, and buried.

The men of the warship were then sent ashore on a punitive expedition against Nalu islet, in the morning of 23 August 1845. The two shotguns having belonged to Captain Hyenne and the surgeon were seen in the hands of some natives. Then the shore party came upon articles of clothing that had no doubt belonged to the French sailors. Nothing could be done to recover their former owners...

### K3. The narrative of Captain Votte

*Sources: ANP; extracts in a book entitled: Mysteries of the Pacific, a book that is full of inaccuracies.*

...

Considering therefore that I had tried with every resource at my disposal to facilitate the return of the captain and those who had accompanied him, and being convinced that they had either been massacred by the natives or were being held captive by force, I mustered what remained of the crew and asked whether they believed that it would be possible for us to do any more. I told them not to hesitate to speak frankly.

...

For some days I had been intending to capture some of the Cayanne [Nalu islet] natives, with a view to learning the captain's fate or possibly arranging an exchange of prisoners. But no canoes were to be seen. Consequently we assumed that the natives were lying low after having murdered my unfortunate shipmates.

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**Document 18440**

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**Ship America visited Tinian—Description of a splendid ruined “city”**

*Sources: Article in the Boston Daily Evening Transcript, 12 October 1852; commented upon in the Vineyard Gazette and Salem Gazette, in November 1852; main article reproduced in Ward's American Activities, under Tinian 4.*

**Ruins of an Ancient and Magnificent City at Tinian Island, in the North Pacific**

Capt. Alfred R. [rather F.] Fisher, of this town, informed us that when on his last whaling voyage, in the ship **America**, of New Bedford, (which was about 8 years ago,)<sup>1</sup> he had occasion to visit the island of Tinian, (one of the Ladrone Islands,) to land some sick men. He stopped there some days. One of his men in his walks about the island, came to the entrance of the main street, of a large and splendid city, in ruins. Capt. Fisher, on being informed of the fact, entered the city by the principal street, which was about three miles in length. The buildings were all of stone, of a dark color, and of the most splendid description. In about the center of the main street he found 12 solid stone columns, six on each side of the street; they were about 45 or 50 feet in height, surmounted by cap stones of immense weight. The columns were 10 feet in diameter at the base, and about three feet at the top. Capt. F. thinks the columns would weight about 60 or 70 tons, and the cap-stones about 15 tons. One of the columns had fallen, and he had a fine opportunity to view its vast proportions and fine architecture. From the principal street, a large number of other streets diverged. They were all straight, and the buildings were of stone. The whole of the city was entirely overgrown with coconut trees, which were 50 and 60 feet in height. In the main street, pieces of common earthenware were found.

The island has been in possession of the Spaniards for a long time. Six or seven Spaniards resided on the island when Capt. F. was there. They informed him that the Spaniards had had possession about 60 years—that they took the island from the Kanakas,

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1 Ed. note: Voyage of 1843-45, because her next voyage, 1845-48, was under Capt. Crowell (ref. Starbuck, p. 396, and p. 420).



who were entirely ignorant of the builders of the city and of the former inhabitants. When questioned as to the origin of the city, their only answer was: "There must have been a powerful race here a long time ago." Capt. F. also saw on the island immense ledges of stone, from which the buildings and columns had evidently been ejected. Some portions of them exhibited signs of having been worked. There is food for speculation. Who were the founders of this once magnificent city in the North Pacific and what has become of their descendants? Whatever the answer may be, they were evidently a race of a very superior order.

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### 1 January 1845

—Official date at which the **time** in the Philippines and Marianas was changed to conform to European usage.

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## Documents 1845A

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# The French navy ship *Rhin*, Captain Bérard, investigated the *Angéline* incident

### A1. The report of Captain Bérard

*Source: Article in Annales Maritimes (1846), tome I, section I (non-official part) (Vol. LXXXV of the collection), pp. 775-785.*

*Note: See also Doc. 1847R for another investigation carried out by the Ariane, Captain Dutailis. This Captain Bérard could be the same man who, as a young officer, had helped chart Kosrae Island in 1824.*

### Sciences and Arts.—Report n° 83.

**Report of Mr. Bérard, Navy Captain, commander of the New Zealand Station, regarding the *Angéline* affair. Punishment inflicted upon the natives of Galleup [Nalu islet], Mulgrave Islands [Mili atoll].**

Aboard the corvette **Rhin**, at sea, on 1 September 1845.

Latitude 2°30' N., and longitude 169°18' E.

While I was on a regular cruise through central Oceania, I found at Wallis Islands a letter from the Governor of Tahiti, who was informing me about the untoward incident that had affected the whaling ship **Angéline** during her cruise, in the NW corner of the Mulgrave Islands. Mr. Bruat had enclosed all the reports that had been submitted to him, and he was begging me to send a ship, or to go myself, if I could, to rescue Captain Hyenne, who was being kept captive, with 12 of his men, and in danger of being massacred, by the natives of Cayanne Island (Galleup).

After I spent fifteen days at Wallis Island, to get water and some fresh food, while some of my men were completing the schooner of Father Bataillon, which had been in the works, I set sail. I spent one day off Futuna and, from there headed for the Mulgrave Islands, with the hope that I could find some of our countrymen still alive. I decided to sail to the east side of the Gilbert archipelago. I easily reached the latitude of 5° S., but, from then on, I experienced the greatest difficulties: the trade winds failed me, and were replaced by variable winds from SW, W and NW; they were weak, but accompanied by squalls.

On 19 July, when I was WSW of Byron [Nukunau] Island, at a great distance (about 50 leagues) from it, we were surprised to see a large sailing canoe, carrying six natives, and headed for the corvette. They were dying of thirst and hunger. They climbed on board. They were given everything they asked for. There was one woman among them. A squall had pushed them off their island, which they had lost sight of, five days earlier.<sup>1</sup>

That evening, when I offered to give them supplies of food and water, and urged them to return home, they refused to leave the corvette. I steered for Byron Island, where I intended to put them ashore, but my progress was so checked by WSW and WNW winds, followed by frequent squalls, that I could not resign myself to lose so much time. I pursued my voyage towards the Mulgrave Islands. Some continuous winds and very strong currents threw me within a few days over 100 leagues to the eastward. Thus, I was driven over many shoals marked on the charts, but we saw nothing. The same currents continued, but more moderately, and I had very weak winds and calm periods that lasted up to 24 hours at a time. Finally, on 15 August, I arrived in sight of the Mulgrave Islands.

I approached this group on its south and west sides, having recognized that the NE winds were very scarce. In the evening of the 17th, I had my first contacts with the natives of the islands to the south of Cayanne, which they call Gallelep.<sup>2</sup> They were 14 men, aboard a large canoe very similar to the proa of the Caroline Islands. They came alongside with a great mistrust, but soon trading was went on normally. I left them, making them understand that tomorrow I would be back but further north. My intention was to capture a canoe from Gallelep and to keep its natives prisoners, in order to exchange them for our countrymen, if we were lucky enough to find them still alive.

Very early on the 18th of August, we saw two canoes coming towards us. At 10:40 a.m., I tacked near the western point of Gallelep and hove to, in order to make contact with the nearest canoe that we had seen leave this island. After trading for a while with the natives, I continued tacking to take a good look at the vicinity of the island, and assure myself that I was indeed at the place where the French whaling ship **Angéline** had been, in accordance with the descriptions given by her mate [Mr. Votte].

At 2:30 p.m., being 6 miles from the islets near the pass<sup>3</sup> but the wind was weakening. I hove to once again. The same natives approached us, but they began to show a great mistrust, although they were inviting us to go ashore by showing us some passes. I then judged that I had reached the right spot, and, as the canoe was still hesitating to come closer, I had a boat lowered to windward—unseen and unnoticed by the natives—had some weapons put in it, and I sent Lieutenant Protet, with the order to capture

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1 Ed. note: They were from Oneaka Island, part of Kuria atoll (see below).

2 Ed. note: Easily identified on the accompanying map of the atoll by Lieutenant Reynaud, as the islet of Nalu (Mar. 15-74 in Bryan's Place Names) which has many other names, some apocryphal, as follows: Nalu, Naru, Naallo, Naalo, Narlo, Noaloo, Nanru, Ngalu, Naileup, as well as Gallelep, etc. The name Cayanne (1844) probably comes from Cohannah (1837).

3 Ed. note: The Takowa channel.

those natives and bring them on deck. The boat suddenly appeared around the corvette and in one instant was near the canoe. The savages, very astonished, had hardly had time to raise their sail. Two more boats were dispatched with as much rapidity. The natives tried at first to defend themselves with stones, but the simple sign to shoot them caused them all to dive overboard. They were captured one after the other, and the whole operation was not easy, because they threw themselves overboard again and again, even after their hands had been tied behind their backs. Finally, after a few shots from a rifle were aimed over their heads, they became frightened enough to offer no more resistance. The canoes had carried eight men; seven were taken on board, while one managed to escape. The swell from the N.E. that prevailed was the reason why we could not see them easily, when they were but a short distance away. This canoe was towed behind the corvette, but it soon became swamped and was abandoned when all attempts to bail the water were useless.

As soon as the natives arrived on deck, they were placed in irons and tied up in the quarter-deck. They were given something to eat and drink; they drank a lot. When they had lost some of their fright, I had 13 men lined before them. They were shown one whale-boat on its davits and I made them understand that two such whale-boats and 13 white men had been captured by them and kept prisoners ashore. Their astonishment was so great at first that everyone judged that they had understood. They interrupted one another to speak. One of them, who appeared to be a chief, made me understand that this event had taken place at Merero.<sup>1</sup> He was led up to the coach, and from there he pointed at the northern horizon, in other words, the side opposite the land. Thus, he was pointing at Pedero Island toward which the **Angéline** had drifted during the night.<sup>2</sup> It was then obvious that they knew of the affair and that they tried to trick us. The same pantomime was repeated many times. That evening and the next day, they were shown two shotguns and some harpoons; they no longer said anything.

The next day, I tacked back towards the islands and thus visited a large part of the atoll on its north side.

At 10:30 a.m., when I was 6 miles from the pass indicated by both the natives and the second mate of the **Angéline**, I dispatched a boat with Messieurs Reynaud and Méryon to inspect it and take soundings, to insure that our big boats could use it under any condition of the tides. I also took this opportunity to release one of the youngest natives, who seemed to be very intelligent, for him to carry the news to Galleup, ask for the white men and return with them to ransom his countrymen. When Mr. Reynaud came back, I was very surprised to learn that the pass through the reefs was wide enough to allow the corvette to go through, and that a good anchorage was found inside. I was then a little to leeward of it; we made one tack off shore and, by 6 p.m., we were at the entrance of the pass. We crossed it without problem, as Mr. Reynaud was

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1 Or Metero.

2 Ed. note: However, Pedder, or Arno, Island was so named by Englishmen in 1788 and was not a Marshallese word. The native was pointing to Majuro, its sister island, instead.

guiding us from the top of the mizzen-mast. We dropped anchor in 12 fathoms, coral sand bottom, just before the sun set. We were then sheltered from all winds.

I spent the day of the 20th waiting for the native whom I had sent; he did not come back. In the meantime, we visited the islet on the east [sic] side of the pass, named Tokoeao by the natives,<sup>1</sup> where we found a well with good water. It was deepened and a barrel with a hole in the bottom was placed therein. By the end of the day, we had managed to fill 20 small barrels.

During the morning, a native came alongside with a small canoe filled with coconuts; he was paid very well for them. This native understood a few words of Spanish; he said he had visited Manila.<sup>2</sup> We thought we had made a great discovery; however, when we tried to question him regarding the capture of the two whale-boats and the 13 men of the *Angéline*. He gave us only incoherent answers, and often he made signs that he did not understand. Either he would admit that there were white men at Galleleup, or he would say that there was not one. He ended all his answers by offering us women. At last, we could learn nothing positive about the fate of our countrymen. We let him go, in order to show him more trust and encourage him to return. In the meantime, three large canoes full of armed men, probably inhabitants of the two islets near the pass, had come near the corvette. This native went to meet them, and we saw them all go away.

The officers went down to the islet west of the pass, which is named Barr [sic].<sup>3</sup> I had recommended to them to try and get information about Captain Hyenne and his men; they found a few inhabitants, because there were many huts, and inside them, from 10 to 12 women. They were made perfectly welcome; the natives showed themselves to be very docile and accomodating, but it was impossible to get information regarding the capture of the whale-boats.

At noon, 3 native men with 8 women visited Tokowa [rather Barr] islet, where we had our watering place. The good relationship which prevailed between these women and our seamen made me hope for some news, but they all kept quiet and refused to answer when they were asked about some white men held captive in their islands.

The men were kept busy taking on water, of which we had a great need, as we had consumed much of it during the periods of calm and stifling hot weather on the Line. The port seemed to me to be a very good one, susceptible of a great usefulness in future; that is why I took the opportunity of this waiting period to have some pickets planted upon the reefs, the better to make a good chart of it.<sup>4</sup>

1 Ed. note: Actually Barr Island. Takowa Island is located west of the pass. Lieut. Reynaud interchanged the location of Barr and Tokowa islets on his chart; Halligon, in 1848, was to correct this mistake.

2 Ed. note: This man could have been a Palauan, or better a Filipino boy rescued at Yap, from the crew of the *Naiad*, Captain Cheyne, who had been attacked 6 months earlier, at the nearby island of Ebon. Perhaps Cheyne had also visited Mili at about the same time, or this man deserted at either island. If so, he could not have been present during the *Agéline* affair, in Dec. 1844.

3 Ed. note: Rather Tokowa.

4 Ed. note: I have found this, and other charts by Lieutenant Reynaud, in BN Paris.

On the 21st, I decided to be generous and release the six natives remaining on board, while explaining to them, as best as I could, that they were to send back the white men who were at Galleleup, to prevent any further hostility. I made a gift to the chief, who made me understand that he would soon be back on board. This day was spent taking on water, visiting Barr [rather Tokowa] Island and to trade with the few inhabitants who were there. We also tried, specially at Tokowa [rather Barr] Island, to get the women to reveal what they knew. One of them, who appeared well satisfied with the gifts that she had received, let it be known that there were 13 white men buried on the islet that is to the south of Galleleup.<sup>1</sup> She explained herself very clearly, by sign language, by counting the number 13 on her fingers, then, by placing a little piece of wood on the sand, burying it, and indicating, by leaning her head and closing her eyes, that they were thus *sleeping* and been buried at the island that she pointed at.

That evening, all the inhabitants, including the women, disappeared from the two neighboring islets. It was, in fact, the result of my having released the captives. From this moment on, I no longer doubted that all the whalers had been massacred. I looked upon these savages as the guilty ones. I therefore seriously considered a military expedition to the island of Galleleup [Nalu], where all the canoes of the vicinity had gathered, about 16 of them. They could clearly be seen from the corvette, though we were at a distance of 6 miles; the canoes were pulled up the beach. However, before undertaking such serious measures, I wished to wait a while longer, until the next day, for the return of the men whom I had released.

During that day, the 22nd, we continued to take on water, and we made ready for the expedition in question. Not one soul was to be found on the neighboring islets; everyone seemed to have sought refuge at Galleleup.

On the 23rd August, at 3:30 in the morning, the expedition began. It consisted of the launch, with Lieutenant Reynaud in charge of it and of the expedition; the other launch, under the command of Lieutenant Protet; my small boat, under the command of Lieutenant Villeneuve; and the big boat, under Midshipman Duprat. Mr. Foley, Cadet officer 1st class, was aboard the first launch. All in all, there were 92 men, 29 of whom were to effect a landing, and 23 others to guard the boats and operate their guns. Mr. Foley was placed in charge of those guarding the boats, after the landing, and make sure they remained afloat under any circumstances.

Lieutenant Reynaud had received the order to destroy all the canoes, then the huts, and to search for all the objects that had belonged to the captain and sailors of the **Angéline**. I recommended to him not to fire upon the natives themselves, unless they were attacked.

The expedition arrived at the beach of Gallele'up, a little before 6 o'clock, that is, at daybreak. An extreme agitation was observed near the huts and behind the bushes. Some women appeared, shouting *Adera!* (Good morning!) and making peaceful gestures and signs. Lieut. Reynaud, upon seeing that all the men had gathered, armed, be-

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1 Ed. note: Probably on Mili Island proper, where the main chief resided.

hind the bushes, ordered the mortar aboard the launch, loaded with grape shot, to be fired over their heads. The noise of the explosion and the whistling of the balls caused everyone to flee. The landing was thus unopposed. A cordon of men was set up between the canoes and the interior of the island, and the destruction of the canoes began. The natives, seeing their vessels being destroyed, mounted an attack upon the workmen. An charge was made against them and they were forced to retreat far away. It was during this charge that some of them were killed, and that two of them were seen carrying the shotguns that had belonged to Captain Hyenne and the surgeon. Unfortunately, they could not be recovered.

After the canoes had been destroyed, the huts were demolished. Amid the ruins were found a large number of objects that had belonged to the whalers of the **Angéline**: clothes, either complete or in pieces; a button from an officer's jacket had been threaded on a string, as if to be used as a necklace. We knew that there had been aboard the **Angéline** a master carpenter's mate, and one sailor, who had been released from duty a short time earlier. The following objects were also recovered: one whale-fishing line; pieces of wood from the gunwales of a whale-boat; a few pieces of a harpoon that had been made into chisels; a cutting spade marked with the letter LP, taken from the dead native who had been using it as a weapon;<sup>1</sup> an old cooper's hammer. It was known that the cooper's mate had been boatsteerer aboard the captain's boat. One of the soles from a fine pair of boots was also noticed; no doubt they had belonged to Captain Hyenne. A detailed list of all these objects has been made.<sup>2</sup>

When the men had recognized all of these obvious proofs of the crime, they became furious against the savages, and the full authority of the officers was required to prevent them from pursuing the savages.

The work of destruction was over by 9:30, and everybody back at the corvette at noon, without any other accident to report other than one that occurred to one of our men, wounded when he disembarked from the launch; his foot having slipped, he fell upon the bayonet of his neighbor, and had his arm run through near the shoulder.

While the work of destruction was going on, four women had been held prisoners. The older one did not stop protesting in front of the sailors, pointing to them the island to the south, and when Rey, the steward, killed the native who attacked him with the cutting spade, many women ran to the victim, shouting. One of them made him well understand, by counting on her fingers, that 13 white men had been buried on the neighboring island; she no doubt wanted to say that it was useless to look for them.

The punishment inflicted upon the natives of Galleleup was therefore limited to the destruction of what they considered most precious, because wood is very scarce in those islands. It is true that six natives were killed: it is a disgrace which they called upon

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1 Ed. note: The mark LP does not correspond to the name of any French whaler, unless it be La Pallas; the ship owner was Jacques Levavasseur, not his initials either.

2 Ed. note: This list is probably to be found among the Rhin's papers in ANP.

themselves, because it was difficult during a charge to stop the aggressivity of the sailors, and I think it a lucky circumstance that not a larger number of them were killed.

These savages were no doubt guilty, but they do not yet know Europeans well. We could not therefore apply too much force against them. I nevertheless believe that they will remember this punishment for a very long time and, when they will have learned more about white men, they will learn that we can do them much more harm.

One must say that this punishment took place eight months after the crime had been committed; however, when the difficulties presented by distances and delays in communication, one will justly admit that the navy is there when needed to offer protection to commercial shipping.

I spent the whole of the 24th to finish watering the ship. Very early in the morning, the native who spoke Spanish was brought on board. No information could be got from him. Then, I tried to recover the two shotguns that had been seen at Gallelep, and he was promised the two axes that he coveted in exchange. He was landed on Barr [rather Tokowa] Island, an islet that is linked with Gallelep at low tide. Our surprise was great when we saw him set fire to a few huts on that island, where we had done no damage up to that point. Perhaps it was trickery on his part, to make the others believe that the rest of the huts would be burned, if they did not give up the shotguns; in which case, he would keep the axes for himself. That night, we were still waiting for him to return, as we expected. The launches and boats were taken on board, and preparations made to set sail the next day.

On the morning of the 25th, having weighed anchor, and still no native in sight, I took the opportunity of favorable wind and current to get through the pass. I coasted along all the islets at a short distance as far as Gallelep, then, at noon, headed south.

The haste that I had in getting away from this group was urged upon me by circumstances; indeed, I had to go to Onéek, in the southern part of the Gilberts,<sup>1</sup> to land there the natives whom we had found in distress in that neighborhood. I did not know the position of that island exactly. I also had to make my way to New Caledonia to visit the mission of Bishop D'Amata, who had not yet seen any visitor since he was landed there from the **Bucéphale**. Then, I had to go from there to Sydney, and had on board rations for only two and a half more months. Besides, I had to contend with possible calm periods that I had already experienced on both sides of the Line, extending great distances from it.

If I had been permitted to stay a while longer at the Mulgrave Islands, I would have been able to do some good for the natives and get them to like us, by letting them have some banana plants which I had obtained at Wallis I.; however, much time would have been required to explain ourselves to them and make them understand that, after this punishment, they had nothing more to fear and that, from now on, were our friends. I will give these useful plants to the inhabitants of Onéek who were witnesses to everything we did, and, I am sure, will forever bless everything French as long as they live,

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1 Ed. note: The Island of Oneaka, the north half of Kuria atoll.



because they expressed their gratitude to us every day, for having treated them so well during their stay on board. They were completely of no use to us in our relations with the natives of Galleup, because they could not understand their language either.

Now then, if one reads carefully the report of the second mate of the **Angéline** [Mr. Votte], specifically the part where he says he made a last pass before the beaches of Galleup, where hostile demonstrations and provocations were made by the savages, one will become convinced, as this captain and his crew were, that their unfortunate companions had been the victims of a great disaster. Captain Hyenne and his companions would have been easily separated from one another by the friendly behavior of the natives and their offer of women; in the meantime, their boats would have been sacked. The known character of Captain Hyenne<sup>1</sup> would not have tolerated such an act of plunder; he would have threatened them, then fought them; hence the massacre of all the white men. I was already convinced of this scenario when I arrived at the Mulgrave Islands; however, I acted as if there were still Frenchmen alive there. Indeed, if there had been any, they would have been sent off the day after my arrival; or, at least, they would have been turned over the moment our expedition landed in such an unexpected manner on the inner beach at Galleup. This event took place at daybreak and took the natives completely by surprise; in such a sudden attack, and so complete a defeat, our countrymen would have broken free and joined us.

To these considerations, we can add: the obstination of the natives in refusing to answer our questions; the abandonment of the islets near our anchorage, after they had been well informed of our requests; the confession of two women; the list of the objects recovered in the canoes and in the houses at Galleup; there can be no doubt about the tragic end of the captain, surgeon, and eleven sailors of the **Angéline**.

The only correct information we had—very exact, I might say—about this archipelago had been provided by two American sailors,<sup>2</sup> who had lived among these savages for more than a year, and had described them as very superstitious. We can easily imagine, therefore, what happened when they saw the largest ship they had ever seen, armed with guns and a large crew, come through the pass into their interior sea, where until then they had only seen their canoes. The people aboard this ship had come to investigate the abominable crime which they thought was well hidden, and almost forgotten. The same people destroyed their canoes and huts in one instant, killed only the men who had resisted them, and let the others flee, then they had disappeared. Let us imagine that these events occurred over a short period of time, and we will get a proper idea of the deep and terrible impression left upon these children of nature, imbued by superstition.

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1 Energetic, and impetuous.

2 See Captain D'Urville's *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde*, Vol. 2, page 446. Ed. comment: Lay and Hussey, in 1824.

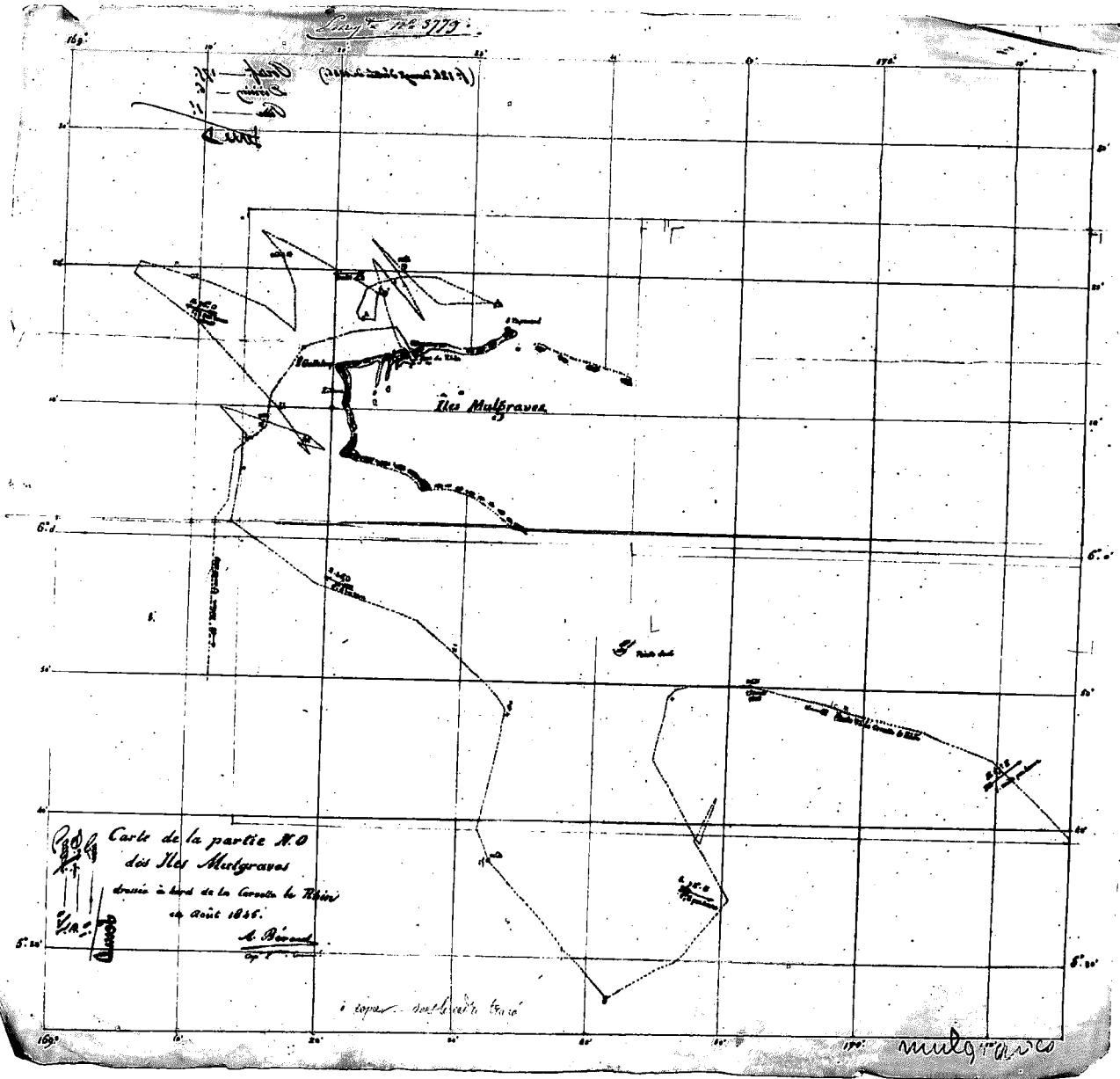
The Mulgrave Islands consist of a large number of low, small, islands that are extremely narrow and linked by coral reefs, upon which a man can walk with dry feet, when the tide is low. We have discovered a deep pass that admits large ships. There may be other passes. The inland sea is full of coral shoals that can be seen very easily from a distance, so that it seemed to us that a ship could sail through it without too many difficulties. The bottom is everywhere composed of coral sand and coral flats. The sand appears as white patches visible at great depths; the details of the bottom can be distinguished at 20 fathoms. The waters of this sea, being always calm, have a remarkable transparency.

The vegetable food products are very limited and consist almost exclusively of coconuts, pandanus, and a few bread-fruit trees of a wild species. It came as no surprise to spot here and there upon the shoals and reefs some [stone] constructions designed to catch and retain fish, which is the main source of food for these unhappy islands. Therefore, European ships would have no other reason to stop there, except to obtain a few coconuts and some water. Tokowa [rather Barr] Island alone was able to provide 28 metric tons of water to the corvette, although it is but half a mile long, and not counting what was used to wash our clothes. This amount of water came as a great surprise to us: it seems that rain water does not escape to the sea, but rather is retained by the coral rock that forms the foundation of this group of islands.

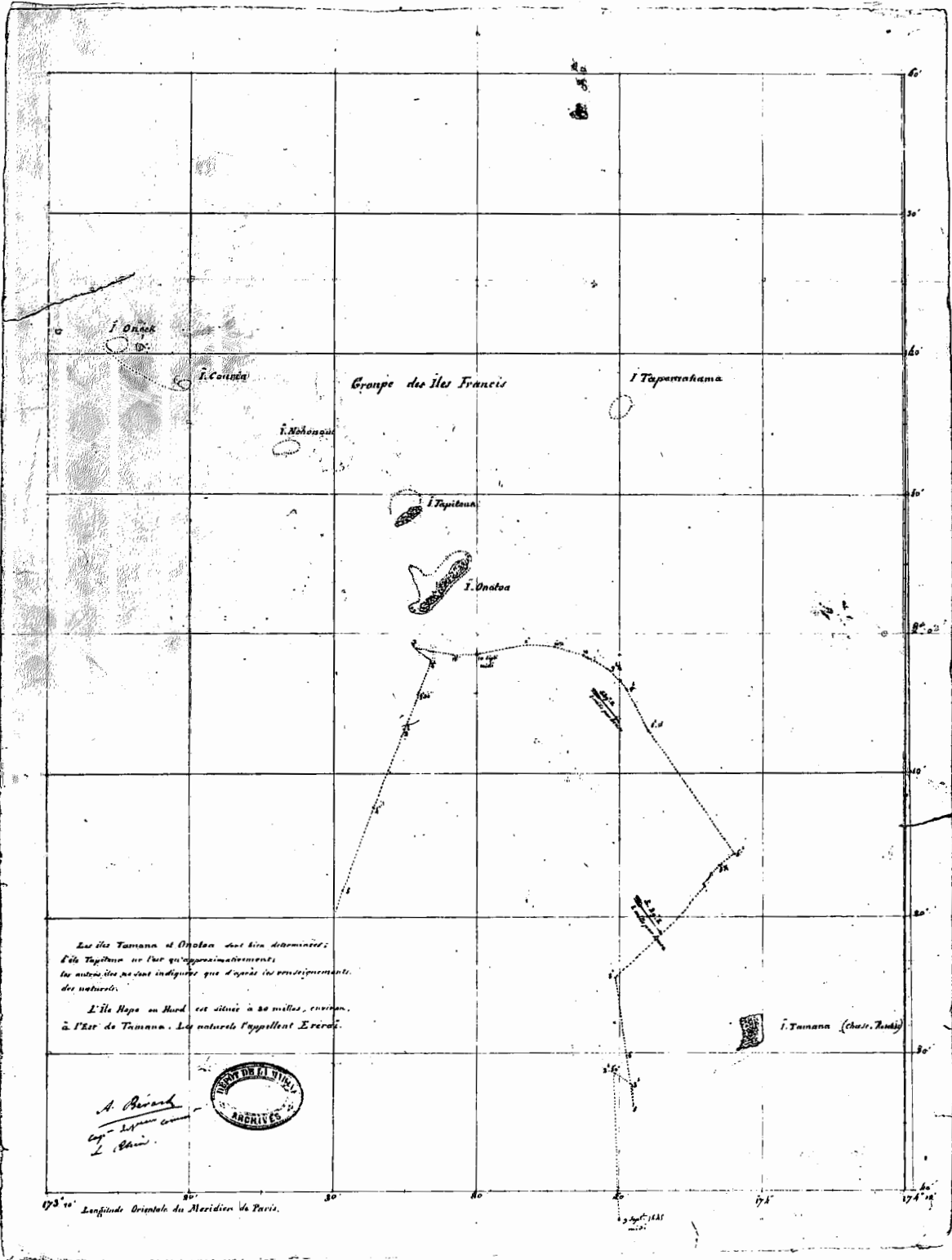
We have made a chart of the parts of this group that we have seen. Lieutenant Reynaud has also made a chart of our anchorage, to which I gave the name of Port Rhin. It will be of great use to those who might want to visit these islands in future.

I am, etc.

(Signed) Bérard, navy captain.







## A2. The report of Dr. Fabre, including some vocabularies

*Source: Article published in the Revue Coloniale, n° 12 (1847), pp. 156-165.*

### Polynesian [sic] Vocabularies, created, in 1845, by Dr. Fabre.

#### I. Vocabulary of the southern part of the Gilbert Archipelago (Francis-Chase and Hope Islands) [Kuria to Arorae area].—I. Vocabulary of the Mulgrave Islands [Mili].

*Editor's note: The first vocabulary is to be compared with that of the central and northern Gilberts given earlier by Dr. Hale of the U.S. Exploring Expedition in 1841 (Doc. 1841L). Dr. Fabre's informants were, however, from Kuria, the same island where Kirby had lived. The Francis Islands in Lieutenant Reynaud's chart correspond to the so-called Simpson Group: Abemama, Kuria and Aranuka, the latter then better known as Nonouki. The second vocabulary is to be compared with that given earlier by Chamisso (Doc. 1817C) and by Lay and Hussey (Doc. 1824M).*

#### I. Vocabulary of the southern part of the Gilbert Archipelago.

##### Preliminary note.

On 19 July 1845, when we were at 1°48' latitude south, and 174°41' longitude E., we picked up and took on board, six natives who were half dead of hunger from one canoe that we found some 60 leagues from any land.<sup>1</sup> When they lived on board, I was able to examine them at my leisure and recognized by their manners that they belonged to Micronesia, something that was beyond any doubt, since we were then in the middle of the Gilbert Archipelago. As I was the only man on board to have some knowledge of Polynesian languages, I was able, by using the languages of Wallis and New Zealand, to question these people, who told me that they lived in a very big group of islands named Oneheke.<sup>2</sup> They had been carried away by a hurricane as they were passing from one island to another. They had lost sight of land five days earlier. They begged the commander to bring them back to Oneheke, because their relatives would have been very grieved, believing them to be dead.

During the night, the rope towing their canoe behind our ship broke; the commander decided to get rid of these individuals as soon as possible. As Oneheke Island did not appear on any chart, we headed for Byron [Nukunau] Island which lied to the NW of our position;<sup>3</sup> however, the winds having failed us, we continued our route and the

1 Ed. note: If the position given is correct, however, the ship and canoes were then in the lee of Tabiteuea, but the chart available to them was obviously incomplete and erroneous.

2 Ed. note: Oneeke, or Oneaka, that shares a reef with Kuria.

3 Ed. note: They were not where they thought they were, obviously.

natives stayed with us until we returned from the Mulgraves. They were then put ashore at Nonouti Island, one of the Francis [sic] Islands, the group to which Oneheke Island belonged, although it was distant about 30 miles from Nonouti.

During the whole time that the natives remained on board, I made friend with one of the youngest man, by making him some gifts of pipes and tobacco; this man was also the most intelligent among them. It was thanks to the many conversations I held with him that this vocabulary was formed. I noticed that the Micronesian language spoken in the southern part of the Gilbert Archipelago, besides some words it had in common with the languages of Wallis and New Zealand, had a similar grammar; this allowed me to converse with them from the very first day on board.

When we were coming back from the Mulgrave Islands, the commander who believed that these natives belonged to Chase [Tamana] Island, came near and hove to on the east side of that island. There, however, he learned the true direction of Oneheke Island. At Chase Island, which the natives call Tamana, I learned, from a chief who spoke English and was a great sailor, that, 30 miles further south [rather east], there was an island named Erorai [Arorae], where the natives spoke the same language as at Tamana and Oneheke. He added that, on all the islands that he had visited in the southern part of the archipelago, the inhabitants spoke the same language as those of Oneheke, Tamana, and Erorai.

**Note.** I have written all words with French sounds. The letter E has always the sound of a closed é.

On board the ship **Rhin**, 3 September 1845.<sup>1</sup>

## A

[French]	[Gilbertese]	[English]
Abdomen	<i>Piloto</i>	Belly. <sup>2</sup>
Accoucher	<i>Tehehi-paga</i>	To give birth.
Affliction secrète	<i>Emaku</i>	Venereal disease.
Allaiter	<i>Mama ia</i>	To give breast, suckle.
Aller (S'en)	<i>Naki nako</i>	To go away.
Allez-vous-en	<i>En nako</i>	Go away!
Allumer	<i>Kaura</i>	To light up.
Ami	<i>Ara</i>	Friend (to exchange names).
Anthropophage	<i>Tena tena</i>	Cannibal.
Anus	<i>Ki</i>	Anus.
Arbre à pain et son fruit	<i>Mehi</i>	Breadfruit (tree).
Arc-en-ciel	<i>Hui rara</i>	Rainbow.
Asseoir (S'), assis	<i>Teka teka</i>	To sit down; sitting.
Asseoir (S') sur les fesses	<i>Toro toro</i>	To sit down upon one's buttocks.
Asseoir (S') les jambes croisées	<i>Toa nue</i>	To sit down, cross-legged.

1 Ed. note: I have preserved the French words, but transcribed the Gilbertese to sound in English the same as in French, and added the English translation, as well as the footnotes.

2 Ed. note: In Tahiti, the word is simply Pito.



Attacher  
Aveugle  
Aigu, pointu  
Aller, venir

*Kapaia-kapei*  
*Po mata*  
*Tahina*  
*Ano-anga-kere*

To tie, fasten.  
Blind.  
Sharp, pointed.  
To go, to come.

## B

Bailler  
Balsér  
Balai  
Balancier de pirogue  
Bâton  
Beaucoup  
Bien (C'est)  
Bientôt  
Blanc  
Boire  
Bois (subst.)  
Boîte  
Bon  
Bonite (poisson)  
Borgne  
Bouche  
Boucher  
Branche de cocotier  
Bras

*Teha*  
*Inga*  
*To-o*  
*Rama*  
*Eko*  
*Nui nui*  
*Etou*  
*Hehi*  
*Koroheina*  
*Mohoi moto*  
*Tekai*  
*Pakenge*  
*Lelei*  
*Kaneheke*  
*Toko keini mata*  
*Pua*  
*Noho rana*  
*Ari*  
*Pei*

To yawn.  
To kiss.  
Broom.  
Outrigger of a canoe.  
Stick.  
Much, many.  
It's good, well.  
Soon.  
White.  
To drink.  
Wood, tree.  
Box.  
Good.  
Bonito (fish).  
One-eyed.  
Mouth.  
To plug (a hole).  
Branch of a coconut tree.  
Arm.

## C

Cacher  
Canon, fusil  
Casser, rompre  
Casse-tête  
Chair humaine  
Chaleur  
Chanter  
Chapeau, coiffure  
Chat  
Chef  
Chemise, vêtement en général  
Cheveux  
Chien  
Cicatrice  
Ciel, firmament  
Cils  
Claquer des mains, applaudir  
Clavicule  
Coco  
Cochon  
Coit (Acte du)

*Karapa*  
*Kati*  
*Otuia*  
*Ehumpo*  
*Rimo*  
*Riringa-riri*  
*Popihi*  
*Para*  
*Katama*  
*Tue*  
*Tu ku ne kai*  
*Etu*  
*Mohoko*  
*Mokoro-paitutu*  
*Karava*  
*Kanoani mata*  
*To Pupo*  
*Rini parek*  
*Pen*  
*Moto moto*  
*Pani pani*

To hide.  
Gun, shotgun.  
To break.  
Tomahawk, war-club.  
Human flesh.  
Heat.  
To sing.  
Hat, head-dress.  
Cat.  
Chief.  
Shirt, clothing in general.  
Hair.  
Dog.  
Scar.  
Sky, heaven.  
Eyelashes.  
To clap one's hands, to applaud.  
Clavicle.  
Coconut.  
Pig.  
Coitus (sex act).



Comprendre	<i>Tahete</i>	To understand.
Coquilles en général	<i>Painia</i>	Shells, in general.
Colliers de diverses formes	<i>Karoro-puretu- nikapenga</i>	Necklaces of various shapes.
Colère (Se mettre en)	<i>Itau</i>	Anger (To show).
Corail	<i>Tiatip</i>	Coral.
Corde	<i>Maka, or Maia</i>	Rope.
Cou	<i>Roroa</i>	Neck.
Coupe, vase pour boire	<i>Mahunko</i>	Cup, vessel to drink from.
Couper	<i>Tokora</i>	To cut.
Cracher	<i>Puare</i>	To spit.
Creuser	<i>Ekenake</i>	To dig.
Croix du Sud (constellation)	<i>Mani koro</i>	Southern Cross (constellation).
Cuisses	<i>Toae</i>	Thighs.

## D

Danse	<i>Ruia kapo</i>	Dance.
Danser	<i>Rue</i>	To Dance.
De, du (art. déf., signe du gén.)	<i>J</i>	Of the.
Debout	<i>Etei</i>	Up, standing.
Déchirer	<i>Uruake</i>	To tear, to split.
Dedans	<i>Paro</i>	Inside.
Demander	<i>Kanhai</i>	To ask.
Démangeaison	<i>Tumaririe</i>	Itching.
Dents	<i>Mui</i>	Teeth.
Détacher	<i>Kapara</i>	To untie.
Doights	<i>Tapuni pei</i>	Fingers.
Donner	<i>Kamei</i>	To give.
Donne-moi	<i>Vuvuti</i>	Give me.
Dormir	<i>Mue mue</i>	To sleep.
Dos	<i>Auku</i>	Back.

## E

Eau	<i>Kuaran, ran</i>	Water.
Éclair	<i>Tehiti</i>	Lightning.
Écorce d'un coco	<i>Nana</i>	Coconut husk.
Effiler (Action d')	<i>Koruia</i>	Sharpening.
Ennemi	<i>Aun</i>	Enemy.
Épaules	<i>Tapuanga</i>	Shoulders.
Épiderme (peau humaine)	<i>Ukumi.</i>	Human flesh.
Éjaculer	<i>Pekanikai</i>	To ejaculate.
Érection (Être en)	<i>Teri</i>	Erection (To have an).
Essuyer	<i>Taheia</i>	To wipe.
Estomac	<i>Pirotol</i>	<i>Stomach.</i>
Éteindre	<i>Ukia</i>	To put out, to extinguish.

1 Ed. note: Same as for Abdomen, or belly, actually.

Étendu sur le dos	<i>Ematu</i>	Lying on one's back.
Éternuer	<i>Matie</i>	To sneeze.
Étoile	<i>Tui tui</i>	Star.
Éventer (S')	<i>Riripia</i>	To fan oneself.
Excréments (ordure)	<i>Putahi</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>Excrements.</i>

## F

Faim (Avoir)	<i>Puke</i>	To be hungry.
Favoris	<i>Puai</i>	Sideburns.
Femme	<i>Tokaine</i>	Woman.
Femme enceinte	<i>Piku, or ku</i>	Pregnant woman.
Femme vieille	<i>Kara</i>	Old woman.
Fer	<i>Monei</i>	Iron.
Fermer	<i>Po</i>	To close, to shut.
Fesses	<i>Puki</i>	Buttocks.
Feu	<i>Ei</i>	Fire.
Fille	<i>Ahine</i> <sup>2</sup>	Girl, daughter.
Fils	<i>Hua</i>	Son.
Fou (oiseau)	<i>Kepui</i>	Gannet.
Frapper	<i>Titau</i>	To hit.
Frère	<i>Uena</i>	Brother.
Froid (Avoir)	<i>Mariri</i>	To be cold.
Front	<i>Rama</i>	Forehead.
Fumée	<i>Pupu nei</i>	Smoke.
Fumer la pipe	<i>Kaupu puai</i>	To smoke a pipe.

## G

Genou	<i>Pupu onue</i>	Knee.
Gouverner (un navire, pirogue)	<i>Tohupe</i>	To steer (a ship, or canoe).
Gouvernail (pagaie qui en ser)	<i>Pue</i>	steering oar.
Grimper sur un cocotier	<i>Ti ani ani</i>	To climb a coconut tree.

## H

Habiter	<i>Mue mue</i>	To reside, to live.
Haleine (respiration)	<i>Tohuki</i>	Breath (respiration).
Hameçon	<i>Matau</i>	Fish-hook.
Hangar	<i>Tuma</i>	Shed.
Hirondelle de mer	<i>Kia kia</i>	Sea-swallow.
Homme en général	<i>Aomata</i>	Man, in general.
Homme esclave	<i>Tapuni pei</i>	Male slave.
Homme jeune, adolescents	<i>Pakuak</i>	Young man, teenagers.

1 Terme de mépris = derogative.

2 Ed. note: 'Vahine' at Tahiti.

Huile de coco

*Pa*

Coconut oil.

**I**

Ici

*Ikei*

Here.

Ici (Viens)

*No noku mei*

Come here.

Ile (terre)

*Penua*

Island, land.

Indiquer

*Kotuia*

To show, to point at.

**J**

Jeter

*Kane kane, jevenako*

To throw.

Joues

*Tapa*

Cheeks.

Jour

*Uti*

Day, daytime.

Jusant

*Pike*

Ebb tide.

**L**

Lait

*Ran i te mama*Milk.<sup>1</sup>

Lait de coco

*Kuan te ni*

Coconut milk.

Lame, vague

*Nau*

Swell, wave.

Lampe

*Pahia*

Lamp.

Lance

*Tapotara oeua*

Lance, spear.

Langue

*Neve*

Tongue.

Larmes

*Ran i mata*Tears.<sup>2</sup>

Laver

*Ni reire*

To wash.

Lave (Se)

*Kaupururu*

To wash oneself.

Le (article défini)

*Te*

The (article).

Le (article démonstratif)

*Ko*

It, him.

Lève-toi

*Tekateirac*

Get up (singular).

Lèvres

*Ria*

Lips.

Loin

*Raro*

Far.

Louvoyer<sup>3</sup>*Eriake*

To tack.

Lune

*Namaka kina*

Moon.

Lune (Nouvelle)

*Toaika*

New Moon.

Lune (Demi-)

*Raerere*

Half-moon.

Lune (Pleine)

*Rin*

Full Moon.

Lutter (lutte)

*To-un*

To fight (a fight).

**M**

Main

*Rau ru ni pei*

Hand.

Maison

*Pata tuma*

House.

1 Ed. note: Lit. water from the breast.

2 Ed. note: Lit. Water from the eyes.

3 Se dit d'une pirogue ou d'un bâtiment = referring to a canoe or a ship.

Malade	<i>Au-umaraki, mate mate</i>	Sick.
Manger	<i>Kaikai</i>	To eat.
Marcher	<i>Nako nako</i>	To walk.
Marsouin	<i>Eirui</i>	Porpoise.
Mât	<i>Aneang</i>	Mast.
Mauvais	<i>Kino kino</i>	Bad.
Médecin	<i>Aorek</i>	Physician.
Menacer	<i>Titau</i>	To threaten.
Menton	<i>Pange</i>	Chin.
Mer	<i>Tahari</i>	Sea.
Mère	<i>Atsina</i>	Mother.
Midi	<i>Tauanuk</i>	Noon, midday.
Mitre (coquille)	<i>Kapine</i>	Miter shell.
Mollet (gras de la jambe)	<i>Mau kunua</i>	Calf of the leg.
Montre-moi cela	<i>Makamete-nore</i>	Show (it to) me.
Mordre	<i>Tena</i>	To bite.
Mort	<i>Mate</i>	Dead.
Moucher (Se)	<i>Ngako</i>	To blow one's nose.
Mouiller (navire ou pirogue)	<i>Pehi piti</i>	To moor (a ship or canoe).

## N

Nager	<i>Huhua</i>	To swim.
Natte (qui sert de pagne)	<i>Kie</i>	Mat (used as loin-cloth).
Naviguer	<i>Eie eie</i>	To sail, to navigate.
Navire	<i>Kaipuke toa</i>	Ship.
Nez	<i>Pairi</i>	Nose.
Noddi (oiseau)	<i>Jo</i>	Noddy.
Noir	<i>Euto</i>	Black.
Nom	<i>Entai ingoa</i>	Name.
Nombril	<i>Puto<sup>1</sup></i>	Navel.
Non	<i>Akea, tiaki</i>	No, not.
Nuit	<i>Pong</i>	Night, night-time.
Nuages	<i>Nang</i>	Clouds.

## O

Occiput	<i>Kamo</i>	Back of the head.
Œil	<i>Mata</i>	Eye.
Œuf	<i>Natina</i>	Egg.
Oiseau (en général)	<i>Mani</i>	Bird, in general.
Olive (genre de coquilles)	<i>Pure panga</i>	Olive shell.
Ombre	<i>Taumene</i>	Shadow, shade.
Ongles	<i>Tuki</i>	Fingernails.
Oreille	<i>Taringa</i>	Ear.
Orteils	<i>Tapunue</i>	Toes.

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1 Ed. note: In Tahiti, it is 'pito'.

Os  
Oui  
Ouvrir (porte)

*Rior teri*  
*Eai*  
*Anaia*

Bone.  
Yes.  
To open (a door).

## P

Pagaie  
Pagaïer  
Parler  
Passage (chenal)  
Paupières  
Pavillon d'un navire  
Pandanus  
Peigne  
Penis  
Père  
Pet (péter)  
Petit (peu)  
Pied  
Pincer  
Pierre  
Pisser  
Pleur, pleurer  
Plante des pieds  
Plate-forme de pirogue  
Plier, envelopper  
Pluie  
Plume, poil du corps  
Poisson  
Poitrine  
Porcelaine (genre de coquilles)  
Porte  
Porter  
Porter sur les épaules  
Pou  
Poule  
Près  
Prendre

*Poenatma*  
*To-o*  
*Kangai*  
*Rava*  
*Aui mata*  
*Mau*  
*Tu*  
*Paini kinut*  
*Kapanga*  
*Temant*  
*Tink*  
*Tekinini, titautana*  
*Raurunue*  
*Kinikini*  
*Tuan*  
*Mimi*  
*Tangi tangi*  
*Nana nunuke*  
*Kiaro*  
*Niria*  
*Karau*  
*Purai*  
*Ika-pehi-tigo*  
*Pani pani*  
*Kaupui*  
*Jetia*  
*Huetia*  
*Karu-utia*  
*Tuti*  
*Moa*  
*Ekan*  
*Taua*

Oar.  
To row.  
To speak.  
Pass (channel).  
Eye-lids.  
Ship's flag, or colours.  
Pandanus, screw-pine.  
Comb.  
Penis.  
Father.  
Fart (to fart)<sup>1</sup>.  
Small, a little.  
Foot.  
To pinch.  
Stone.  
To piss.  
Crying, to cry.  
Sole of the foot.  
Canoe platform.  
To fold, to wrap.  
Rain.  
Feather, body hair.  
Fish.  
Chest [part of the body].  
Cowrie shells.  
Door.  
To bear, to carry.  
To carry on one's shoulders.  
Louse.  
Fowl, hen, chicken.  
Near.  
To take.

## Q

Queue (d'oiseau)  
Queue de cheveux<sup>2</sup>

*Puki na*  
*Puki natu*

Tail (of a bird).  
Pony-tail.

1 Ed. note: I cannot resist commenting on the easy mnemonics here, between 'tink' and stink.'  
2 Que les naturels portent derrière la tête = Tail which the natives wear on their napes.

## R

Raser  
 Rassasier (Se)  
 Récif  
 Regarder (voir)  
 Rémora (poisson)  
 Requin (poisson)  
 Rhume (tousse)  
 Rire  
 Roi (grand chef)  
 Ronfler  
 Rot (roter)  
 Rouler une bande

*Tokoro purai*  
*Nuai*  
*Pangai*  
*Tara tara*  
*Tari tari*  
*Pakoa*  
*Poko poko*  
*Ngare*  
*Karut*  
*Ringongo*  
*Pani kana*  
*Niria*

To shave.  
 To satisfy one's hunger.  
 Reef.  
 To look, to see.  
 Remora (fish).  
 Shark.  
 Cough (to cough).  
 To laugh.  
 King (paramount chief).  
 To snore.  
 Burp, to burp.  
 To roll a band, or strip.<sup>1</sup>

## S

Sable  
 Sagaie  
 Sale  
 Salive  
 Saluer en se frottant le nez  
 Sang  
 Savoir (Ne pas)  
 Sculpture sur bois  
 Sein en général  
 Sein ferme  
 Sein pendant  
 Selle (Aller à la)  
 Sentir bon  
 Sentir mauvais  
 Siffler  
 Soleil  
 Soleil levant  
 Soleil à midi  
 Soleil couchant  
 Souffle, souffler  
 Soufflet  
 Sourcils  
 Sourd  
 Sueur  
 Surface unie, plane

*Tano*  
*Karua*  
*Pare*  
*Pauare*  
*Aru pairi*  
*Rara*  
*Papanga ahinkur*  
*Nini*  
*Mama*  
*Mama tetehi*  
*Mama tukuai*  
*Peka*  
*Alukia*  
*Poira*  
*Kanimumui*  
*Tahahi*  
*Oti tahi*  
*Tauanuk*  
*Epungi tahahi*  
*To-uk*  
*Tororo*  
*Hari*  
*Puno*  
*Mahono*  
*Eiriri*

Sand.  
 Dart, short spear.  
 Dirty.  
 Saliva.  
 To greet someone by rubbing noses.  
 Blood.  
 Not to know.  
 Wood carving.  
 Breast, in general.  
 Firm breast.  
 Hanging breast.  
 To have a bowel movement.  
 To smell good.  
 To smell bad, to stink.  
 To whistle.  
 Sun.  
 Rising sun.  
 Midday sun.  
 Setting sun.  
 Blowing, to blow.  
 Bellows.  
 Eye-brows.  
 Deaf.  
 Sweat.  
 Flat, smooth, surface.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Meaning unclear, perhaps to roll up a bandage.

## T

Tailler  
Talon  
Tatouage  
Terre  
Testicules  
Tête  
Tonnerre  
Tracer un cercle  
Tresse en général  
Tortue

*Koruia*  
*Puki-nur*  
*Tahite*  
*Penua*  
*Rato*  
*Tapanu*  
*Paha*  
*Otiri*  
*Tokoran*  
*Tohunt*

To cut, or carve.  
Heel.  
Tattoo.  
Land, earth.  
Testicles.  
Head.  
Thunder.  
To trace a circle.  
Braid of hair, in general.  
Turtle.

## V

Veines  
Vent  
Vergue  
Vêtement  
Voile de navire  
Voir (Faire)  
Voler, oiseau  
Voler un objet  
Vulve  
Vierge (Fille)  
Visage

*la*  
*Hang*  
*Ipi*  
*Tukunue-kai*  
*Ra*  
*Noria*  
*Tira*  
*Toto-tou*  
*Kere*  
*Tepuno*  
*Pai tiro-taumune*

Veins.  
Wind.  
Yard (of a mast), boom.  
Clothing, clothes.  
Sail of a ship.  
To show, to let see, to demonstrate.  
To fly (said of a bird).  
To rob, to steal.  
Vulva.  
Virgin (girl).  
Face.

## Numbers.

1. *Tuhana*
2. *Hua.*
3. *Tenua.*
4. *Ahua.*
5. *Nimahua.*
6. *Anohua.*
7. *Itua.*
8. *Anua.*
9. *Luashua.*
10. *Tepuina.*
20. *Huanpui.*
30. *Tenipui.*
40. *Aupui.*
50. *Nimaupui.*
60. *Onopui.*
70. *Itipui.*
80. *Uipui.*
90. *Huaupui.*
100. *Tenga hun.*

## Names of the Francis [sic] Island Group [i.e. Southern Gilberts]

Oneheke	[Oneaka, part of Kuria atoll]
Kuria	[Kuria proper]
Apatuk	[Aranuka]
Pihike	[part of Abemama atoll?]
Apemahama	[Abemama]
Takehangaeen	[Takaeng, part of Aranuka]
Nunouti	[Nonouti]
Toporarai	[Tabiteuea]
Onotua	[Onotoa]

The Chase Island of the [U.S.] charts is called Tamana by the natives; it is located a few leagues to the south of the Francis Islands.

The southernmost island of the Gilbert Archipelago is called by the natives Erorai [Arorae]; it appears only on English charts under the names of Hope, or Crocker, Island.



## II. Vocabulary of the Mulgrave Islands [Mili].

### Preliminary note.

One or two days before the discovery of Port Rhin, Captain Bérard, who intended to punish the natives of Galleleup Island (Cayanne on the charts) for the capture of the captain and sailors of the *Angéline*, had seven natives captured, who had been aboard a local canoe. After the natives were brought on board, they were placed in irons and, after this measure was adopted, I was asked by the commander to question them and to gather a vocabulary of their language. I had no success in my efforts to communicate by using the various languages that I knew. Their own language was different, not only in words but in pronunciation (which was very harsh), from all other Pacific Ocean languages. I believe it has a similarity only with the languages of the Marshall and Caroline Islands. Despairing of being able to get the slightest bit of information from the natives regarding the fate of our unfortunate countrymen, I took the decision to study their language and to form a small dictionary that might be useful to me later on. To this effect, I selected a native who appeared to be very intelligent, and began my work, which I would have been able to pursue much farther, had I not been interrupted.

The day after the discovery of Port Rhin, the commander did me the favor of sending me ashore to discover what I could. As he had told me, my outing was not to last more than two hours. Accompanied by my colleague, the third surgeon, I went ashore on the island near the pass, where there were some natives who received us openly. There, I met a native who knew a little Spanish. By means of a small gift, I was able to get from him a few more words, and correct those already collected. I added the words for the first ten numbers.

**Note.** I have written all words with French sounds. The letter E has always the sound of a closed *é*, but the consonant *r* has such a harsh sound that, in the written form, one would have to represent it by that same letter repeated two or three times, to give it the proper value, e.g. *Eruo* is pronounced *Errruo*.

On board the ship *Rhin*, September 1845.<sup>1</sup>

### A

Abdomen	<i>Tiere</i>	Belly.	[Modern spelling] [Je]
Accoucher	<i>Meme</i>	To give birth.	
Aller, allons	<i>Tetere</i>	To go, let's go.	[Jera]
Ami	<i>Redeut-rede</i>	Friend.	
Anus	<i>Pitiek</i>	Anus.	
Assis	<i>Teiat</i>	Sitting.	[Jijet = sit down]

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: I have preserved the French words, but transcribed the Marshallese to sound in English the same as it does in French, and added the English translation, as well as the footnotes.

## B

Baisser	<i>Meha</i>	To lower.	
Baie, rade	<i>Jal</i>	Bay, roadstead.	[Ja]
Baiser (subst.)	<i>Ninnin</i>	Kiss.	
Baquet pour préparer les vivres	<i>Tiapi</i>	Tub for food preparation.	
Beaucoup	<i>Onor</i>	Much, many.	
Blessure	<i>Erup</i>	Wound.	
Bon, bien (adv.)	<i>Enman-rerei</i>	Good, well.	[Mman]
Bonjour	<i>Adhera</i>	Hello, good morning!	
Bouche	<i>Laugin</i>	Mouth.	[Loñi]
Boire	<i>Irak</i>	To drink.	[Idaak]
Bras	<i>Peire</i>	Arm.	[Pa-ro]

## C

Canot, pirogue	<i>Oa-kikenu</i>	Canoe, proa.	[Wa-]
Ceinture qui sert de maro	<i>In</i>	Grass skirt.	[In]
Chaleur	<i>Bial</i>	Heat.	[Bwil = hot]
Chat	<i>Paau</i>	Cat.	
Chef	<i>Jurot</i>	Chief.	[Irooj]
Chenal, passage	<i>Arr</i>	Channel, pass. <sup>1</sup>	
Cheveux	<i>Hui teka</i>	Hair.	
Chevile du pied	<i>Titiro ia nere</i>	Ankle.	
Cicatrice	<i>Epuke</i>	Scar.	
Ciel	<i>Lang</i>	Sky, heaven.	[Lañ]
Collier en corail	<i>Bungi</i>	Coral necklace.	
Collier en coquilles	<i>Ut</i>	Shell necklace.	
Colonne vertébrale	<i>Reri</i>	Back-bone.	
Comprendre	<i>Armet</i>	To understand.	
Cocos, cocotier	<i>Ni</i>	Coconuts, coconut tree.	[Ni]
Coit	<i>Kupuluru</i>	Coitus.	
Corde	<i>Do</i>	Rope.	[To]
Cou	<i>Puruare</i>	Neck.	
Courir	<i>Tetere</i>	To run.	[Ttor]
Couteau, instrument tranchant	<i>Ncorerik</i>	Knife, cutting tool.	
Crier	<i>Elaumunt</i>	To shout.	
Cuisse	<i>Pelore nere</i>	Thigh.	

## D

Danser	<i>Eup</i>	To dance.	[Eb]
Debout	<i>Utak</i>	Up, standing.	[Jutak]
Dents	<i>Neri</i>	Teeth.	[Ñi]
Derrière	<i>Mui</i>	Behind.	

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: Error; Ar = lagoon beach.

Devant	<i>Mua</i>	Before, in front of.	[Maa]
Démangeaison	<i>Koikoi</i>	Itching.	
Doigt	<i>Teauteu</i>	Little finger.	
Doigts	<i>Auterene</i>	Fingers.	
Donner	<i>Keian</i>	To give.	
Dormir	<i>Matutu</i>	To sleep.	[Majur]
Dos	<i>Alekere</i>	Back.	[Alik]

## E

Eau	<i>Emaru</i>	Water.	
Empoigner	<i>Kuli</i>	To grab.	
Enfant	<i>Ennink</i>	Child.	
Épaule	<i>Aera</i>	Shoulder.	[Aera]
Éternuer	<i>Mati</i>	To sneeze.	
Étoile	<i>Itu</i>	Star.	[Iju]
Éteindre	<i>Atopogoti</i>	To put out, to extinguish.	

## F

Face	<i>Tutu no matare</i>	Face.	[Turun maj]
Favoris	<i>Paran</i>	Sideburns.	
Femme	<i>Kara</i>	Woman.	[Kora]
Femme enceinte	<i>Telup tiere</i>	Pregnant woman.	
Fer	<i>Mere</i>	Iron.	
Feu, lumière	<i>Kitek</i>	Fire, light.	[Kijeeek]
Frapper	<i>Tukitukai</i>	To hit.	
Front	<i>Ramora</i>	Forehead.	
Fumée	<i>Okui</i>	Smoke.	
Fusil	<i>Bwat</i>	Gun, shotgun. [Bu-wa = gun-shot]	

## G

Genou	<i>Puki en</i>	Knee.	[Bukwe]
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## H

Homme, en général	<i>Moman</i>	Man, in general.	[Mmaan]
Homme, blanc	<i>Moman eman</i>	White man.	
Homme, indigène	<i>Moman enana</i>	Male native.	
Hameçon	<i>Kat</i>	Fish-hook.	[Kaa]

## J

Jambe	<i>Atali nere</i>	Leg.	[Ne]
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## L

Langue	<i>Lore</i>	Tongue.	[Lo]
Le, la, les (art.)	<i>Te</i> [sic]	The (article).	[Ke = that]
Lèvres	<i>Ere, or Tere</i>	Lips.	[Tie]
Lune	<i>Allen</i>	Moon.	[Alloñ]

## M

Main	<i>Antere</i>	Hand.	
Maison	<i>Em oa</i>	[Boat-] House.	[Em]
Manger	<i>Mangai</i>	To eat.	[Mona]
Marcher	<i>Ededal</i>	To walk.	[Etetal]
Mât de pirogue, de navire	<i>To</i>	Mast of canoe, or ship. <sup>1</sup>	
Mauvais	<i>Ennana</i>	Bad.	[Nnan]
Menton	<i>Mone nere</i>	Chin.	
Mer	<i>Laumalo, or raumaro</i>	Sea.	[Lometo]
Morsure	<i>Purun</i>	Bite.	
Mort	<i>Ematu</i>	Dead.	[Mej]
Mouche	<i>Rang</i>	Fly.	[Loñ]
Moustache	<i>Huakeno magai</i>	Moustache.	

## N

Nez	<i>Potera</i>	Nose.	[Boti]
Noir	<i>Raran</i>	Black.	
Navire	<i>Purua</i>	Ship.	
Natte, qui sert de pagne	<i>Pitea</i>	Mat, used as skirt.	
Non (négatif)	<i>Ngak akea</i>	No, not. [Ñak ke = not know that]	
Nuages	<i>Gara</i>	Clouds.	[Kodo]

## O

Œil	<i>Ariteu</i>	Eye.	
Ombre	<i>Annedore</i>	Shadow, shade.	
Ongle	<i>Akeke</i>	Finger-nail.	[Akki]
Oreille	<i>Gaotelinga</i>	Ear.	[Lojilñi]
Orteil (gros)	<i>Tianteu</i>	Big toe.	
Oui	<i>Ja</i>	Yes.	[Inña]

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1 Ed. note: Error: To = rope; Kaju = mast.

## P

Paille	<i>Gahan</i>	Straw.	
Pandanus (arbre et fruit)	<i>Pop</i>	Breadfruit (tree).	[Bob]
Panier	<i>Jep</i>	Basket.	
Papillon	<i>Papup</i>	Butterfly.	
Parler	<i>Kumele</i>	To speak.	[Komlot]
Paupière	<i>Metare</i>	Eye-lid.	
Pendant d'oreille	<i>Makan</i>	Earring.	
Pénis	<i>Rure</i>	Penis.	
Petit, peu	<i>Nenik</i>	Small, a little.	[Niñ]
Péter	<i>Rupala</i>	To fart.	[Rub]
Pied	<i>No pene nere</i>	Foot.	[Ne = leg]
Plainte, pleurs	<i>Iteangi</i>	Wailing, tears.	
Pluie	<i>Wat</i>	Rain.	[Wot]
Pros, pirogue	<i>Wa</i>	Proa, canoe.	[Wa]
Poisson	<i>Eo [rather Ek]</i>	Fish.	[Ek]
Poitrine	<i>Loupara</i>	Chest.	
Pouce	<i>Teuredelem</i>	Thumb.	

## R

Rat	<i>Keterik</i>	Rat.	[Kijdik]
Ronfler	<i>Totugu, or Lolugu</i>	To snore.	
Roter	<i>Jaroltake</i>	To burp.	

## S

Salive	<i>Kapelou</i>	Saliva.	[Kaplo]
Saluer en se frottant le nez	<i>Eatongi</i>	To greet by rubbing noses.	
Sang	<i>Orenga</i>	Blood.	
Savoir (Ne pas)	<i>Repet</i>	Not to know. [see Non above]	
Sein	<i>Teate</i>	Breast.	[Itut]
Selle (Aller à la)	<i>Pitieke</i>	To move one's bowels.	
Sentir mauvais	<i>Puakakou</i>	To smell bad.	
Soleil	<i>All</i>	Sun.	[Al]
Sourcil	<i>Eatari</i>	Eye-brows.	
Sueur	<i>Manakaru</i>	Sweat.	[Menokadu]

## T

Talon	<i>Te mui nere</i>	Heel.	[Jimwin ne]
Tatouage	<i>Eo</i>	Tattoo	[Eo]
Terre, rivage	<i>Jeni</i>	Land, shore.	[lane = ashore]
Tousser	<i>Pohoko poko</i>	To cough.	[Pokpok]
Tonnerre	<i>Tiaruru</i>	Thunder.	[Jourur]

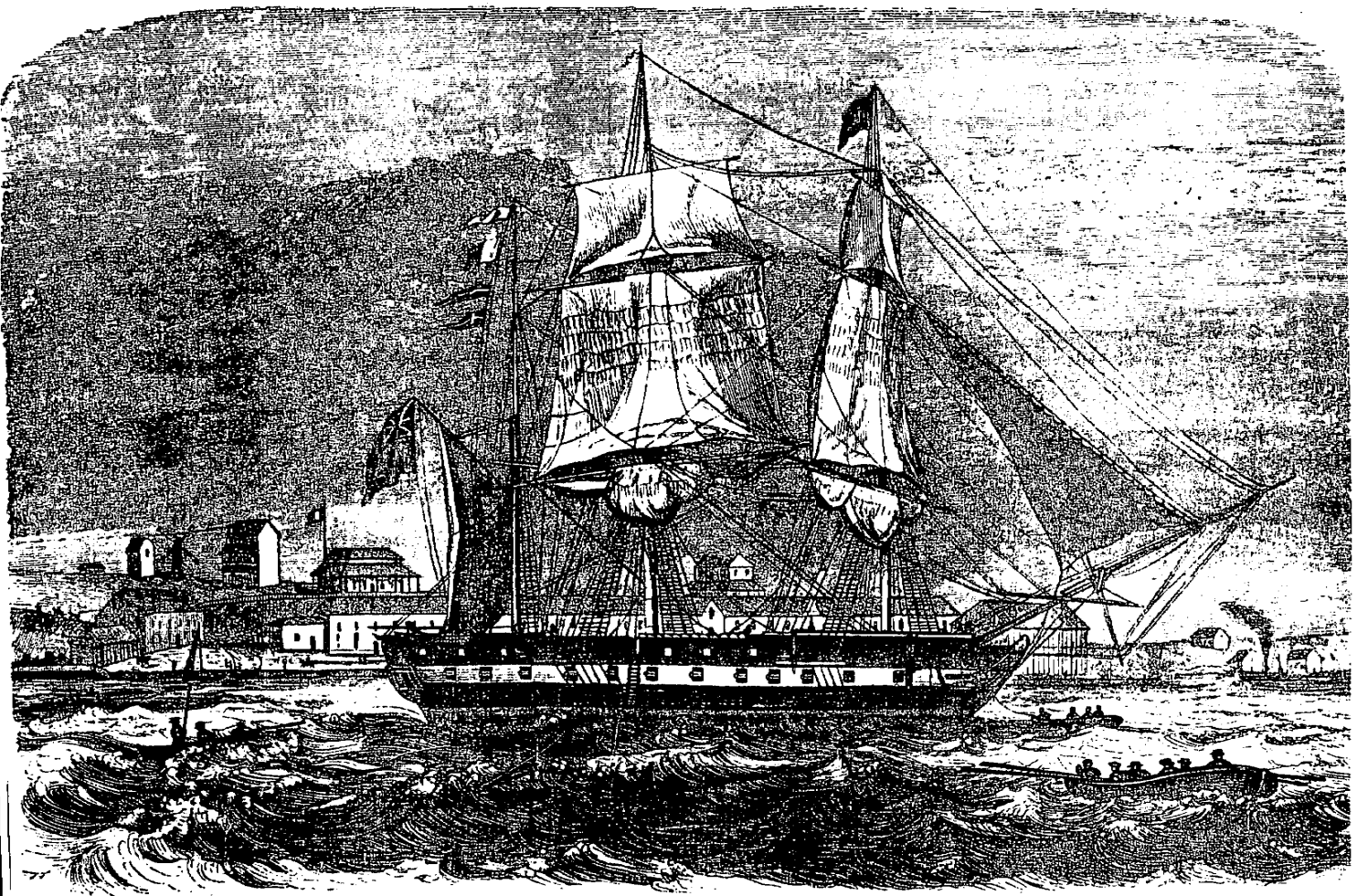
Tuer *Met* To kill. [Mej = dead]

## V

Vase pour boire	<i>Rak [rather Kab]</i>	Vessel for drinking.	
Veines	<i>Eke</i>	Veins.	[Eke]
Vent	<i>Kedo</i>	Wind.	[Koto]
Viens	<i>Huatdok</i>	Come!	[Watok]
Voir	<i>Meteang</i>	To see.	
Voile de pirogue, etc.	<i>Hui te la</i>	Sail, of a canoed, etc.	[Wojla]

## Numbers.

		[Modern spelling]
1.	<i>Tiuan</i>	[Joun]
2.	<i>Eruo</i>	[Ruo]
3.	<i>Telu</i>	[Jilu]
4.	<i>Temam</i>	[Eman]
5.	<i>Alima</i>	[Lalem]
6.	<i>Tel tino</i>	[Jiljino]
7.	<i>Tel telum tiuan</i>	[Jiljilimpuon, 3 + 3 + 1]
8.	<i>Atino</i>	
9.	<i>Alelum tiuan</i>	[8 + 1]
10.	<i>Tenga huri</i>	



The French ship Miverva at Sydney.

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**Document 1845B**

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**Another Frenchman visited Kosrae in 1845  
aboard the Minerva**

*Source: Eugène Delessert. Voyages dans les deux océans Atlantique et Pacifique, 1844 à 1847... (Paris, Franck, 1848).*

*Note: The book does not give details about the ship or her captain . It was probably a French trading ship.*

**Voyages in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, 1844 to  
1847:****Brazil, U.S.A, Cape of Good Hope, New Holland, Tahiti,  
Philippines, China, Java, East Indies, Egypt.**

...

**Introduction.**

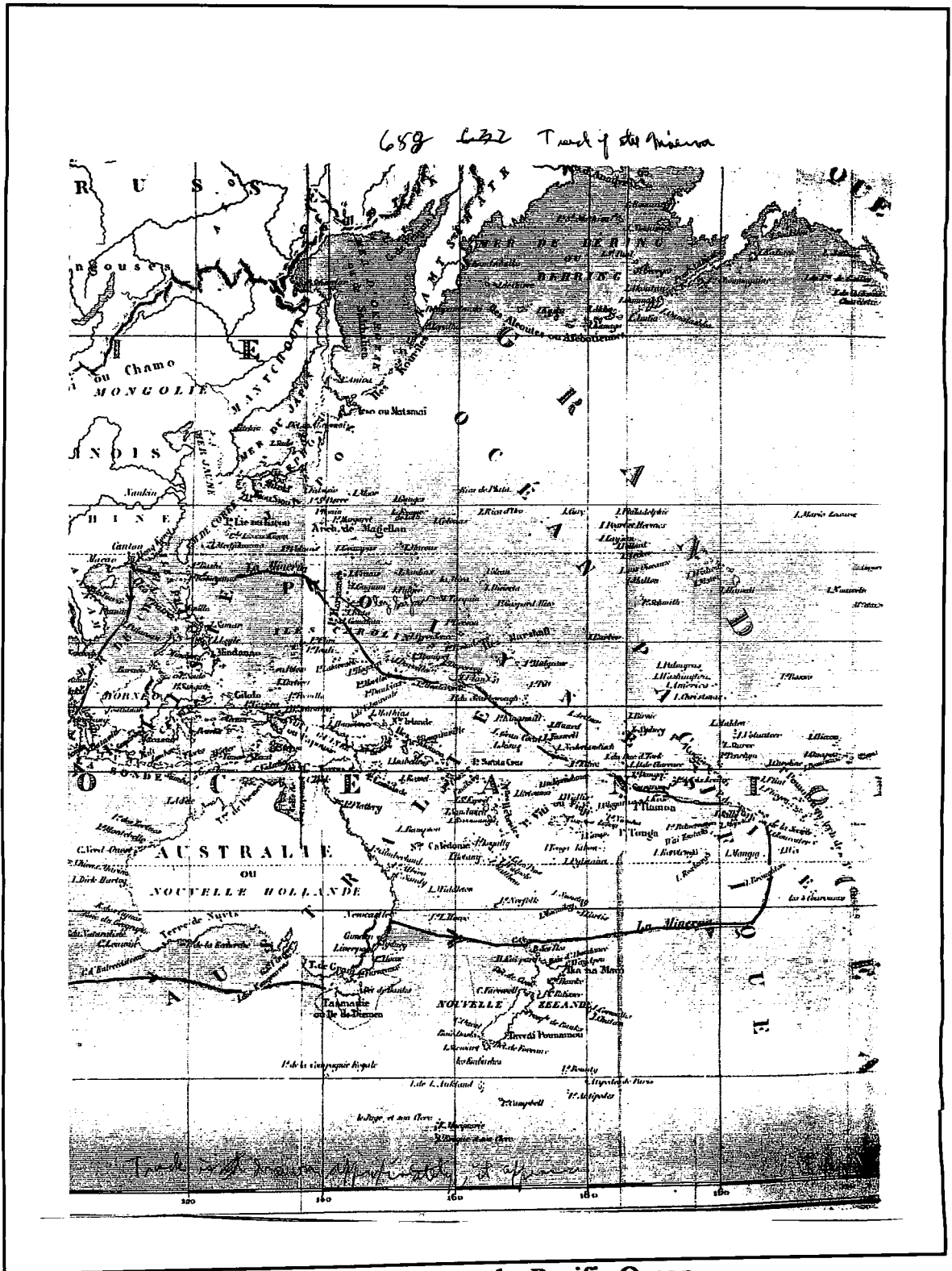
... Toward the end of 1839, I went to Brazil, where I stayed for a rather long time; from there I went to the United States, for business reasons. After I had visited this country of liberty and progress, I was back in Rio de Janeiro at the end of December of the following year. Some time later, as my health was affected by fatigue and the permanent hot weather, I decided to go back to France, where I arrived in July 1841.

Three years later, encouraged by my father, who had himself made long voyages to the Indies, I left Havre for a second time, in August 1844, headed for New Holland. I visited part of Oceania, the Society Islands, Java, the Philippines, China and the East Indies. After three years of absence, I returned to France by the Red Sea, Egypt and the Mediterranean.

I think I brought back from all the countries I have visited important collections of objects, both artistic and of natural history.

...





Track of the Minerva across the Pacific Ocean.

## Second Voyage—Society Islands.—Tahiti.

...

As we had been unable to find food supplies since our departure from Borabora Island, we had been forced to live for some time on reduced rations of hard tack and salt meat, when we came in sight of Ualan [Kosrae] Island. We intended to replenish our food stock if that were at all possible. It was prudent, however, to take some precautions against an attack. Once our defences had been assured, we soon found ourselves near enough to the land to see clearly what was going on. We saw a beautiful canoe come out from between some rocks, where perhaps was located the entrance to some port. Some fifteen or twenty men were aboard the canoe. It came to meet us and, when it was nearer, we could appreciate its smooth lines and recognize that it had been made with the greatest care. At last, it reached us and all its passengers came on board. They were naked, except for a belt around the belly. Among them, we found two English deserters who treated the natives as real slaves and seemed to inspire them with much fear. The captain asked them if it were possible to procure some fowl or fruits, and they answered that absolutely nothing could be had on the island. We were thus forced to resign ourselves to this situation.

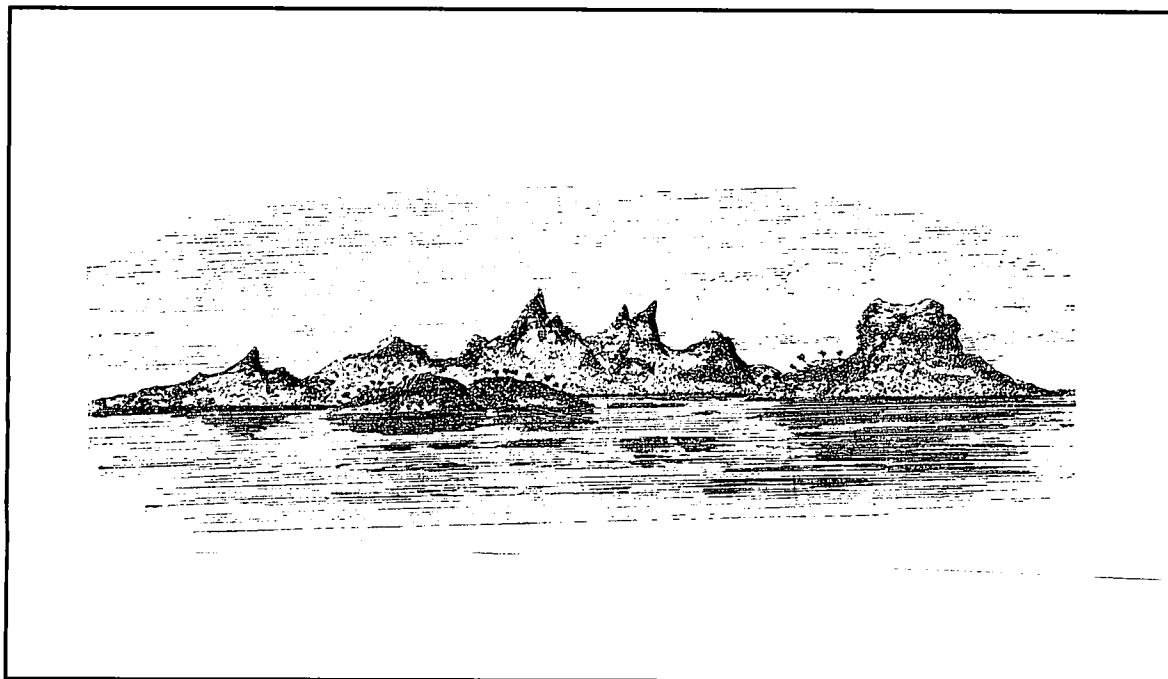
I wished to go ashore very much; so, I asked the captain and he ordered the big boat to be armed. One of the natives became our guide; the others were made to stay as hostages until our return. The closer we came to the land, the greener it appeared. At last, we arrived and I disembarked with my small troop in good order, taking care to leave three well-armed men behind with the boat. Our guide offered to lead us to the houses by a path through a wooded area that I would have liked to follow instead of the path along the sea-shore; however, prudence called for this sacrifice. Soon we were far enough from our boat and surrounded by a curious crowd of islanders, as naked as the ones we first saw. Some women and children were looking from afar. Our walk was suddenly halted by the sound of a gun fired by the **Minerva**. This signal seemed like a bad omen to me, and we had to suppose that something unusual was happening on board. We reached our boat as fast as we could, but along the way, I was able to exchange a few knives and other things of small value that I had brought for trading purposes. I was thus able to acquire a few belts from men and women, who willingly got rid of them when I offered my trade goods. I got a very beautiful piece of tortoise shell that a native had hanging from his neck; without a doubt, this was a mark of rank. Not knowing what was happening on board, our retreat was hurried and my exchanges were very limited.

We left the island as we had arrived and, upon our return, I learned that the **Minerva** was being pushed by currents, and the captain feared that she would be thrown upon the coast. Thus, willy-nilly, he had to set sail again without further delay.

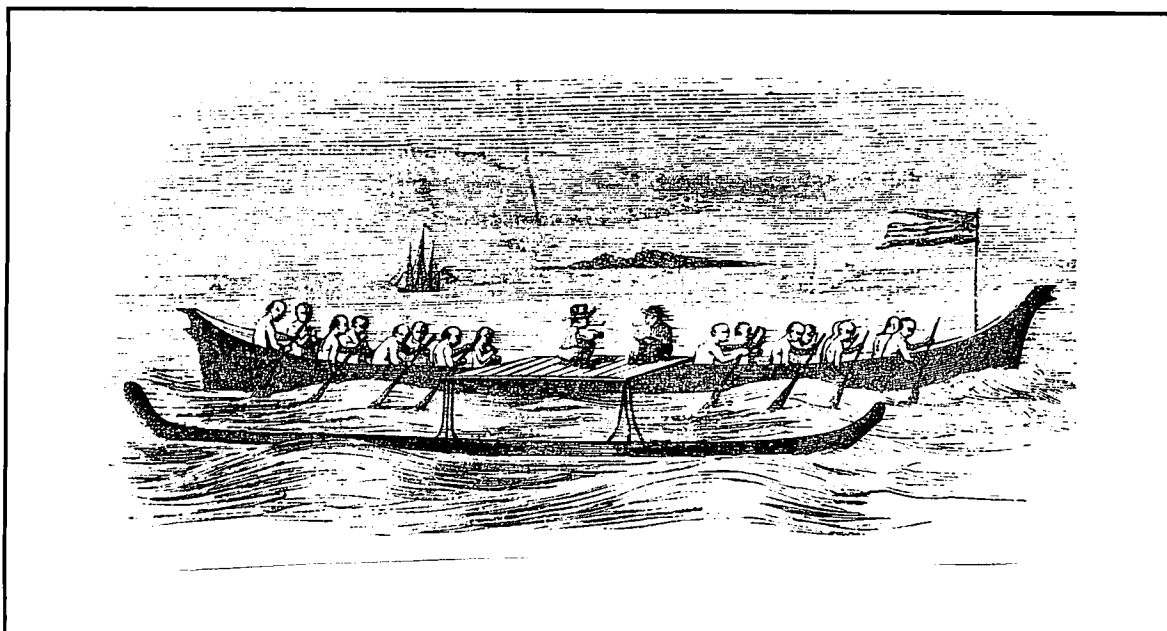
The natives aboard the **Minerva** assured us that they had seen only two ships since the **Coquille**, under the command of Captain Duperrey, had visited the island.<sup>1</sup> Thus

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1 Ed. note: This was incorrect.



**Ualan, or Kosrae, Island.**



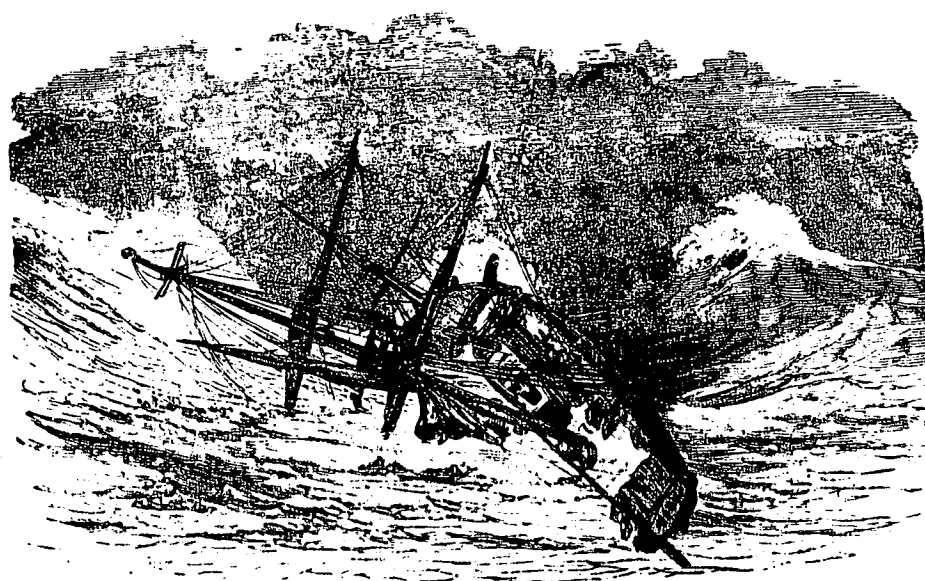
**Ualanese, or Kosraean, canoe.**

we were for them objects of some curiosity and amazement. They examined every part of our ship with intense interest. We made them a few presents and they left in their canoe.

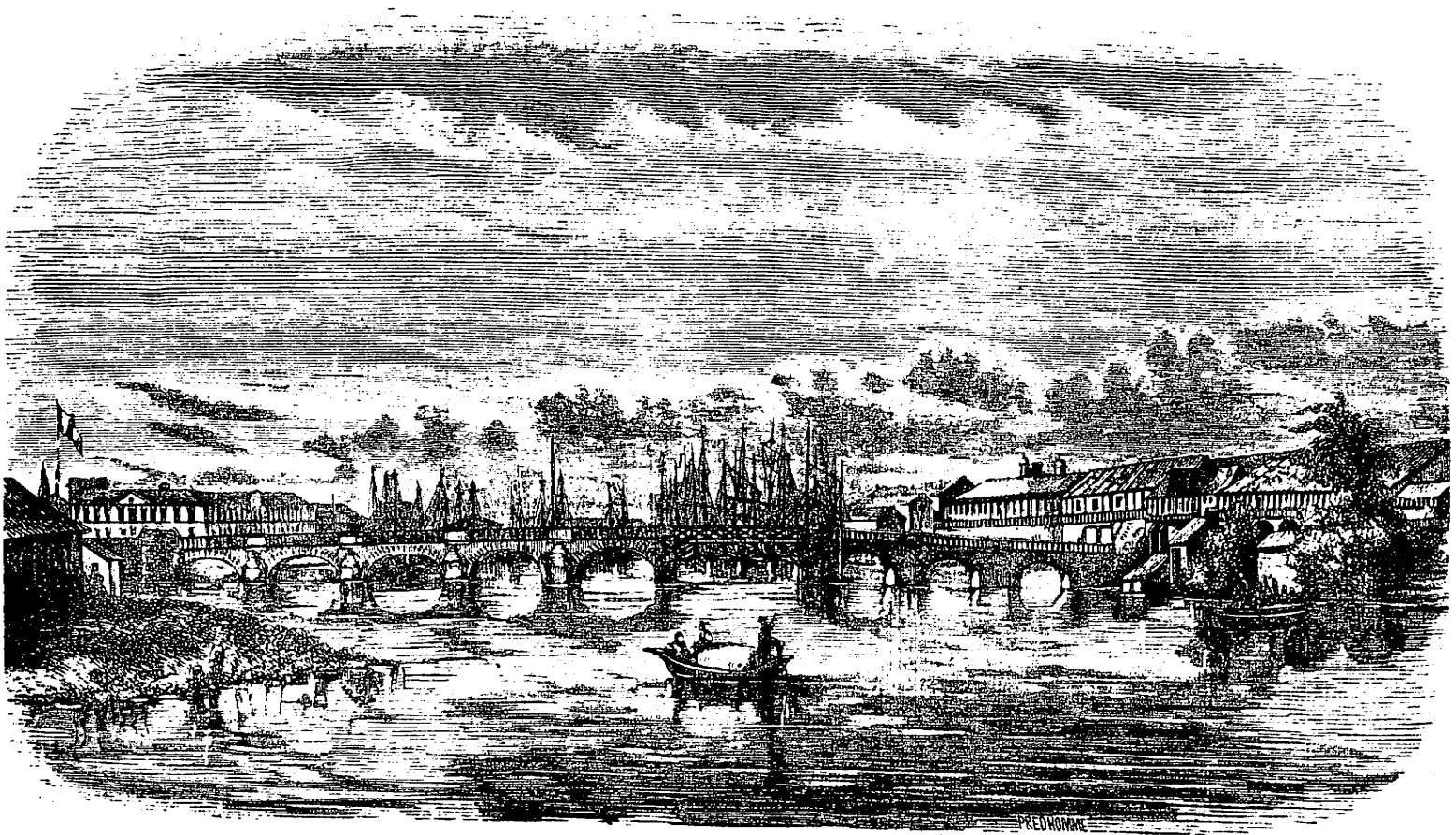
Eight days later, we were crossing the Mariana Group at the latitude of Saipan and we were all anxious to arrive at the end of our voyage, because, reduced as we were to the most meager of ration, we had much to suffer. Our distress was such that, when a chicken fell into the sea, two sailors risked their life by jumping into the sea to retrieve it; it was one of three remaining in store and that had been saved this long, on account of their scrawniness. Alas! these privations were nothing compared to the trials which were to follow. On November 2nd, a grey sky and a choppy sea told us that we were nearing the China Sea. We were indeed close to the Bashee Islands, in the Strait of Formosa, so feared by navigators. We were soon in the grip of a horrible storm... A wave covered the **Minerva**... and swept everything from her deck...

...  
Finally... we reached Victoria Town in Hong Kong, where we anchored on November 7th, 1845...

...



**The Minerva hit by a storm upon leaving Micronesia.**



PONT DE MANILLE.

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**Documents 1845C**

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**Governor Santa María—First conference on  
the development of the Marianas**

*Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Colonial Government, Item 48; cited in B&R 53: 384.*

**C1. Report dated 16 April 1845****Original text in Spanish.*****Gobierno de Marianas.***

*Con intencion de recordar el Señor Governador firmando su marcha observada desde que tomó el mando de las Yslas : motivos muy poderosos que à ello le han obligado, si en algun caso se ha separado en alguna formalidad de poca prevesion y practica, dirigiendo su objeto à el verdadero adelanto de la Ysla en cualquier de los puntos si caso segui... se le hayan ido presentando, habiendo procurado desembarando algun obstaculo cuando há creido no contravenir à mandatos Superiores para un buen resultado seguro, y en honor de la nacion que en esta le puso y conserba, acreditandolo con la franqueza que há sido hecho, y observaciones interesantes à la Ysla y de que la Superioridad le tenga exacto de su estado con la marcha franca del que rige por el dicho metodo y caso que abajo manifiesta obserbadas, auxiliadas, y disfrutadas para estos havitantes, y son:*

*1º.—Que el fallecimiento del Padre Rector quinze dia despues de tomar su mando y haviendole conocido semanas antes recargado de atenciones: algunas descuidadas por costumbre immemorial y no poder mas que nadie en plena salud hubiera podido atender à la administracion espiritual de la Ciudad con sus cinco Pueblecitos anexos y el de Pago à otros dos leguas distante à que se agregaba el rectorado con espendio de varios efectos pertenecientes al Colegio de que no podia, ni llebaba cuenta aclarataria, sino de un modo propio para adivinar: esta necesidad y su falta aumentó la de tener que recargarse los Religiosos y encargale à otro del Colegio; que con mil esposiciones y algunos yerros se formaron de pronto los Ymbentarios con el deseo de dar cuenta y corresponder à la confianza que se le havia recomendado en instrucciones y de palabra.*

*2º.—Que este Colegio se puso habitable desde fin de 843 y se senta(?) para recibir á su enseñanza, como asisten hace un año mas trescientos y cincuenta niños incluso los*

*Colegiales, y à la antigua Escuela pública y Hospital abandonados é inabitables havien- do compuesto concurren à la Escuela ciento y cincuenta niños, y al Hospital todas las niñas en numero de doscientas y cincuenta à trescientas, enseñadas por tres maestras, una y otra misma conocida en esmero de enseñanza si es decir que se enseñan, à diez y uno desde Septiembre de 843 à Enero de 844 con lo respectivo al situado del Colegio, y bajo un pie muy distinto: (esto és en varendo).*

3°.—*Que la enseñanza de niños de ambos sexos se ha generalizado en dos Yslas pobladas bajo el mismo pie y orden que está en la Ciudad, que las reglas que hay para su logro y continuacion han sido algo molestos, pero bajo el pie establecido, no és gravoso para los padres, ni dejaràn de conocerse sus ventajas si como és de esperar, continuan por ser el mas propio y adactables [sic] à las necesidades de estas Yslas.*

4°.—*Que entusiasta por la prosperidad de la Ysla desde su llegada hà procurado desentrañar algun medio capaz de mejorar la suerte de sus havitantes (flojos) ensayando en el articulo de tabaco, añil, algodón, Balates, y otros, haciendo gastos donde no podia esperarse utilidades sino remotamente, y para informar con toda certeza à la Superioridad, solo se hà logrado bastante estension en las Siembras de Palay y raices: en la Caña dulce dà algunas esperanzas mas que otros articulos, preparandose este para algun desarrollo por su apoyo en gran parte.*

5°.—*Fomento de la Ysla la hà procurado en general à los Pueblos, y à los individuos; estimulandolos con su ejemplo, razonamientos, recogiendo informes yà particularmente de inteligentes, ya de ancianos practicos y laboriosos en juntas extraordinarias[,] conferenciando lo que mas pueda combenir al fomento, y con suplementos propios, repartiendo à todos los tribunales y establecimientos mas publicos herramientas y medidas desde media chupa à medio cavan: lo mismo varas de medio tambien en los tribunales: libros en los mismos; cuadernos para gobierno de Maestros y Maestras de niños, estendiendose su zelo à quanto concibe pueda ser util à la Ysla.*

6°.—*Bancas ó Champanes para alivio de los hombres y mugeres que se cargan; y fáciles transportes à una por cada dos cavecerias de que estaban ecsaustos hasta de Baroto y hoy las tienen à discrecion.*

7°.—*Reparto desprendido de Presidarios à beneficio de particulares laboriosos, y Hacienda de Tinian en beneficio de Lazarinos.*

9°.—*Arados: repartidos à Pueblos de mas facil uso y Presos para que enseñen el servicio de ellos, y en esta Ciudad lo mismo.*

10°.—*Cantidades para que algunos traficantes se ingenien y hagan compras en los Buques sin que en esto tenga interes, o parte mas que los deseos que aprendan à vivir y utilizar.*

11°.—*Por ultimo: adelanto de gruesa suma à hombres honrados y deseosos de su prosperidad y de la Ysla en el apronto para completo de la compra de un Buque que pueda estimular à es--- y animar à muchos à grandes siembras ú pesca de esportacion.*

12°.—*Ordenes justas y razonables que tienden al buen gobierno, y administracion equitatiba para ambas Yslas.*

13°.—*Que varias desavenencias antiguas (con motibos ó sin ellos) han desaparecido y logrado la mejor armonia con autoridades y subditos de todas clases como se disfruta, que muchos hace les era desconocida y esta és sin mezcla de renzillas, descritos cumpliendo cada uno con los cargos de su deber sin ceñir en los suyos à los estraños sino por falta de capacidades algunas veces adactando los medios precedentes yà de enseñar.*

14°.—*Administracion de justicia, con brevedad à cuantos necesitan y se corrigen por medios moderados y armoniando lo que és posible paternalmente.*

15°.—*Los vicios estan reprimidos y los rateros disminuidos por prontas correcciones, no por la dureza rigurosa que és por un medio mas favorable à los Pueblos y à sus propias familias que separados por semanas, ó un par de medios lo mas de salir de la Ysla, y antes era por un año saliendo à otra durante el cual varias familias quedaban en el abandono: lu---za de carceles en cuanto à retener presos en ella es muy duro: las correcciones se conmutan en trabajos publicos, medida que gana el individuo, y los Pueblos.*

16°.—*La fuerza de las cavecerias nivelada para el mal a--cillo manejo de las cavezas que con poca costumbre, poca aficion, poquisima instruccion la mayor parte, y sin tener con que remplazarlos todo se va regularizando con medidas nada gra--- constandolos que esto mismo se ha practicado por todas las Poblaciones en las que si en la Ciudad hay cavezas que si lo saben escribir su nombre, en los Pueblos hay Gobernadorcillos que estan ---les, y les havido pocos años hace sin saber escribir las letras de su nombre propio, siendo tan espuesto que en el caso mas instruccion peligran casi los nombramientos de Justicia ... hombres abandonados a la flojedad ó à la embriaguez, sino apoderados de alguna enfermedad ó lepra, en cuyos casos solo sin Governador celoso lo remedia en lo posible y nadie mas que se tome interes por los Pueblos.*

17°.—*Reforma y remplazo de la Milicia completa y vestida cuales nunca se ha visto por mas esfuerzos que hizo el Sor. Villalobos, y otros con muy distintos recursos, aprovechando los sugetos y en todo con liquidad y justicia los ascensos(?) y empleos repartidos.*

18°.—*Instruccion de esta tan metodica e insensible que no se hace odioso: el tiempo que se emplea en ejercicio: con exactitud y cuenta, se rebaja de trabajos comunales un dia para cada diez horas.*

19°.—*Construccion de Yglesias, Casas Parroquiales, Reales, y Escuelas, por medio de composiciones las mas equitativas a los Pueblos se principiò y aun va continuando sin que la falta de recursos le descomen, si él los tiene.*

20°.—*Etc.*

...  
*Gregorio Santa María  
 Fr. Manuel de la Encarnacion  
 Felix Calvo  
 Silvestre Ynocencio Palomo  
 José Joaquin de la Cruz*

*Francisco Tudela  
 Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo  
 Joaquin de Leon Guerrero  
 Cecilio Camacho  
 José Martinez*



<i>José Flores</i>	<i>Juan Roberto</i>
<i>Nicolas de Borja</i>	<i>Damaso de San Nicolas</i>
<i>Juan Diaz</i>	<i>Lucas de Castro</i>
<i>Francisco Días</i>	<i>Pedro Guerrero</i>
<i>Justo de la Cruz</i>	<i>José de la Cruz</i>
<i>Xavier de Salas</i>	<i>José Tanoña</i>
<i>Ante mi, José de la Cruz, Secretario de Gobierno y Guerra.</i>	

## Translation.

### Government of the Marianas.

His Lordship the Governor, wishing to put on record the approach that he has followed since he took over the government of the Islands: very powerful motives which have made him to it, if in any case he has diverged from any formality of little importance in practice, his objective being directed at the true advancement of the Island in any of the points followed in any case placed before him, his intention having been to sweep away any obstacle whenever he thought he did not contravene any superior order in order to obtain an assured result, and to honor the nation that has entrusted him with said post, by frankly admitting what he has done, and by making interesting observations about the Island, so that the auperior authorities will get a clear idea of its state of affairs, in accordance with the frankness that regulates said method, and specifically in the following cases that he has observed, assisted in, and performed on behalf of these natives, to wit:

1°—Given the death of the Father Rector which occurred fifteen days after the take-over date, having known him to have been working hard over the previous weeks but neglecting some other duties that have been neglected since time immemorial and not being able to achieve more than anyone would have done having been in full health, with regards to the spiritual care of the City with its five small towns that depend from it and the town of Pago which is distant two leagues from it, plus the charge of rector of the College whose accounts he could not and did not keep in a clear fashion, except in a particular way which no-one else can decipher: this necessity forced him to overload the other religious and assign the College to someone else; that with a thousand expositiones and a few errors the Inventories were soon taken for the purpose of reporting and in conformity with the trust that had been placed upon him and the verbal recommendations made to him.

2°—That this College has been made liveable as of the end of 1843 and fit for teaching, given that for one year now it has accommodated over 350 children, including the College boys, and as to the old School and Hospital, abandoned and unliveable, they have been repaired, and 150 boys attend this school, and all the girls, numbering from 250 to 300, attend the Hospital, under the direction of three school-mistresses, both [sic] of them known for their teaching ability, which is to say that the children are being taught. at 10 amd 1, since September 1843 to January 1844 with respect to the subsidy

received for the College, but under a footing that is very different (this is by using compulsion).

3°—That the teaching of children of both sexes has become general in two inhabited islands under the same footing and discipline used in the City, that the rules used for its success and continuation have been problematic, but under the established footing, it is not taxing upon the parents, and the results will soon be forthcoming, it is hoped, since they are most suitable and appropriate for these Islands.

4°—That, for being enthusiastic for the prosperity of the Island since his arrival, he has tried to find some means to improve the lot of its (lazy) inhabitants, by teaching them how to sow tobacco, indigo, cotton, sea cucumbers, and other articles, investing money where returns can only be expected in a remote date, and the better to inform the superior authorities with complete precision, positive results have only been achieved in the extension of the planting of rice and root plants; as for sugarcane, there is some hope, more than for any other articles, preparations being made for its development with his support in great part.

5°—The progress of the Islands has been generally applied to the Towns, and to individuals; he has stimulated them by his example, by his arguments, by asking for specific reports, either from expert persons or from old persons with practical experience and laborious, during extraordinary meetings and conferences about the best methods for development, and with a personal input, by distributing to all the courts and more public institutions some tools and measures starting with half chupas to half cabans; also some measuring sticks in the courts, record books therein; notebooks for the administration to male and female school-teachers, his zeal knowing no bounds when it comes to the benefit of the Island.

6°—Canoes or sail-boats for the relief of the men and women who do the transport; and one easy transport for every two towns, all of which they no longer had access to, not even for dugout canoes, but they now have them at their disposal.

7°—He distributed convicts for the benefit of laborious individuals, and for the plantation of Tinian for the benefit of the lepers.

8°—Ploughs of easy-to-use designs were distributed to the Towns and Convicts to show them how to repair them, and in this City the same.

10°—Sums of money so that a few traders would get busy and make purchases aboard ships, though they may not be interested in this, for the simple reason that they should learn to live and be useful.

11°—Finally, the advance of a large sum to honorable men wishing for the Island to prosper along with themselves, to make complete and final arrangements to buy a ship that might stimulate them and encourage many more to make larger plantations or to fish for export purposes.

12°—Just and reasonable orders that may tend toward a good government, and a fair administration of both Islands.

‘2°—That some slack practices of old (with or without foundation) have disappeared and a better harmony has been gained with local authorities and subjects of all classes

now prevail, which had been unknown to many, and this without creating resentments, disfavours, everyone complying with his duty without sticking to his own interest when dealing with strangers, except for lack of means, sometimes by making use of the above-mentioned teaching methods.

14°—The administration of justice is done speedily to whomever needs it and corrections are applied with moderation and as much as possible arranging things in a paternal way.

15°—The vices are repressed and the number of thieves diminished by applying prompt corrections, not through harsh means but by means that are more favorable to the Towns and to their own families other than by keeping them separated for weeks at a time, or even a couple of measures that took them off the Island, but rather to another island during which time the families were left in abandonment; to keep prisoners in jail is very harsh; corrections are commuted to public works, a measure that benefits the individual and the Towns at the same time.

16°—The strength of the districts has been levelled by the bad administration of their leaders who are little accustomed, have little love, very little education for the most part, and, not being anyone else available, things are going on which are nothing great, considering that this has been going on in all the settlements, though in the City there are leaders who know how to write their name, but in the Towns there are Gobernadorcillos who are such ones who not too long ago did not even know how to write the letters of their own name, and the matter is such that we have cases in which Justices of the Peace are either men addicted to laziness or to drunkenness or affected by some diseases such as leprosy, in which cases only a zealous Governor can remedy when he can, but he must take interest in the Towns.

17°—Reform and replacement of the complete Militia, with uniforms, something that had never been seen, not even through the best efforts of Mr. Villalobos, and others with very distinct resources, by taking advantage of the individuals and everything done with liquidity and justice, such as in the distribution of promotions and posts.

18°—The training of this [Militia] is so methodical and light that it is not a heavy burden; the time employed for exercises is well accounted for and taken off from communal works, at the rate of one day for every 10 hours [of training].

19°—The construction of Churches, Parish Houses, Forts, and Schools, by means of agreements reached with the Towns, was begun and is still going on, without their being held up by lack of funds, if he has any.

20°—Etc.

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Gregorio de Santa María  
Fr. Manuel de la Encarnación  
Felix Calvo

Francisco Tudela  
Ciriaco del Espiritu Santo  
Nicolás de León Guerrero

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1 Ed. note: Some parts of the original document were missing from the bottom of some photocopies, unfortunately.

Silvestre Inocencio Palomo

José Joaquin de la Cruz

Nicolás de Borja

Juan Díaz

Francisco Díaz

Justo de la Cruz

Xavier de Salas

Before me, José de la Cruz, Government Secretary for Administration and War.

Cecilio Camacho

José? Martinez

Damaso de San Nicolás

Lucas de Castro

Pedro Guerrero

José de la Cruz

José Tanoña

## C2. Letter dated 21 April 1845

### Original text in Spanish.

#### *Gobierno de Marianas.*

*Exmo. Señor.*

*Por la anterior manifestacion hecha à la corporacion de los principales y personas mas visibles de esta Ciudad, unica poblacion que puede decirse hay en la Ysla, pues en los Pueblos no puedan hacerse ni concevir estas obserbaciones como en la Capital, pues carecen de personas de capacidad para ello: por lo que de estas Yslas Marianas la unica que puede contarse entre todas es esta de Guajan y el todo de esta Agaña que es esta pobre Ciudad donde el Governador tiene su residencia y en la que habiendo puesto todo el esmero posible, sin haver suspendido quanto haya podido hacer ni retrasado-lo: hasta esta fecha hé logrado la satisfaccion de presentar en la Junta los treinta y un articulos que preceden, sin que ninguno haya tenido que contradecir en quanto ellos manifiestan, y yo bien satisfecho que hubiese aumentado mas que disminuido: contentisimo por el orden que ha sido lograndose mis esfuerzos, pero tambien sin dar oido á algunos reparos que yo he ido venciendo con prudencia y cada uno desengañandose à su tiempo, por lo que, etc.*

...

*San Ygnacio de Agaña 21 de Abril de 1845.*

*Exmo. Sor.*

*Gregorio Santa María*

### Translation.

#### **Government of the Marianas.**

Your Excellency:

By the above manifestation by the corporation of the leading citizens and more famous residents of this City, the only settlement that may be said to exist in the Island—indeed, in the Towns no-one could think, much less express, such remarks as in the Capital, since they lack persons able to do so—so that in these Mariana Islands the only one that can be counted on is Guam and above all Agaña which is this poor City where the Governor resides and in which he has expended his best efforts, without his having suspended as much as possible, or delayed it. So far, I have gained the satisfaction

of presenting the above 31 articles to the Council, without anyone being able to contradict any of them, as they themselves declared, although I would have been glad if they had increased this number, rather than decreased it. I am very happy that my efforts have succeeded so well, but I also must not fail to mention the few complaints on the part of a few whom I have prudently won over in the course of time, so that, etc.

...

San Ignacio of Agaña, 21 April 1845.

Your Excellency.

Gregorio de Santa María

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**Document 1845D**

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**Repairs done to the Palace at Umatac, Guam**

*Source: LC Mss. Div., Spanish Col. Gov't, Item 49..*

**File on the repairs done to the Royal House, or Palace, in the Town of Umata****Original text in Spanish.**

***Yslas Marianas.—Año 1845.***

*Testimonio del Expediente sobre la recomposicion de la Casa Real Palacio del Pueblo de Umata.—Nº 21.*

*Señor Gobernador.*

*Don Francisco Chargualaf Gobernadorcillo del Pueblo de Umata al mismo tiempo que el encargado del Puerto Don Vicente Martinez hizo presente á U. la semana proxima pasada de que el Palacio Casa Real que ocupa aquel encargado tienen bastante mal estado su tejado y mucha parte del corredor, de que parte de uno y otro amenaza ruina, sobre todo una ala del tejado, y cuya teja si se desgraciase no podia ser remplazada por no haberla en la Ysla, y por lo tanto y estar de uno y otro cerciorado por haberlo venido á ver, y reconocido por si el Reverendo Padre Cura interino Fr. José de la Concepcion, lo hacemos todos presente á U. para que disponga lo que tenga por combeniente.*

*Con igual objeto y muchas goteras, paredes cuarteadas, y un estribo cayendose de la Casa nombrada tambobo que sirve de Casa Real y algunas veces de Parroquial, tambien necesita algunos reparos, y lo que es el techado cubierto de teja, es de la mayor necesidad por cuanto ya hace mucho tiempo que tiene goteras, pero en la actualidad mas que nunca, y seria lastima que sus maderas se deteriorasen en gran parte, haciendo presente á U. que de la Casa Parroquial que por inutil ó no haber admitido composicion el año proximo pasado, fue desecha en gran parte las paredes, con lo que se ayudó á la composicion de la Yglesia y como las maderas todas fueron recogidas despues de haber aprovechado en el Edificio de la Yglesia las que fueron necesarias, las restantes se depositaron de orden de U. en la Casa Real donde existen las utiles despues de haber quemado las podridas, como U. dispuso en cocinar para los trabajadores como le consta al referido Padre Cura interino y al Encargado del Puerto, haciendole á U. presente*

*al mismo tiempo que hallandonos escasos de maderas en estas montes seria de grande alivio por no tener auxilio alguno para la conduccion mas que los hombros, el que de las mismas maderas utiles y existentes de la demolida Casa Parroquial, se aprovechasen en la Casa Palacio y tambobo y con esto se desocuparia la bodega en que se hallan si á U. le parece combeniente; cuya resolucion favorable esperamos de U. si la creyese justa.*

*Umata y Abril primero de mil ochocientos cuarenta y cinco.*

*El Gobernadorcillo Francisco Chargualaf.*

*El Encargado del Puerto Vicente Martinez*

*El Padre Cura interino Fr. José de la Concepcion.*

*Gobierno de Marianas y Agaña tres de Abril de mil ochocientos cuarenta y cinco.*

*En vista de la solicitud que antecede del Gobernadorcillo de la Villa de Umata, y noticia que tambien ha recibido en parte y carta del encargado de aquel puerto, y del Reverendo Padre Cura interino, pasaran á dicha Villa el Maestro de Canteria Don José Flores, y José Mendiola de Carpinteria á reconocer la Casa Real de dicha Villa nombrada Palacio y la llamada tambobo con el fin de examinar detenidamente sus tejados y demas defectos que tengan ambos Edificios, estendiendose á cuantos puedan ser necesaria para su total composicion de uno y otro oficio con espresion del numero de maderas que crea necesitar para cada uno asi como los materiales de clavazon, piedra, cal, ú arena que pueda necesitarse para uno y otro, é igualmente calculen el numero de Jornales de Maestros de cada ramo que pueda necesitarse para dicha obra, con espresion del valor ú coste de unos y otros, para en su vista resolver lo que convenga á la conservacion de los Edificios y al alivio del Pueblo.*

*Al mismo tiempo reusitarán la existencia de maderas de la antigua Casa Parroquial que existen en una bodega de la Real informandome si aquellas serán aprovechables y suficientes para la composicion de los dos Edificios, con arreglo al calculo que formen en papel separado de cada uno para en esta misma forma de separacion, continuar las diligencias necesarias al curso que debe seguirse en ellas y de lo que me darán cuenta en el termino de cuatro dias.*

*Gregorio Santa María.*

*Señor Gobernador.*

*Don José Flores y José Mendiola Maestros de Canteria y Carpinteria que abajo firman: en vista de quanto U. se sirvio ordenarles en su anterior decreto, pasamos á la Villa de Umata y habiendo procedido al reconocimiento en primer lugar á la Casa Real llamada Palacio resultó que el corredor se halla en varias partes podridos sus puntales, y espuesto á caer por la mucha humedad que ha sufrido; asi como de algunas tijeras, baraquilas, y baratijas que le sostenian el tejado, tambien quebrados é inutiles por igual razon, y que para su composicion han calculado prudentemente segun sus conosimientos, ser de necesidad los materiales y jornales que á continuacion se espresan.*

**Materiales**

**Pesos Rs. Mrs.**

*11 tigeras de Yfil de cinco varas largo, y seis pulgadas de espesor, á dos y medio reales una: importan .....*

*3. 3. 17*

24 Baraquilas de id. id. de cinco varas largo, y tres pulgadas de espesor, á un real y medio una: importan .....	4. 4. -
108 Baratijas de id. de cinco varas largo, tres pulgadas ancho, y una id. de grueso, á medio real una: importan .....	6. 6. -
8 Puntales de id. para el corredor, de á dos y media varas de largo, y seis pulgadas de espesor, á un real y medio uno: importan un peso y cuatro reales .....	1. 4. -
220 Aras de cal, é igual numero de arena, á un real ara de la primera: importan .....	27. 4. -
250 Tejas poco mas ó menos para remendar el techado, que podrá servirse de las tejas del inmediato Castillo de Santo Angel por hallarse este casi inutilizandose ...	--- --
60 Clavos de á seis pulgadas largo para tigeras, á un real cada uno: importan .....	7. 4. -
100 Yd. de á cuatro pulgadas id. para baraquilas y puntales á medio real uno: hacen	6. 2. -
600 Yd. de piso para las baratijas á un peso el ciento: importan .....	6. - -

**Jornales.**

20 Dias de gratificacion ú jornal del Maestro encargado de toda la obra de canteria, y direccion de los aprendices, á tres reales cada dia: importan .....	7. 4. -
40 Dias por dos oficiales de canteria, á dos y medio reales por dia: importan .....	12. 4. -
20 Dias del Maestro Carpintero á tres reales: son .....	7. 4. -
40 Yd. por dos Oficiales de dicho ramo á dos y medio reales .....	12. 4. -
40 Yd. por tres Aprendices de Canteria, á un real y medio al dia: importan .....	7. 4. -
20 Yd. por otro Aprendis de Carpinteria con la misma paga: son .....	3. 6. -
40 Yd. por dos aprendices de aserrador con dicha paga: importan .....	7. 4. -
160 Yd. de peones de igual paga: importan .....	30. - -

152. 1. 17.

Asciende el presente Calculo la cantidad de ciento cincuenta y dos pesos, un real, y diez y siete maravedis por lo que respecta á dicha composicion.

Asi mismo hemos reconocido las maderas de la demolida Casa Parroquial que se hallaban depositadas en la Bodega de la Casa Real ó Palacio y resultaron que todas son aprovechables y suficientes para la recorrida de esta y de la llamada tambobo. Y para que conste la firmamos los dos peritos á presencia del Gobernadorcillo y encargado del Puerto de la misma Villa de Umata á siete de Abril de mil ochocientos cuarenta y cinco.

José Flores.

José Mendiola.

En nuestra presencia:

El Gobernadorcillo Francisco Chargualaf.

El encargado del Puerto Vicente Martinez.

Gobierno de Marianas y Agaña ocho de Abril de mil ochocientos cuarenta y cinco.

En vista del reconocimiento que precede del Maestro de Canteria y Carpinteria firmantes, practicado ante el Gobernadorcillo de la Villa, y el encargado del Puerto; pasarán los mismos dos maestros si no tubiesen un incombiniente muy poderoso y fundado á la Villa de Umata, y darán principio á la composicion de la Casa Real Palacio reparando cuanto se espresa en el reconocimiento, y alguno mas que se descubriese en el curso de la obra principiando por donde crean de primera necesidad y empleando en ella las maderas existentes y que sean utiles de la antigua Casa Parro-



*quial, para de alivio al reducido pueblo recargado con Edificios y Caminos de su pertenencia, dando á las maderas el valor que crean prudentes segun su estado de servicio, y con la precisa condicion de no aprovechar alguna que no sea util, y todo de la Duracion combeniente á la aplicacion que se las dé, á cuyo fin formarán la cuenta de su total coste que firmarán ambos Maestros con la constancia del Gobernadorcillo y del Reverendo Padre Cura interino, en el supuesto de que no existiendo la Casa Parroquial en cualquiera de las dos existentes después de reparadas, será la residencia del Padre Doctrinero cuando pase á dicha Villa al desempeño de su ministerio.*

*Gregorio Santa María.*

*Cuentas que presentan los Maestros de Canteria, y Carpinteria, Don José Flores, y José Mendiola, encargados que han estado por el Señor Gobernador de la recomposicion de la Casa Real de la Villa de Umata, con conocimientos del Gobernadorcillo de la misma Don Francisco Chargualaf, y del Reverendo Padre Cura interino Fr. José de la Concepcion; cuyo coste és el que se manifiesta en los articulos de materiales y brazos en numero, y por clases que abajo se espresan, y todo con arreglo á la orden que precede del mismo Señor Gobernador ... A saver:*

<b>Materiales</b>	<b>Pesos Rs. Mrs.</b>
<i>Por once tijeras de Yfil procedentes de las deshechas de la Casa Parroquial de dicho pueblo, de á cinco varas de largo, y de seis pugas de espesor, gastadas en remplazar igual numero de la Casa Real que se hallaban inutil, á razon de dos y medio reales uno: importan tres pesos, tres reales, y diez y siete maravedices [sic] .....</i>	3. 3. 17.
<i>Viente y cuatro baraquillas de Yfil, de la dicha Casa Parroquial demolida, de á cinco varas largo, y tres pulgadas de espesor á uno y medio real una: cuatro pesos, y cuatro reales .....</i>	4. 4. -
<i>Ciento y diez baratijas de Yfil de á cinco varas largo, tres pulgadas de ancho, y una id. de grueso, á medio real una: importan seis pesos, y siete reales .....</i>	6. 7. -
<i>Ocho puntales para el corredor, de á dos y media varas largo, y seis pulgadas de espesor, á un y medio real uno: importan un peso y cuatro reales .....</i>	1. 4. -
<i>Doscientas aras de cal, y doscientas de arena, á un real ara de la primera: importan veinte y cinco pesos .....</i>	25. - -
<i>Doscientas y seis tejas (procedentes del Castillo de Santo Angel en que se hallaban sin utilidad y espuestas á ser robadas, ó inutilizadas) para remendar el techado de la referida Casa Real .....</i>	- - - -
<i>Cincuenta y siete clavos de á seis pulgadas largo, para clavar las tijeras, á un real cada uno: importan siete pesos y un real .....</i>	7. 1. -
<i>Ciento y veinte id. de á cuatro pulgadas largo para clavar baraquillas y puntales, á medio real uno: siete pesos y cuatro reales .....</i>	7. 5. -
<i>Quinientos y cincuenta id.; de piso para las baratejas, á un peso el ciento: cinco pesos y cuatro reales .....</i>	5. 5. -
<b>Jornales.</b>	
<i>Por diez y ocho dias que se ocupó Don José Flores como Maestro de Canteria, y Comisionado de la mencionada obra con la gratificacion de tres reales diarios: le corresponde seis pesos y seis reales .....</i>	6. 6. -
<i>Rafael de Castro Oficial de dicho ramo, por trece dias á razon de dos y medio reales</i>	

<i>en cada uno: le corresponde cuatro pesos y diez y siete maravedices .....</i>	4. - 17.
<i>Marcelino Dimapan id. por catorce días y con la misma paga: le corresponde cuatro pesos y tres reales .....</i>	4. 3. -
<i>José Mendiola Maestro de Carpintería por trece días que se empleó en la indicada obras con la paga de tres reales en cada uno: le corresponde cuatro pesos y siete reales .....</i>	4. 7. -
<i>Alexandro Villanueva Oficial de dicho ramo, por los mismos días que se ocupó á razon de dos y medio reales en cada uno: le corresponde cuatro pesos y diez y siete mrs. ....</i>	4. - 17.
<i>José Tedpaogo, id. id. por el mismo tiempo, y paga: le corresponde lo mismo .....</i>	4. - 17.
<i>Apprendices de Albañilería:</i>	
<i>Luis Quinini, por seis días que se empleó en la Albañilería, á razon de uno y medio real por día: le corresponde un peso y un real .....</i>	1. 1. -
<i>Cenen Taimanglo, por catorce días en dicho empleo é igual paga: le corresponde dos pesos y cinco reales .....</i>	1. 5. -
<i>Marcos Quinini por nueve días en id.; id.: un peso, cinco reales, y diez y siete mrs. ...</i>	1. 5. 17.
<i>Yd. de Carpintería:</i>	
<i>Vicente Gofigam, por once días en la Carpintería y con la misma paga que los anteriores: le corresponde dos pesos, y diez y siete mrs. ....</i>	2. - 17.
<i>Yd. de Azarradores:</i>	
<i>Mariano Feja, por trece días en serrar baraquilas y baratijas con igual paga: dos pesos, tres reales, y diez y siete mrs. ....</i>	2. 3. 17.
<i>Domingo Chico, por igual tiempo en dicho ocupacion y paga: le corresponde lo mismo .....</i>	2. 3. 17.
<i>Peones:</i>	
<i>Gregorio Quinata, por diez días que se ocupó en la enunciada obra, con la paga de uno y medio real por día: le corresponde un peso, y siete reales .....</i>	1. 7. -
<i>José Maguadoc, por el mismo tiempo en dicha ocupacion é igual paga: le corresponde lo mismo .....</i>	1. 7. -
<i>Remigio de San Nicolas, por nueve días y con la misma paga: un peso cinco reales, y diez y siete maravedices .....</i>	1. 5. 17.
<i>Manuel Chargualaf, por ocho días id. id.: un peso y cuatro reales .....</i>	1. 4. -
<i>Andres Cheguiña por el mismo tiempo id. id.: lo mismo .....</i>	1. 4. -
<i>Mariano Aflagui por seis días: le corresponde un peso y un real .....</i>	1. 1. -
<i>José Cheguiña por el mismo tiempo y paga: le corresponde lo mismo .....</i>	1. 1. -
<i>José Chargualaf y Tajalle: id. id. ....</i>	1. 1. -
<i>José Chargualaf Quinata: id. id. ....</i>	1. 1. -
<i>José Cheguiña por el mismo tiempo y paga: le corresponde lo mismo .....</i>	1. 1. -
<i>Miguel Chargualaf, por cinco días: le corresponde siete reales, y diez y siete mrs. ....</i>	- 7. 17.
<i>Necasio Chargualaf, por los mismos días: id. id. ....</i>	- 7. 17.
<i>Juan Sanchez: por cinco días: id. id. ....</i>	- 7. 17.
<i>José Tajalle id. ....</i>	- 7. 17.
<i>Francisco Tajalle id. ....</i>	- 7. 17.
<i>Vicente Aguon id. ....</i>	- 7. 17.
<i>Rafael Aguon id. ....</i>	- 7. 17.
<i>Aniceto Ynfaña id. ....</i>	- 7. 17.
<i>Rufino Bae, por cuatro días: le corresponde seis reales .....</i>	- 6. -
<i>Juan Lascano, por los mismos días, id. ....</i>	- 6. -
<i>Miguel de San Nicolas id. id. ....</i>	- 6. -
<i>José Cheguiña y Gotsagua id. ....</i>	- 6. =
<i>Manuel Taitiguan id. ....</i>	- 6. -
<i>Alexandro Tajalle id. ....</i>	- 6. -
<i>Mariano Aguon id. ....</i>	- 6. -

<i>Narciso Tajalle id.</i> .....	- 6. -
<i>Mariano Tajalle id.</i> .....	- 6. -
<i>José Cheguiña y San Nicolas, por tres días: le corresponde cuatro reales y diez y siete mrs.</i> .....	- 4. 17.
<i>Ygnacio Cheguiña, por los mismos días id. id.</i> .....	- 4. 17.
<i>José Chargualaf, por un día: le corresponde un real y diez y siete mrs.</i> .....	1. 17. -
<i>Silvestre Aguon id. id.</i> .....	- 1. 17.
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	130. 5. 17.
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*Cuyo total de ciento y treinta pesos, cinco reales y diez y siete maravedices, son los mismos que se han gastado en la referida obra que queda ya realizada; Y para que conste lo firmaron á presencia de los mencionados Gobernadorcillo y Reverendo Padre Cura interino en Umata á treinta de Abril de mil ochocientos cuarenta y cinco.*

*José Flores.*

*José Mendiola.*

*En nuestra presencia:*

*El Gobernadorcillo: Francisco Chargualaf*

*El Padre Cura interino: Fr. José de la Concepcion.*

## Translation.

### Mariana Islands.—Year of 1845.

Record of proceedings regarding repairs done to the Royal House or Palace in the Town of Umatac.—Nº 21.

Your Lordship:

Francisco Chargualaf, Mayor of the Town of Umatac, as well as the person in charge of that Port, Vicente Martinez, represented to Y.L. last week that the Palace or Royal House that is occupied by the latter has its roofing and much of its gallery in a rather bad condition, with part of both threatening collapse, specially one wing of the roofing, whose tiles could not be replaced if they fall, because there are none to be had on the island. Consequently, and on the occasion of both men having come together, as a result of a visit made to them by the Reverend Father Curate by interim, Fr. José de la Concepción, we all made this report to Y.L. for you to decide what is proper.

The same condition applies to the house called *Tambobo*<sup>1</sup> which is used as a Royal House and sometimes as a Parish House; it leaks in many places, its walls are cracked, and one abutment is falling apart. This house also needs repairs, specially the tiles on its roof, which has been leaking for a while and needs urgent repair, more than ever, and it would be a shame for the wood structure underneath to be left to deteriorate. We report to Y.L. that the Parish House that was found to be useless, or not repairable, last year, suffered the collapse of its walls, and that is why parts of it were used to repair the church. Given that all the wood pieces were collected, after many of them had been used to repair the church building, those left over were stored in the Royal

1 Ed. note: A Filipino word meaning barn, granary.

House by order of Y.L., that is, the good ones. As for the rotten pieces, they were burned in the kitchen used by the workers, as certified by the above-mentioned Father Curate by interim and by the agent for the Port. At the same time, we let Y.L. know that, given the shortage of wood in the interior, it would be of great relief to the workers, as there is no other means of transport than their shoulders, to use the leftover wood in question from the Parish House that was demolished, in the repair of the Palace House and Tambobo, and at the same time, the store room of the Royal House would be cleared, if Y.L. may find it convenient. We await a favorable decision from Y.L., if you should find it just.

Umatac, 1 April 1845.

Francisco Chargualaf, Town Mayor.

Francisco Martinez, Agent for the Port.

Fr. José de la Concepción, Father Curate by interim.

Government of the Marianas, Agaña, 3 April 1845.

In view of the above request by the Mayor of the Town of Umatac, and also the previous report by the agent for that Port, and by the Reverend Father Curate by interim, José Flores, Master Mason, and José Mendiola, Master Carpenter, are to go to said Town and inspect the Royal House called Palace in said Town, and that called Tambobo, for the purpose of examining at length their roofs and other defects of both buildings, and figuring out as much as they can what would be necessary for the complete repair of both buildings, calculating the quantity of wood required in each, as well as other materials, such as nails, stone, lime, or sand that may be required in each; they should also figure out the number of man-days required in each specialty for said project, deriving the cost involved in both categories, so that a decision can be made regarding the preservation of the buildings and relief for the townspeople.

At the same time, the wood left over from the former Parish House and presently in storage in the Royal House is to be re-used; so, I am to be informed whether or not it will be useable and sufficient for the repair of both buildings, and the cost calculations are to be made separately for each building, so that the required measures can be taken afterwards. They are to submit their report within four days.

Gregorio Santa María.

Your Lordship:

The undersigned, José Flores and José Mendiola, Masters of Masonry and Carpentry respectively: In view of the order of Y.L. contained in the previous decree, we went to the Town of Umatac and, having proceeded to the inspection in the first place of the Royal House called Palace, we found out that many of the gallery's columns are rotten, and it is threatening to collapse on account of the great dampness that it has suffered; in addition there are some trusses and other roof support planks that are also broken and useless for the same reason. We have prudently calculated the cost of the

repair to the best of our knowledge; the materials and wages that would be required are as follows:

<b>Materials</b>	<b>Pesos Rs. Mrs.</b>
11 Trusses of Ifil, 5 yards long, and 6 inches thick @ 2-1/2 reals each: make	3. 3. 17
24 Rafters of same wood and length, but 3 inches thick @ 1-1/2 reals each: make	4. 4. -
108 Boards of same wood and length, but 1" x 3" @ 1/2 real each: make	6. 6. -
8 Columns, ifil, for the gallery, 2-1/2 yards long, and 6" thick @ 1-1/2 reals each: make	1. 4. -
220 jars of lime, and an equal number of sand @ 1 real each for the best quality: make	27. 4. -
250 Tiles approximately, to repair the roofing, which can come from the tiles from the nearby Fort Santo Angel, given that this fort is hardly ever used <sup>1</sup> .....	- - - -
60 Nails, 6" long, for the trusses @ 1 real each: make .....	7. 4. -
100 Nails, 4" long, for the rafters and columns @ 1/2 real each: make .....	6. 2. -
600 Nails, floor-type, for the boards @ 1 peso per 100: make .....	6. - -
<b>Wages.</b>	
20 Days of work on the part of the Master Mason for this specialty and the supervision of the apprentices @ 3 reals per day: make .....	7. 4. -
40 Days for the masonry officers @ 2-1/2 reals per day: make .....	12. 4. -
20 Days for the Master Carpenter @ 3 reals per day: make .....	7. 4. -
40 Days for two officers of same specialty @ 2-1/2 reals per day: make .....	12. 4. -
40 Days for three apprentices in masonry @ 1-1/2 reals per day: make .....	7. 4. -
20 Days for another apprentice in carpentry, with the same wage: make .....	3. 6. -
40 Days for two apprentice sawers, with same wage: make .....	7. 4. -
160 Days for laborers, with same wage: make .....	30. - -
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	<u>152. 1. 17.</u>

The present calculation gives the sum of one hundred and fifty two pesos, one real, and seventeen maravedis, as far as said repair is concerned.

In addition, we have inspected the wood left over from the demolition of the Parish House, which had been deposited in the storage room of the Royal House or Palace and it turns out that all pieces are useable and sufficient for the repair of both this house and the so-called tambobo. And for the record, we experts have signed our names in the presence of the Town Mayor and the Agent for the Port in said Town of Umatac on the 7th of April 1845.

José Flores

José Mendiola

Witnesses: Francisco Chargualaf, Town Mayor

Vicente Martinez, Agent for the Port.

Government of the Marianas, Agaña, 8 April 1845.

In view of the above report about the inspection carried out by the Master Mason and Master Carpenter in the presence of the Town Mayor and Agent for the Port, the same two master craftsmen, unless they have a very important excuse, are to go to the Town of Umatac and begin the repair of the Royal House or Palace, fixing everything

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1 Ed. note: Fort Santo Angel, therefore, had a tiled roof over it, until 1845.

mentioned in the inspection report, and anything else that might be discovered during the course of the project, by beginning with the most urgent repairs, and making use of the wood stored there, which came from the old Parish House, for the relief of the scarce population that is responsible for buildings and roads in their district. They are to assign a proper value to such wood, in accordance with its serviceability, and they are warned not to use any piece that would not last long enough in the application given them. To this effect, they are to make an accounting report, to be signed by both of them, in the presence of the Town Mayor and the Reverend Father Curate by interim, Supposing that the Parish House no longer exists in either parish, after it has been repaired, it will become the residence of the Father Missionary when he should visit said Town for the exercise of his ministry.<sup>1</sup>

Gregorio Santa María.

Accounting report presented by José Flores, Master Mason, and José Mendiola, Master Carpenter, who have been entrusted by His Lordship the Governor with the repair of the Royal House in the Town of Umatac, with the knowledge of Francisco Chargualaf, Mayor of said town, and of Rev. Fr. José de la Concepción, Curate by interim. Said costs are divided into the categories of materials and wages, as shown below, and everything in accordance with the preceding order from said Lordship ... To wit:

<b>Materials</b>	<b>Pesos Rs. Mrs.</b>
For 11 trusses of ifil, from the demolition of the Parish House in said town, 5 yards long, and 6" thick, in replacement of those that were found useless, at the rate of 2-1/2 reals each: make .....	3. 3. 17.
24 rafters of ifil, from demolition of said Parish House, 5 yards long, and 3" thick h .....	4. 4. -
110 boards of ifil, 5 yards long, and 1" x 3" @ 1/2 real each .....	6. 7. -
8 columns, 2-1/2 yards long, and 6" thick @ 1/2 real each .....	1. 4. -
200 jars of lime, and 200 jars of arena @ 1 real of the best quality .....	25. - -
206 tiles (from Fort Santo Angel where they were not being used and exposed to theft) to repair the roofing of said Royal House .....	- - - -
57 nails, 6" long, to fasten the trusses @ 1 real each .....	7. 1. -
120 nails, 4" long, to fasten the rafters and columns @ 1/2 real each .....	7. 5. -
550 flooring nails, for the boards @ 1 peso per hundred .....	5. 5. -
<b>Wages.</b>	
For the 18 days spent by José Flores as Master Mason and Project Manager, at the rate of 3 reals per day .....	6. 6. -
Rafael de Castro, officer of said specialty, for 13 days at the rate of 2-1/2 reals per day .....	4. -. 17.
Marcelino Dimapan, idem, for 14 days at same rate .....	4. 3. -
José Mendiola, Master Carpenter, for 13 days spent in said project, at the rate of 3 reals per day .....	4. 7. -

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: The so-called Parish House, formerly called Convent, was demolished in 1844, and the visiting priests could stay at the Palace, used by the Governor only a few days a year, during his tour of inspection. Before 1820, when the galleons still ran, the Governor would stay there for a longer period. The so-called Tambobo was indeed but a utility building.

Alexandro Villanueva, officer of said specialty, for same period at the rate of 2-1/2 reals per day .....	4. - . 17.
José Tedpaogo, id. id. for same period and rate .....	4. - . 17.
Apprendice Masons:	
Luis Quinini, employed in masonry for 6 days @ 1-1/2 reals per day .....	1. 1. -
Cenen Taimanglo, employed the same way for 14 days, at same rate .....	1. 5. -
Marcos Quinini, 9 days in same work, at same rate .....	1. 5. 17.
Apprentice Carpenters:	
Vicente Gofigam, for 5 days of carpentry work, at same rate at the preceding .....	2. - . 17.
Apprentice Sawmen:	
Mariano Feja, 13 days employed in sawing rafters and boards, at same rate of pay ....	2. 3. 17.
Domingo Chico, for same period and pay .....	2. 3. 17.
Laborers:	
Gregorio Quinata, 10 days employed in said project, at the rate of 1-1/2 reals per day	1. 7. -
José Maguadoc, for same period and pay .....	1. 7. -
Remigio de San Nicolas, 9 days, at same rate .....	1. 5. 17.
Manuel Chargualaf, 8 days, at idem .....	1. 4. -
Andrés Cheguiña, the same .....	1. 4. -
Mariano Aflagui, 6 days .....	1. 1. -
José Cheguiña, the same .....	1. 1. -
José Chargualaf y Tajalle, the same .....	1. 1. -
José Chargualaf Quinata, the same .....	1. 1. -
José Cheguiña, the same .....	1. 1. -
Miguel Chargualaf, for 5 days .....	- . 7. 17.
Necasio Chargualaf, the same .....	- . 7. 17.
Juan Sanchez, for 5 days .....	- . 7. 17.
José Tajalle, the same .....	- . 7. 17.
Francisco Tajalle, the same .....	- . 7. 17.
Vicente Aguon, the same .....	- . 7. 17.
Rafael Aguon, the same .....	- . 7. 17.
Aniceto Ynfaña, the same .....	- . 7. 17.
Rufino Bae, 4 days .....	- . 6. -
Juan Lascano, the same .....	- . 6. -
Miguel de San Nicolas, the same .....	- . 6. -
José Cheguiña y Gofsagua, the same .....	- . 6. =
Manuel Taitiguan, the same .....	- . 6. -
Alexandro Tajalle, the same .....	- . 6. -
Mariano Aguon, the same .....	- . 6. -
Narciso Tajalle, the same .....	- . 6. -
Mariano Tajalle, the same .....	- . 6. -
José Cheguiña y San Nicolas, 3 days .....	- . 4. 17.
Ygnacio Cheguiña, the same .....	- . 4. 17.
José Chargualaf, 1 day .....	1. 17. -
Silvestre Aguon, the same .....	- . 1. 17.
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	130. 5. 17.
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Said total of one hundred and thirty pesos, five reals and seventeen maravedis, has indeed been the amount spent in the above-mentioned project that is now complete.

And for the record we, the above-mentioned Town Mayor and Reverende Father Curate by interim, have signed our names, in Umatac on the 3pth of April 1845.

José Flores

José Mendiola

Witnesses: Francisco Chargualaf, Town Mayor.

Fr. José de la Concepción, Father Curate by interim.



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## Document 1845E

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# The whaler *Peruvian*, Captain Brown, visited Agrigan Island in 1845

*Sources: Article in The Friend of Honolulu, 1 September 1846; reproduced in Ward's under Agrigan 4.*

*Notes: The Peruvian was a ship of 288 tons belonging to New London, Connecticut. Voyage 1845-1847: returns 600 bbls sperm and 1,100 whale oil, and 1,000 lbs. of whalebone. There is a photostat of the logbook (badly made in 1948) in the Connecticut State Library, in Hartford, Connecticut, whose MCF is also unreadable; PMB 857: Log Inv. 3855.*

### Visit to the Island of Gregan [sic]

Oahu, August 19th, 1846.<sup>1</sup>

Dear Sir:

Agreeable to your request, I herewith transmit to you, for your perusal, some account of my visit to "Gregan," (one of the Ladrone Islands,) on my former voyage from this port to Hong Kong, in the ship *Peruvian* of New London. I shall copy some remarks that I made at the time, as they may be interesting to you, respecting wind and weather in the vicinity of the Island.

On the morning of the 18th December [1845], saw the Island bearing west 30 miles distant. At 9 a.m. another Island bearing S.W. distant 25 miles; this island is called Pagan Island, and lies in the S.S.E. of Gregan, about 32 miles distance. Stood in for the land with all sail, but did not get near enough to send a boat on shore before dark — concluded to shorten sail and lay off and on, until morning, for the purpose of getting a supply of wood and some cocoanuts, as the island abounded with them. December 14th, begins with fine weather; at 8 a.m. I went on shore and after being there some 2 or 3 hours, to my surprise I saw 2 men entirely naked coming around a point close by; I soon discovered one to be white, the other appeared to be dark colored; our party advanced towards them and soon found that one was an Englishman, the other a native of "Apiuau" [Abaiang?] (one of the King Mill's group.) They stated that they had a settlement just around the point and invited me to go with them, which request I complied with and when we arrived at the village, we saw one more Englishman and 17 more na-

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: This whaler had just arrived at Honolulu on 6 August (see *The Friend*, 15 Aug 1846). She sailed on 24 August (op. cit., 1 Sept.).

tives, the most of them women. The Englishmen stated that they left the whale ship "Rose Flower" of New Orleans [sic] some 4 years before, but as there is no such vessel in the whale fishery, of course, I could not believe them, and put them down for runaways or mutineers from some English whaler. They, however, informed us that the natives had been left on the island 18 years previous, by a Captain Worth, master of a Nantucket whaler,<sup>1</sup> and with the exception of the "Rose Flower," the **Peruvian** was the only vessel that had ever sent a boat on shore since Capt. Worth landed them on the island. They spoke in the highest terms of Capt. Worth, and said they would never forget his kind treatment to them.

The account they gave of their being brought to the island was this: they said that one of the chiefs of a neighboring [Gilbertese] island had declared war with them and they fitted out two large war canoes with 300 men to go and fight them, which they did, and killed many of their men, and took several chiefs prisoners. On their return to their own island, they were overtaken by a tremendous storm and one of the canoes foundered, the other was driven far to leeward; thus they remained 3 days, being driven many miles in an unknown direction from their native land. At the expiration of the gale, they made many fruitless attempts to find land, but failed in every one; at length, after being driven about for 20 days at the mercy of the wind and waves, the above nine women and five men were picked up by Capt. Worth, and treated in the most friendly manner. They state that there was [sic] 160 [sic] in the canoe when they left the island, and when Capt. Worth picked them up they were almost insensible, many of them laying almost helpless in the bottom of the canoe; those that were nearly dead, they requested the Captain to heave overboard, but he would not; of these last 4 or 5 recovered. It would be impossible for me to describe the rapturous feelings they displayed, when I told them I knew Capt. Worth, and that I was his countryman. They wanted to give me everything they had on the island, but I would take nothing but some cocoanuts, that, and some birds being the only thing possessed by them.

Night coming on, I concluded to leave Mr. Marcus, a passenger, on shore all night, to gather all the information from them he could. At 6 p.m., I went on board — strong wind and every appearance of fine weather. At 10 p.m., come on squally which obliged us to put a reefs [sic] in the topsails — last part a heavy gale from the S.W. to N.W. accompanied with heavy squalls — sent down royal yards and made every preparation for a severe gale. At 5 p.m. split foretopsail and furled it. At 6 p.m. heavy gales and much rain, accompanied with thunder and vivid lightning — close reefed the main-top-sail and hove the ship to, heading to the S.E. — last part [i.e. next morning] begins to moderate — made some sail and began to work up to the island — at noon saw the

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1 Ed. note: Probably Captain Benjamin Worth, whaling ship Congress of Nantucket, voyage of 1826-29 (ref. Starbuck, p. 258), for which there is no logbook extant. However, in his next voyage aboard the Montano of Nantucket, voyage 1829-32 (ref. Starbuck, p. 270) and Doc. 1831G) he does not mention this incident nor visited Agrigan.

land a long way to windward, made all sail and worked up towards it — at dark about 20 miles off — at midnight spoke to ship **Hellena** [sic] of New York, Benjium, from Valparaiso, bound to Hong Kong<sup>1</sup> —next morning went on shore in the boat and took off many cocoanuts, and left many useful things on shore such as tools, books, seeds, clothing, fish-hooks, needles, sow and 10 pigs, another sow fully grown and with young, 8 domestic fowls, prayer book and bible, Jay's "Devotions," Doddridge's "Rise and Progress," and many other valuable and religious books.

Yours truly,  
W. Brown.

---

1 Ed. note: Laing (see Bibliography) says that the Helena, of 598 tons, had been built by William H. Webb specifically for the China trade.

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**Document 1845F**

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**English versus American whalers in the Pacific Ocean in the 1840s**

*Source: Nautical Magazine, London, vol. 15, 1846, pp. 371-372: letters to the Editor.*

**South Sea Whalers.**

Liverpool, June 9th.

Sir,

In your valuable paper of this date, you have an interesting article on the whale fishery of the Americans. I have served with the vessels of that country for a period of nearly six years, and am particularly acquainted with the details of this hazardous occupation. You seem to be surprised that the English whalers should have fallen off, whilst those of the Americans should have increased. A few words will explain it,—the greater cost of fitting out whalers here, the drunkenness, incapacity, and want of energy of the masters and crews. I have known English whalers to be out four years and take 1,300 or 1,400 barrels of oil, and American vessels cruising almost on the same “ground” would probably have captured twice as much. It would not interest you or your readers, were I to enter into the details of the difference in the *modus operandi* of English and American whalers. In the one there is order, obedience, energy, temperance; in the other, generally want of discipline, drunkenness, and incapacity to take whales when they do see them. One need not be surprised at the result. But the object and purport of my addressing you is to give you as near as I can calculate the number of foreigners employed in the American whale trade. I am practically acquainted with the subject, for I have made it a study.

A [U.S.] whale ship manning four boats carries thirty-two hands, and most of them are now fitted out for lowering that number of boats. Out of these, (as an average), one-fifth are English, Irish, or Scotch, one-fifth Western or Cape Verde Islanders (Portuguese), and three-fifths American seamen. The fleet will not employ quite 20,000 men, for some part of it contains barks, brigs, and even schooners, but I enclose you a printed

list of all the whalemén,<sup>1</sup> and you may take it for granted that every vessel above 300 tons carries thirty-two hands. There are upwards of 11,000 American seamen in the service, inured to every danger and to the extremes of hardship and toil. These men think lightly of lowering boats after whales on the north-west coast of America, the ship being at the time unable to carry a single reefed topsail.

I have little sympathy for the Americans, for, as a body, I do not believe you could well find a more dishonest people, but their energy in bringing the trade to the pitch it has arrived at, deserves the highest encomium. Ten years since, "Honolulu," the capital of "Oahu," one of the Sandwich Islands, was a small insignificant village; it is now a flourishing town, with streets, dockyards, and stores, and all this has been done by the American whalemén. The north-west fleet generally recruit at "Maui," (another of the Sandwich Islands), and the merchants at "Oahu" take goods and bills of exchange in return for the supplies which are furnished to the ships through them. Two or three hundred of the whalemén are annually supplied from these islands, with everything they require, and the goods and money which they circulate in the island have caused the present prosperity. If ever a war should break out with America, our Government, it is hoped, will pounce upon these whalemén.

From May to the 30th of September, they might find 200 ships at least on the north-west fishing ground, between the parallel of 45° to 52° north latitude, and 145° to 155° west longitude. As a body collected together in a harbour, they would be dangerous; but one single sloop of war would take half a dozen of them easily, as they carry nothing but a few muskets, and an extremely small supply of powder.

Z.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Ed. note: Not reproduced in the Nautical Magazine. This list may have been published in New Bedford.

2 Ed. note: This anonymous author may have been a surgeon, who had switched from a British to a U.S. whaler at some port of call, and served aboard the latter for two voyages.

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 Document 1845G
 

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## Logbook of the bark Mindoro, Captain Davis

Source: Ms. in the Essex Institute, Salem; PMB 211.

Note: This was a voyage to Oahu, Manila, and return, 1845-46.

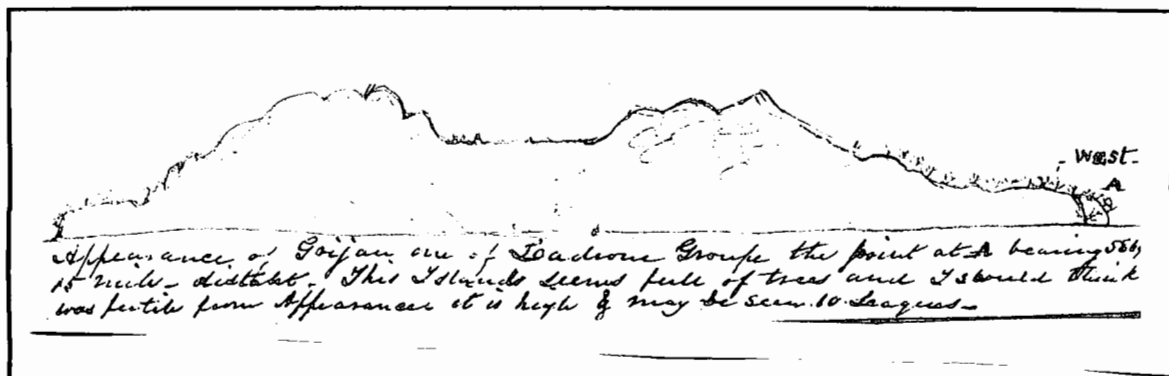
### Extracts from the log kept by Captain Solomon H. Davis

...

Wednesday Nov. 5th Thursday Nov. 6th

Begins with gentle breezes and cloudy, with heavy squally looking weather. at 4 set all studding sails. Corse W 1/2 S. wind E by SE. at 7 squally appearance with heavy thunder & sharp lightning to the Southward. took in al studding sail. Main Royal. Top Gallant sails & handed Jib. Main sail & Spanker. Let her run under topsail chasing near Island Grigan[.] Middle part squally. Lying by head to North. don't like to come to near the relative position of Grigan as it is said to be laid down wrong on the Charts at 5 AM kept off again and Made all sail All larboard studding sails &c. kept W 1/2 S wind from SSE to E by N[.] at 6 saw the Island of Grigan one of northern of the Ladrone bearing WSW. Ends cloudy Grigan bearing S by W. The position of the Island is Lat. 18°53' N and Long. 146°16' 46 E.

Lat. by Obs 19°04' Long per Chro 145°49' E or 214°11' W. 20 Days out.



**Appearance of Grigan one of Ladrone Group[.]** the point at A bearing SE by S 15 miles distant. This Island seems full of trees and I should think it was fertile from Appearance[.] it is high & may be seen 10 Leagues.

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## Document 1845H

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### The Hope, Captain Tucker, 1845-47

*Source: Ms. log in the New Bedford Free Public Library; PMB 333; Log Inv. 2325.*

*Notes: The anonymous log-keeper was not the captain. This ship is not to be confused with the bark of the same name.*

#### Logbook of the Ship Hope of New Bedford, Capt. Abraham Tucker. Voyage 1843-48

##### Extracts from this log.

...

Thursday 9 [January 1845]

... At 3 p.m., spoke Ship **Zone** [Capt. Obed Starbuck] of Nantucket, 15 mo. out, 700 bbls... Lat. 3°30 [S]. Long. 179°00 E.

...

Wednesday 29

... At 4 p.m., spoke Ship **Waverly** [Capt. Munroe] of New Bedford, 28 mo. out, 100 bbls... Spoke the **Zone** of Nantucket. Lat. 3°33 S. Long. 177°30 E.

...

Friday 31

... At 4 p.m., made Rotch's [Tamana] Island bearing W by S dist. 12 miles. Ran close to it. Latter... At 10, canoes came alongside.

...

Saturday 8 [February]

... At 2 p.m., saw Rotch's Island... At 10 a.m., made Rotch's Island... 2 sails in sight...

Sunday 9

... At 3 p.m., spoke Ship **Surprise** [Capt. Hill?] of London, 4 mo. from Sydney, 200 bbls... At 9 a.m., made Perote [Beru] Island... Lat. 1°30 S.

...

Friday 14

... At 3 p.m., spoke the **Surprise** of London. At 4, commenced boiling. Hope [Are-rae] Island bearing SSW dist. 15 miles...

...

Thursday 20

... At 2 p.m., made Chase's [Onotoa] Island... passed 2 sails standing to the SE...

...

Saturday February 22

... At 4 p.m., spoke Ship **California** [Capt. Lawrence] of New Bedford, 34 mo. out, 2700 bbls. sperm oil... Lat. 3°00 S. Long. 174°20 E.

...

Saturday March 1, 1845

... At 6 a.m., saw Ocean [Banaba] High Island bearing W dist. 10 miles. Stood close in to the Island & hove aback. Canoes came alongside...

Sunday 2

... 2 boats went ashore after wood. At 5 p.m., the boats returned with one boatload of wood. At 6, headed to the NW... At daylight... saw 3 ships. Lat. 00°22 S. Long. 169°09 E.

...

Friday 7

... At 3 p.m., saw Pleasant [Nauru] Island bearing SSE dist. 20 miles... 4 sails in sight... Latter part... working up to the Island. At 11 a.m., got close under the lee. Canoes came alongside, hove aback. At noon, the W part of the Island bearing S dist. 2 miles. One sail in sight...

[Saturday] March 8, 1845

... At 1 p.m., finished trading, headed to the SE. At 2 p.m., spoke Ship **John Howland** [Capt. Leary, of New Bedford], 18 mo. out, 900 bbls...

...

Monday 17

... At 11 a.m., saw Pleasant Island...

...

Friday 21

... At 6 a.m., saw Strong's [Kosrae] Island bearing NNE dist. 30 miles... Lat. 5°20 N. Long. 162°20 E....

...

[The ship bypassed Pohnpei]

...

Saturday 29 [March 1845]

... At 1:30 p.m., made the Longitude 156°32 E. At 1 a.m., hove aback. At daylight... made Rote [Rota] Island bearing NNE dist. 30 miles... At 6 a.m., saw Guam bearing W by S dist. 20 miles. At noon, abreast of the harbor...



Sunday 30

... At 1 p.m., took a Pilot of the harbor. Saw a number of vessels lying to an anchor. At 3 p.m., came to anchor in Umata Bay in 17 fathoms of water. Took 27 casks on shore & filled most of them.

[Monday] 31

... One watch on liberty.

[Monday] April 1, 1845

... Employed watering and boating off potatoes. Got off all the water, 220 bbls & got it all stowed below. At 9 a.m., hove up the anchor & got under way with light baffling winds working up to the town...

April 2 1845

... At sunset, got within 4 miles. Obligated to lay off for the night. Latter part... working up to the town...

[April] 3

... At 1 p.m., came to anchor in 20 fathoms of water. Sent the Starboard Watch ashore on liberty. The other watch employed getting off wood.

...  
Sunday 7

... At 3 p.m., the Ship **John Howland** came in. Finished wooding & cleared up decks...

Monday 8

... The Starboard Watch came on board & the other watch went on liberty...

April 9, 1845

... Got off all the wood, 15 cords and painted one side of the bends...

[April] 10

... Sent 1 boat up to town. Ship **California** sailed. Employed painting & doing other necessary jobs. One watch on liberty.

...  
[April] 12

... Sent 2 boats up to town after hogs & yams. At 4 p.m., the boats returned. Finished painting ship. One watch on liberty.

[April] 13

... At 6 a.m., sent 1 boat up to town. Employed at various jobs about the Ship. At 10, sent one boat to the Point after the liberty men. At 3 p.m., 2 boats returned & all

the liberty men, excepting the Carpenter & his brother Manuel. Ship **Empire**<sup>1</sup> sailed. English Ship came in.

[April] 14

... Getting ready for sea. The Carpenter very sick. Shipped one seaman, Trick Place.

April 15, 1845

... The Captain went up to town to see about leaving the Carpenter... At 8 a.m., the Captain came on board. Shipped a native of the Sandwich Islands. Frank Carpenter and Jonathan Carpenter deserted. At 9 a.m., hove up the anchor & got under way. At 10, the Pilot left us. We headed N...

...  
[Without sighting the northern Marianas, the ship went whaling off the Bonin Islands until November]

...  
Saturday 8 [November 1845]

... At 11 a.m., made the Island of Rota bearing SW by W dist. 35 miles... Lat. 15°33 N.

Sunday 9

... Steering for the land. Middle part, hove to off Tinian. At daylight, stood in & discharged Trick Place. At 8 a.m., the boat landed him. At 9, the boat returned. Made sail & steered S by W... Lat. 14°39 N.

Monday 10

... At sunset, the Island of Rota bearing W dist. 10 miles. Middle part, laying off and on. At 6 a.m., steered in. At 8 a.m., 2 boats went on shore trading. At 11, brought off 10 hogs. Ends [with] the Captain on shore with 2 boats.

Tuesday March 11, 1845

... Captain ashore trading. Brought 27 hogs & a few yams. At 4 p.m., finished trading. Took on board 2 passengers & steered for Guam S by W... At 6 a.m., steered for Apra Bay. At 9, took a Pilot. At 11, came to anchor in the Inner Harbor in 14 fathoms of water...

Wednesday 12

... Employed getting ready to cooper oil & took all the empty water casks on shore...

...

---

1 Ed. note: of Nantucket, Capt. Veeder, voyage 1843-47.

**Sunday 16**

... One watch on liberty in the forenoon & the other in the afternoon. At sunset, all the crew on board...

...

**Saturday 22**

... Employed getting off water. Could not get the casks over the reef. Obligated to let lay for the night...

**Sunday 23**

... Employed starting the water out of the casks & getting them on board. Got off 5 casks full. At noon, finished. The Starboard [watch] ashore on liberty for 7 days...

...

**Wednesday 26**

... The Captain sent off a boatload of yams. Watch employed painting ship outside...

...

**Sunday 30**

... The Starboard Watch came on board & the Larboard Watch went on shore on liberty for the same length of time.

**Monday December 1**

... The Captain went up to town...

...

**Saturday 6**

... At daylight, 2 boats went up to the town. At 2 p.m., returned. At 3, the Captain came on board, got off 6 sticks to make boat's daveys(?) [davits?].

**Sunday 7**

... Watch employed getting ready for sea. At noon, all the Larboard Watch came on board but 4, Philip Lawless, James Conly, Angel, Anthony Silva deserted...

**Monday 8**

... At 10 a.m., hove up the anchor & got under way. Steered for Umata to get water... Shipped 2 natives of Guam.

**Tuesday 9**

... At 3 p.m., anchored in Umata. Got off 10 pipes of water. Latter part, finished watering, all 300 bbls...

**Wednesday 10**

... At 2 p.m., got under way & steered for the town. Came on squally. Obligated to haul off shore...

Thursday December 11

... Working up to the town. At noon, sent 1 boat ashore.

Friday 12

... At 1 p.m., boat returned. Shipped one man, a native of the Sandwich Islands...

...

Friday 26

... At 10 a.m., saw the Carolines Islands [Ulithi]. At noon, the southernmost bearing SE dist. 10 miles. Lat. 10°02 N. Long. 140°00 E.

Saturday 27

... At 9 a.m., saw Philip's [Sorol] Island bearing SE by E dist. 10 miles. Lat. 7°44 N. Long. 140°30 E.

...

Wednesday January 15, 1846

... At 3 p.m., made the Longitude 150°08 E... At daylight, set all sail, headed N. Saw one of the Caroline Islands, Pelusek [Pulusuk] bearing NNE dist. 10 miles. All this forenoon, passed a number of patches of shoal water. At noon, saw a reef [the Manila Reef] bearing NNW dist. 6 miles... Lat. 6°56 N. Long. 149°20 E.

Thursday 15

... Steering WNW. At 2 p.m., steered NW. At 3 p.m., made the Longitude 149°00 E... Lat. 8°21 N. Long. 148°30 E.

...

Thursday 20

... At daylight, saw Bird Island & Magan. At noon, saw another Island...<sup>1</sup> Lat. 16°10 [N]. Long. 146° [E].

...

Saturday 24

... At 2 a.m., saw the fire on Volcano [Pagan] Island dist. by reckoning 80 miles. Hove to. Headed off and on the remainder part of the night. At daylight, saw the Island bearing ENE dist. 70 miles. Made sail & steered NNE. Lat. 20°40 N.

...

[The ship cruised off the Bonin Islands until April 1846. They met with the **Atlantic** of Mystic, the **Frances Henrietta**, **Zephyr** and **Brighton** of New Bedford. One man named José de la Cruz, perhaps one of the Guam natives, died, and was buried at sea in Lat. 37°42 N. and Long. 151° 00 E. By May 1847, the ship was back in the Gilbert Islands.]

...

---

<sup>1</sup> Ed. note: They passed by Farallon de Medinilla, Anatahan and Sarigan.

Monday May 3, 1847

... Lat. 01°01 S. Long. 169°08 E. Capt. Tucker sick [with fever]...

...

Saturday May 8

... Saw Hope [Arorae] Island bearing S by W dist. 40 miles... Lat. 05°55 N. Long. 165°08 E.

...

[The ship bypassed the Carolines and the Marianas on the way to the Japan Ground. This voyage ended with a shipwreck off New Zealand in September 1848 (ref. Starbuck, p. 399).]

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**Document 1845I**

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**The schooner Warwick, Captain G. N. Cheevers**

*Source: Ms. in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; PMB 210.*

*Note: After collecting beche-de-mer at Fiji, the schooner went to Manila, then Singapore, and back to Fiji.*

**Extracts from the log**

...

Thursday the 3 [July 1845]

This day commences with a calm throughout this day calm and a heavy swell from SE. The men [employed] at various jobs at noon Ocean [Banaba] Island bore WSW Dist 5 miles Long by Cron. 169°33 [E.] Lat. by Obs. 00°46 South.

...

Saturday the 5

This day calm Milde and latter part light winds and variable at 6 AM saw a bark to windward at 9 the Capt of the Bark came on board[.] He was an American been out from the States 33 months got 500 [sic] hundred Barrels of Sperm oil[.] we got two coils of coir rope from the Bark **Levant** of Wareham crew[,] Ocean Island bore WSW Dist 5 miles which we take our Departure in Long of 169°40 East. Lat. 46 miles South.

...

[The next island sighted was one of the Ellice Group. The log ends shortly thereafter.]

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## Document 1845J

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### The Ianthe Shoal got this name in 1845

*Note: The area to the SSW of Ifaluk Atoll is strewn with shoals, one of which, the southernmost, corresponds to the Ianthe, or Nile, Shoal (see Car. 34 in Bryan's Place Names).*

#### J1. The ship Ianthe in January 1845

*Sources: Article in the Salem Gazette, 6 March 1846, and other newspapers cited in Ward's American Activities, under Ianthe Shoal 1; see also Nautical Magazine, 1846, p. 265.*

The following is the description of a Shoal fallen in with by the ship **Ianthe**, of this port on the passage from New Zealand to Manila, and not laid down on any chart at the present time. This shoal is directly in the way of whale ships, and other vessels bound to and from the Islands in the Pacific.

"On the 9th of January, 1845, discovered a dangerous shoal near us—in all light sails, and hauled close on the wind to the S. and W., passing over the eastern edge and within 1 or 2 ship's lengths of the shallowest part, which appeared to bne of sharp rocks, not more than 8 or 10 feet under water—the water very much discolored, of a milky whiteness. The coral branches could be very distinctly seen under the bottom, soundings not exceeding, probably, 6 or 8 fathoms. The shoal appeared to extend from S. by E. to N. by W. about one and a half mile. By the mean of two chronometers, that varied but little from the time of leaving Auckland, a period of 45 days, we placed the shoal in long. 145 deg. 39 min. East, and by a good meridian observation, in lat. 5 deg. 55 min. North—the nearest land at the time being (one of) the Caroline Islands, about eighty five miles distant."

#### J2. The ship Nile in February 1860

*Source: ARticle in Hunts Merchants Magazine, New York, May 1861; Nautical Magazine, 1861, p. 166; cited in Ward's American Activities, under Ianthe Shoal 2.*

#### Ianthe Shoal—Caroline Islands.

The following extract from the log of the bark **Nile**,<sup>1</sup>

---

1 Ed. note: Of New London, Connecticut (ref. Starbuck, p. 564). confirms the existence of the Ianthe Shoal; but the position given by the Nile, although agreeing in longitude, differs in latitudes. Bark Nile, [Captain] Destin, reports:

“Left for sea October 1st [1858]; had moderate weather down...

February 8th [1860], in lat. 5°31' N., long. 145°42' E., at 6:15 p.m., passed over a sunken reef, with very little room to spare, the rocks being plainly visible on each side of the vessel, and the man aloft reported breakers on one side. The bark was before the wind at the time, and was only two minutes between the rocks. She was heading in the sun glare, which prevented the earlier discovery of the danger.”

As nothing is more likely than that this shoal may extend even thirty miles south of its latitude in the chart, which is so much to the northward of this, the mariner will be cautious in its vicinity.



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